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HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION.

MISSIONS AND SCHOOLS FOR THE INDIANS.

EFFORTS TO CIVILIZE AND CHRISTIANIZE THE INDIAN TRIBES.

Before submitting some considerations on the purely instructional work which has been attempted with the children and youth of the Indian tribes now within the limits of the United States, we will note in the briefest possible manner the efforts put forth by societies and individuals under the auspices, more or less direct, of the governments, either of the mother country or of the colonies that exercised sovereign authority over the territory, to change the social condition and religious opinions and practices of these tribes. Any notice, however brief, would be grossly imperfect which did not mention the earliest missions of the Catholic church under the encouragement or express directions of the Spanish and French governments, although these missions were commenced and their directing authorities resided beyond our territorial limits and jurisdiction. The annals of Christianity will be searched in vain for more touching instances of religious obedience, of utter self-negation, of heroic endurance of pain and privation, and sublime devotion to duty, than the history of these missions presents.

SPANISH MISSIONS.

All the expeditions of discovery and settlement which left Spain after the genius of Columbus had given a new world to Ferdinand and Isabella, were accompanied by clergymen of the Catholic church, usually acting with the strength of some religious association. One of the first, if not the first body of missionaries, consisted of three Dominican friars who landed on the island of Hispaniola in 1510; they were followed in 1516 by a delegation of Jeronimites, who proceeded to Mexico, and, under instructions from Ximenes, organized their mission house, so as to employ an Indian, trained for this purpose, as sacristan, "who was to teach the children of the Caciques and principal men, and also to endeavor to make the adults speak Spanish." They were soon succeeded by twelve Franciscans, who had a convent at Huexot-

zincos in 1524. We will not follow the history of these Mexican missions, of which interesting details will be found in the original authorities given at the close of this chapter, and out of which the Spanish missions within the present limits of the United States sprang.*

The earliest Spanish mission, within the present limits of the United States, was attempted in Florida, in 1528, by a number of Franciscans, under the direction of Father John Juarez, who accompanied the expedition of Narvaez, projected in 1526 for the conquest of that peninsula. This attempt failed, and another scarcely more successful effort was made by Father Olmos, of the same order, in 1544, and by Father Louis-Cancer, a Dominican, in 1547, under the sanction of the sovereign, Philip II, who at the same time issued a royal decree restoring to freedom every native of Florida held in bondage. Both of these leaders were men of the highest culture, and indomitable zeal. The first, Father Olmos, came to Mexico in 1528, with Bishop Zumarraga, and soon mastered the language of the Mexican, Totonac, Tepeguan, and Guasteca Indians; in each of which languages he composed a grammar, vocabulary, catechism, and instructions on the sacraments. The latter, Father Cancer, lost his life seeking in an unarmed vessel, and with an unarmed company, to plant the standard of Christianity among the natives of Florida. Other attempts were made in 1553 and 1559, by members of the same order, one of whom, Father Peter Martinez de Feria, prior and procurator of the Mexican mission, composed a grammar in the Indian language, for the use of the converts and teachers. A more successful mission was projected in 1562, consisting of eleven Franciscans, one father of the order of mercy, a secular priest, and eight Jesuits; a portion of whom were engaged in their labors at St. Augustine, in 1566. Two of the Jesuit fathers mastered the language by the help of natives found in Havana, where they composed a vocabulary, and commenced a school for Florida children.

In this mission the Jesuits took the lead, Florida having been made a vice-province of the order, with Father John Baptist Segura as vice-provincial, and several fathers and brothers as collaborators; but at the close of 1568 they had met with so little success among the tribes of Florida and the regions north, which is now known as Georgia and Carolina, that they were about to report the mission a failure, when Pope Pius V, and the head of the order, Francis Borgia, came to their

*For the few facts presented in the following notices of the Spanish and French missions, the writer is indebted, mainly to Shea's "History of Catholic Missions Among the Indian Tribes of the United States," (New York, 1855,) and to the authorities cited therein, and to Parkman's "The Jesuits in North America," (Boston, 1867.)

rescue. In a brief addressed by the sovereign pontiff, August 18, 1569, to Melendez, "viceroy in the province of Florida on the part of India." Melendez was enjoined not only "to faithfully, diligently, and carefully perform the orders and instructions given you by so Catholic a King, but by your discretion and habit to do all to effect the increase of our holy Catholic faith, and gain more souls to God. I am well aware, as you know, that it is necessary to govern these Indians with good sense and discretion, that those who are weak in the faith from being newly converted be confirmed and strengthened, and idolaters be converted and receive the faith of Christ, that the former may praise God, knowing the benefits of His divine mercy, and the latter, still infidels, may, by the example and model of those now out of blindness, be brought to a knowledge of the truth; but nothing is more important in the conversion of these Indians and idolaters than to *endeavor by all means to prevent scandal being given by the vices and immoralities of such as go to those western parts.* This is the key of this holy work, in which is included the whole essence of your charge."

In the words italicised of this early document from the highest authority of the largest portion of the Christian church we have the key not only to such success as has followed the efforts put forth to civilize and christianize the Indian at any time and in any quarter by any ecclesiastical or civil authority, but to the lamentable failures which have too generally characterized these efforts. Habit, the schoolmaster of the race, the lawgiver of nations, the main reliance of the school and the family, has not been enlisted for successive generations to create and transmit new individual, family, and tribal tendencies, and to throw around these children of the forest, in whom the lower animal propensities have been nurtured and strengthened from infancy, and the higher intellectual and moral faculties have been at best only partially developed, strong although scarcely conscious restraints from temptation and constantly impelling influences toward a higher life. On the contrary, their lower propensities have been constantly fed by the vices and immoralities of the white race, and the restraints and encouragements which the best of any race find in the good example of the family, society and government, have not been felt.

We will not attempt to give in detail the fortunes of this Florida mission. Following it, there was a succession of efforts by which Christianity was planted in New Mexico by Fathers of the Franciscan order in 1581, 1597 and 1601, which have continued to the present time; in Texas in 1633, and in lower California in 1601. In upper California the Jesuits inaugurated a mission which was continued

with remarkable success until 1768, when they were violently removed by order of the Spanish government and succeeded by missionaries of the Franciscan and Dominican orders. These missions in New Mexico and upper California were conducted on the plan of gathering about the station a colony of Indian converts, with herds of cattle and a plentiful supply of implements for prosecuting the agricultural and mechanical arts. These missions were all interrupted or totally destroyed by violence. Of one of them, St. Gabriel, Mr. Bartlett, the United States commissioner on the Mexican boundary, in his "*Personal Narrative*," thus writes:

"Five thousand Indians were at one time collected at the mission of St. Gabriel. They are represented to have been sober and industrious, well clothed and fed, and seem to have experienced as high a state of happiness as they are adapted by nature to receive. These five thousand Indians constituted a large family, of which the Padres were the social, religious, and, we might say, political heads.

"Living thus, this vile and degraded race began to learn some of the fundamental principles of civilized life. The institution of marriage began to be respected and blessed by the rites of religion; grew to be so much considered that deviations from its duties were somewhat unfrequent occurrences. The girls, on their arrival at the age of puberty, were separated from the rest of the population and taught the useful arts of sewing, weaving, cording, &c., and were only permitted to mingle with the population when they had assumed the character of wives.

"When, at present, we look around and behold the state of the Indians in this country; when we see their women degraded into a scale of life too menial to be even domestics; when we behold their men brutalized by drink, incapable of work, and following a system of petty thieving for a living, humanity cannot refrain from wishing that the dilapidated mission of San Gabriel should be renovated, its broken walls rebuilt, its roofless houses be covered, and its deserted halls be again filled with its ancient, industrious, happy and contented original population."

Whatever may be thought of the compulsory segregation of the Indian converts from fellowship with their own tribes, and from unregulated traffic and intercourse with European settlers, this treatment did not alienate the affections and respect of the Indians themselves, and at the same time it helped to train them to those habits of life—dress, occupation, manners, conversation, religious observances—which contribute powerfully to confirm the oral instructions of the school and the church. What would have been the ultimate results of this policy continued through generations, we can only conjecture. The missions were forcibly broken up, their teachers expelled, the settlements, with their herds, dispersed, and the Indians suffered to go back to their old associates and habits, and soon relapsed into a barbarism made worse by a deep infusion of the vices of civilized society.

FRENCH MISSIONS.

The conversion of the Indians to Christianity was one of the avowed motives of the French government in prosecuting the work of American discovery and settlement. Jacques Cartier's commission, issued by Francis I in 1534, authorized him to explore, "in order the better to do what was pleasing to God, our Creator and Redeemer, and that may be for the spread of his holy and adorable name." De Montes, the founder of Arcadia, was required by his commission, dated 1608, "to have the Indians instructed, invited, impelled to a knowledge of God, the light of faith and Christianity." Champlain, the founder of Quebec, opens the narrative of his first voyage with the declaration, "that the salvation of one soul was more to be coveted than the conquest of a kingdom." One or more ecclesiastics accompanied every exploring party, and whenever a settlement was made there the cross was erected and the sacrament of the mass performed.

The first mission was commenced at the mouth of the St. Croix, on Boon island, in 1608, where a settlement was begun by De Montes. His successor, Potrin-court, appealed to the Pope for his blessing, and two Jesuits, aided by Lady Guercheville, in 1611, commenced a mission among the Micmacs (now a portion of Nova Scotia) and the Abnakis, along the coast of Maine. In the annals of this latter mission we find the name of Father Gabriel Druillettes, who had great facility in acquiring the Indian dialects; of Father Rale, whose dictionary of the Abnaki tongue, begun in 1691, is one of the most valuable contributions to Indian philology; and of Rev. John Cheverus, who was missionary in 1794, and in 1808 bishop of Boston, and in 1828 bishop of Bordeaux, and in 1836 died, one of the college of cardinals.

In 1615 four friars of the Recollet order, (a branch of the order of St. Francis, which originated in Spain, was introduced into Italy in 1525, where they were known as *gli reformati*, and invited to France by the Duke de Nevers, who established them in the Convent des Recollet, whence they took their name,) and three years later two more, came to Canada, and commenced at once the acquisition of the language of the Hurons and the Montagnais. In the year last named (1618) Pope Paul IV gave to this order the charge of the missions in Canada. They soon after (1620) commenced a seminary on the banks of the river St. Charles for the instruction of the savages, and sent to France a lad of the Hurons to be instructed in Calleville college. Their seminary, to which they gave the name of Notre Dame des Anges, became a hospital in 1681.

In 1624, on the invitation of the chief of the Recollet order in France, the Jesuits embarked in the work of converting the Indians of Canada, and five members of the order, supported at the sole expense of the Duke of Ventadour, arrived at Quebec in 1625, and then and there commenced a series of missions, which in the course of sixty years were extended among the Indian tribes, on both sides of the St. Lawrence, the shores of Lakes Erie, Michigan, and Superior, the headwaters and tributaries of the Mississippi, and the gulf of Mexico.

By direction of Pope Urban VIII in 1633, the entire charge of Indian missions in Canada was committed to the Jesuits, and Quebec was made the head of the province by the superior of the society in Europe. In a plan of dealing with the Indians, the superintendent of the order in Canada designed from the start to gather Indian converts as early and as far as practicable into colonies, with due means of education, support and protection, and with an utter prohibition of all traffic in intoxicating liquors, which the missions found to be the great enemy of all permanent change in the habits of the Indians. But neither of these leading features could be enforced in the absence of proper co-operation from the civil and military authorities, and thus the usual course of oral instruction in the ceremonies and doctrines of the Catholic church, aided by symbolic representations of its grand historic facts, was pursued both with children and adults.

To the zeal, enterprise and far-reaching policy of these early missionaries is due the rapid extension of French jurisdiction into the wilderness of the west and southwest by right of discovery and settlement, the permanent reduction of the Indian languages into written and printed symbols, and the establishment of those great educational and charitable foundations, which are to this day the boast of Canada. Among the earliest contributions to our knowledge of Indian dialects is a catechism in the language of the Huron tribe by Father John de Brebeuf, published in 1632, and a grammar of the same language by Father Chaumonot in 1645, which formed the base of all the grammars of the Indian tongues for half a century.

Aided by the liberal contributions of devout men and women in the highest social circles of France, the seminary of the Hurons was begun by the Recollet fathers in 1638, under the title of Notre Dame des Anges. In 1639 the Hotel Dieu was erected at Quebec, as a curative hospital, mainly at the expense of the Duchess d'Aiguillon, who paid the expenses of the religious women who left comfortable homes in France to minister to the sick in the deprivations of a new colony; and in the same year the foundation was laid by Madame La-

peltrie, of the Ursuline convent for educating young girls, both converts and of French families, the first female seminary in America. In 1645 the Seminary of St. Sulpitius of Montreal, a dependency of the famous college of the same name in Paris, was founded by M. de Queylus, the vicar-general of the Jesuit order, and in 1682 Bishop Laval, of the illustrious house of Montmorency, established the "Little Seminary" in Quebec which has rendered eminent service to the cause of classical learning in Canada for two centuries. And more interesting in its inception and unselfish prosecution, if possible, was the Congregation of Notre Dame, commenced in 1659 by Sister Bourgeois, a poor nun of Troyes, to teach girls of humble life to read, write, sew and knit, and the rudiments of Christian doctrine. When this pious work was begun, Margaret Bourgeois had but ten francs at her command, but she had the zeal of Christian earnestness, and faith in God's blessing on a holy purpose, and she crossed the ocean three times to enlist the aid of wealthy and influential families in her enterprise, which became eminently successful. Nor was the work of popular instruction overlooked. In 1728 the Jesuits founded a college in Montreal, and the Charon friars, in the same year, and the Brotherhood of the Christian Schools in 1737, formed themselves into an educational corps to establish schools in the rural districts. But their efforts were not seconded by the civil authorities, and failed there, as all lay, or ecclesiastical bodies have failed everywhere, to accomplish alone so great an object as the universal education of a people. It needs the organization, the pecuniary resources, and constant inspection which the supreme legislative authority of a State can provide, and, if necessary, enforce.

Mr. Shea, in his history of the Catholic missions, gives the names of twenty-two missionaries of the Abnaki mission, commencing with Father Peter Biard, in 1613, and closing with Father Romagné, in 1795; of the Huron mission, thirty members, beginning with Father La Caron, in 1615, and closing with Father Adrian Grelon, in 1650; of the Iroquois, from Father Isaac Jogues, in 1642, to Father Francis Marcox, in 1832; of the Ottawa mission, from Father Jogues, in 1642, to Father Potier, in 1781; of the Illinois mission, from Father Marquette, in 1666, to Father Julian Duvernay, in 1763, and of the Louisiana mission, from Father Anthony Davion, in 1699, to Father Baudouin, in 1780, making a total of one hundred and seventy missionaries, all of whom died in the service, and many of them martyrs in their devotion to the cause.

JOHN ELIOT—THE APOSTLE OF THE INDIANS.

MEMOIR.

MR. JOHN ELIOT, teacher of the Church of Roxbury for fifty years after the first settlement of that town in 1631, will be remembered, by all acquainted with the history of New England, for his early and persistent efforts to civilize and Christianize the native Indians, and is entitled to our grateful recognition for his life-long interest in the mental and spiritual culture of the children and youth, not only of his own people, but of all New England. 'Of his perpetual resolution and activity to support a good school in the town that belonged unto him,' Cotton Mather,* in his elaborate 'Life of the Renowned John Eliot,' writes: "A grammar school he would always have upon the place, whatever it cost him; and he importuned all other places to have the like.' I can not forget the ardor with which I even heard him pray, in a synod of these churches which met at Boston to consider 'how the miscarriages which were among us might be prevented.' I say with what fervor he uttered an expression to this purpose: 'Lord, for schools every where among us! O! that our schools may flourish! That every member of this assembly may go home and procure a good school to be encouraged in the town where he lives! That before we die we may see a good school encouraged in every plantation of the country.' God so blessed his endeavors, that Roxbury could not live quietly without a *free school* in the town; and the issue of it has been one thing, which has made me almost put the title of *Schola Illustris* upon that little nursery; that is, 'that Roxbury has afforded more scholars, first for the colledge, and then for the publick—than any town of its bigness, or if I mistake not, of twice its bigness in all New England.' From the spring of the school at Roxbury, there have run a large number of the 'streams which have made glad this whole city of God.' I persuade myself that the good people of Roxbury will for ever scorn to begrudge the cost, or to permit the death of a school which God has made such an honor to them; and

* *Magnalia Christi Americana*. By Cotton Mather, D. D., F. R. S., and Pastor of North Church in Boston.

this the rather, because the deceased Eliot has left them a fair part of his estate for the maintaining of the school in Roxbury; and I hope, or at least I wish, that the ministers of New England, may be as ungainsayably importunate with their people as Mr. Eliot was with his, for schools that may seasonably tinge the young souls of the rising generation. A want of education for them is the blackest and saddest of all the bad omens that are upon us." Such was the appreciation of the educational labors of the Apostle Eliot by one who was a witness of their abundant fruitfulness, and who included him, in his '*Divine Illustrations*,' among the FIRST GOOD MEN, 'who brought the Gospel into this wilderness, and settled churches here according to the order of the Gospel.'

He was born at Nasing, in Essex, England, Nov., 1604, of Puritan parents, who secured for him a thorough education in Jesus College, Cambridge, where he took his degree in 1622. After leaving Cambridge, he taught for a time in the school kept by the eminent Thomas Hooker, 'the quiet sanctity of whose household was a rich blessing to his soul.' He came over in the vessel which brought over Gov. Winthrop's wife and children, in Nov., 1631, and supplied the pulpit of the First Church, in a temporary absence of Mr. Wilson in England, with such acceptance that the Church would have made him their Teacher. But he had pledged himself to a company of friends to be their teacher, when they should come over, as they did in 1632, when he settled with them at Roxbury—being ordained Teacher in November, in the church of which Rev. Thomas Weld was invested with pastoral charge in July preceding. In the same year he was married to Ann Mountfort, born in 1604, to whom he was engaged before he left England. To them were born seven children—she died March 24, 1687, aged 84, and he in May 20, 1690, aged 86.

In the year previous to his death, he conveyed an estate of about 75 acres to trustees for 'the maintenance, support, and encouragement of a school and schoolmaster at that part of Roxbury, commonly called Jamaica, or the Pond Plains, for the teaching and instructing of the children at that end of the town, (together with such Indians and negroes as shall or may come to the said school) and to no other intent or purpose whatever.'

Before giving in some detail the original documents, connected with the Free School in the Easterly Part of Roxbury, which illustrates the peculiar character of the early Free schools of New England, we will note briefly the labors of Eliot, for which his contemporaries and posterity call him the Apostle of the Indians.

ELIOT'S LABORS FOR THE INDIANS.*

In the first place he set about learning the Indian language, under difficulties which only a pioneer can encounter or appreciate. Without book, or teacher, he had to grope his way from the unintelligible sounds of the barbarous natives, into the mysteries of a language that it would be no easy thing to master with all the helps of learning. He had first to learn to understand the common talk. Then he had to learn the fit analogies to express what he had to teach, for which they had no words, but which he must still teach in the language of the natives.—And he had also to study the Indian and reduce it to some system, to study its laws scientifically, as well as to learn the words, by memory, in order to reduce it to a written tongue. It is said he took Job Nesutan into his family to learn the language. It is much more probable that he had been studying the language for several years. Amongst the deaths recorded in the town is one, in 1646, of 'an Indian who had lived ten years with the whites, and could read.' From our knowledge of Eliot, we can not help believing that Eliot taught, and learned of this person.

There were many Indians in the vicinity of Roxbury, and very likely many within the town, though but rare traces are found of them. Eliot first went to preach to them at Nonantum, October 28th, 1646. He preached there again on the 11th, and again on the 26th of November, in the same year. The whole proceedings of the meetings are still preserved. After prayer and a discourse, the Indians put such questions as suggested themselves, such as these, *How he knew Jesus Christ? Whether the English were ever ignorant of Christ? Whether Christ could understand prayers in Indian? How the world came to be full of people, if all men were drowned in the flood? Why sea water was salt and river water fresh?* These and many more were put at the different meetings. They are curious and interesting, as they show the operation of men's minds and of the religious sentiment. But they are too voluminous for the limits of this sketch. The accounts of the meetings were sent to England and published and excited great interest.

It was a maxim with Eliot that the Indians must be civilized in order to their being christianized. Accordingly, he took the greatest pains not only to teach them the truths of Christianity, but to show to them the benefits of the various arts known to the English, and to urge them to industry, good order, and good government. He looked to their physical comfort. 'Cleanliness' he considered

* By Charles M. Ellis—in *History of Roxbury*, 1847.

'next to Godliness.' On the organization of a town at Natick, a simple code of laws was agreed upon, which indicate at once the habits of the natives, and the aim and obstacles of Eliot. They punished 1st, idleness; 2d, licentiousness; 3d, cruelty to women; 4th, vagrancy; 5th, looseness in dress; 6th, filthiness in person. These were, no doubt, made by Eliot.

Before, or about the time when Eliot commenced his labor at Nonantum, he had visited the Indians at Dorchester mill, but was not well received by them, though they afterward desired him to preach to them. He began with those in his immediate vicinity. The next year, he went to Concord to preach, when he converted the chief and gained converts in the tribe. In 1648, he went to a tribe on the Merrimac; in 1648, to Yarmouth, afterward to Lancaster and Brookfield. It was his custom for many years to preach to the Indians once a fortnight. In 1670, he made a journey to the Indians at Martha's Vineyard. In 1673-4, he traveled through the country of the Nipmucks, who inhabited the southern parts of western Massachusetts and the north of Connecticut, preaching constantly, and teaching them in their wigwams.

The progress he made was not rapid. It may be judged of from the fact that, at the breaking out of Philip's war the whole number of Christian Indians in the Massachusetts colony was about 1,150. The work was beset with difficulties. King Philip told the Apostle that he cared no more for his religion than for a button on his coat. Ninigret, the Narraganset sachem, when requested by Mayhew leave to preach to his tribe, told him to make the English good first. There was great personal danger and hardship. On one occasion, the life of Mr. Eliot was threatened if he dared to visit a certain tribe; but he did not hesitate, saying, 'it is God's work and I fear not,' and he went, under the guard of his friends and some Christian Indians. In one of his letters he says, 'I have not been dry night or day, from the third day of the week unto the sixth, but so traveled, and at night pull off my boots, wring my stockings, and on with them again, and so continue. But God steps in and helps.' Gookin, a Judge of the Indian Court, said he was afraid to go through the streets alone. Eliot was not proof against all hardship. In 1657, he was '*exercised by the sciatica*, enduring much anguish and dolor,' so that he could not preach for twenty weeks.

Yet he accomplished much. Under him the Indians became neat and industrious. They began to leave their old habits and organize into civilized society. Several of their towns became quite thriving and respectable. In 1647, on Eliot's petition, a court was estab-

lished for the Indian tribe of Nonantum. The warrant of Mr. Justice Waban, 'You, you big constable, quick you catch um Jeremiah Offscow, strong you hold um, safe you bring um, afore me Waban, justice peace,' and his righteous judgment in the case, between the drunken Indians, 'tie um all up, and whip um plaintiff, and whip um fendant, and whip um witness,' have become equally well known, but the general good order and thrifty condition of the Natick Indians is proof enough of a wise administration of affairs. Even the ridiculous warrant is equaled in brevity by one from the English court. 'To the Marshal, or his deputy. By virtue hereof you are required to levy of the land of John Lamb to the value of £50:18, (and 2sh. for this ex'on,) to satisfy the worshipfull Thomas Dudley for a judgment granted at the Court held at Boston the 8th month.'

In 1647, there was a synod which the Indians attended. A sermon was preached in the Indian language, and after it they had an opportunity to put any questions that suggested themselves.

In 1650, the Natick Indians urged Eliot to allow them to form a town. The Indian town was organized the 6th of August, 1651. The regular formation of a church was conducted with great caution, from conscientious fears lest the natives should be admitted to communion unprepared. Repeated examinations were had, some of them public. In 1660, an Indian church was formed.

In connection with these labors, Eliot undertook and accomplished others, designed to established his work on a lasting basis. He thought of making a translation of the Bible, at least as early as 1649. In 1651, he had begun it. In 1661, the New Testament was published in Indian, and the Old Testament in 1663. His labors for the Indians were the dearest objects of his heart. The result he hoped for was one that cheered his manly and benevolent soul to think upon. He looked to the direct effect of his own labors with the greatest solicitude, because, having few to aid him, he could not but feel how much the success of his objects depended on his own single arm alone. He had not merely to write, but to do much of the labor of printing also. In a letter written concerning a second edition of the Bible, which was published in 1685, he speaks of having only one person besides himself able to conduct the work. This was the Indian James, known as the Printer.

In speaking of this work, Edward Everett has said, 'Since the days of the Apostle Paul, a nobler, truer, and warmer spirit than John Eliot never lived; and taking the state of the country, the narrowness of the means, the rudeness of the age, into consideration, the History of the Christian Church does not contain an

example of resolute, untiring, successful labor, superior to that of translating the entire Scriptures into the language of the native tribes of Massachusetts, a labor performed under the constant burden of his duties as a minister and a preacher, and at a time when his spirits began to flag.'

But it seems to me that, vast as was the undertaking, and however common patience might have broken under so long and wearisome a labor, the literary toil of Eliot was not so great as his missionary labors. In these, while he had few of the pleasures of study or learning, he had quite as much tedious drudgery, and he had also to encounter danger, to endure excessive hardships, and what perhaps would be most trying of all, to withstand the attacks and calumnies of the English themselves. The feelings of many of the English were hostile to his efforts. When the natives were committing depredations on their property, burning their villages, and murdering families all about, the English could not enter with great sympathy into the feelings of Eliot. Besides this, Eliot had the pain of seeing his best efforts thwarted, in a hundred ways, and the labors of twice as many years as it took him to translate the Bible, undone in a moment, by some cruel or imprudent act on the part of his own countrymen. Such things will damp and dishearten one who fears no danger and never is tired with the severest labor.

For forty years, day after day, week after week, he continued his visits to the Indians, not merely preaching and holding 'talks' with them, but going about amongst them every where, as the earliest code of laws proves, in the midst of every thing loathsome and revolting. His feelings must have been bitter when at the end of the war he found that more than half those who had been numbered amongst the little body of his converts, had renounced the faith, and taken up arms against the English.

In 1675, several captive Indians were brought to Boston.—Eliot interested himself deeply in their behalf. His diary shows how warm was his sympathy. But the people looked at it with jealousy, and nothing but respect for Eliot could have prevented forcible interference. It was a sore trial for him to see men ruthlessly rooting out the truths he had planted, and to feel that, no one would again attempt to do what he had effected.

In 1675, is a note in his diary, 'soone after the warre wh. ye Indians brake forth, the history wr. off I cannot, I may not relate, the prophane Indians proved a sharpe rod to the English, and the English proved a very sharpe rod to the praying Indians.'

After the war was over, he records how the soldiers welcomed

our Indians (the praying Indians) wherever they met them, and 'led them to the ordinarys and made them drink, and bred them by such a habit to love strong drink, so that it was a terrible snare to us. They learned so to love strong drink that they spent all their wages and pawned all they had for strong drink,' 'so that drunkenness increased, quarrelling and fiting,' &c. He then laments over the loss of their Bibles.

The translation of the Bible could not so severely tax all his energies, as these labors. It certainly was attended with none of the bitter discouragements he found in them.

Besides the Bible, Eliot translated many other books into the Indian language. Baxter's Call, and the Psalter, were published in 1664; the Indian Grammar, in 1666; several editions of Catechisms and Primers; the 'Sound Believer,' and some tracts, about the same time.

Besides his Indian books, Eliot wrote and published several English ones; in 1665, the 'Communion of the Churches;' in 1672, the 'Logical Primer;' in 1678, the 'Harmony of the Gospels.' 'The Christian Commonwealth' was also written by Eliot—a work in some respects very remarkable, as it was above the mere imitation of Old Testament enactments, to which nearly all the Puritan lawgivers of that period were addicted, and provided in the matter of penalties for a system of precedents, founded on the harmony of any decision by the Supreme Council between the Divine and the Human—the spirit of the Gospel being the guide of all moral actions of man either toward God or man. It asserts the doctrine of a Higher Law—that no human enactment which conflicts with the laws of God in the conscience can bind men in their civil conduct.

For near eighty years Mr. Eliot labored for the Indians, and for his native people—always beloved by all. His charity was so great that his salary was often distributed for the relief of his needy neighbors, so soon after the period at which he received it, that before another period arrived his own family were straightened for the comforts of life. One day the parish treasurer, on paying the money due, which he put into a handkerchief, in order to prevent Mr. Eliot from giving away his money before he got home, tied the ends of the handkerchief in as many hard knots as he could. The good man received the handkerchief and took leave of the treasurer. He immediately went to the house of a sick and necessitous family. On entering he gave them his blessing, and told them God had sent them some relief. The sufferers, with tears of gratitude, welcomed

their pious benefactor, who, with moistened eyes, began to untie the knots in his handkerchief. After many efforts to get at his money, and impatient at the perplexity and delay, he gave the handkerchief and all the money to the mother of the family, saying, with trembling accents, 'Here, my dear, take it; I believe the Lord designed all for you.' Whenever he is spoken of by any of them, he is named in terms of more than common endearment.

His private journal is full of entries which indicate the character of the man—instead of recording outward events, such as earthquakes, shipwrecks, the weather, gossip, he 'thanks God that the £12 18s. 9d., which they raised to buy Edward Stowell out of Turkish captivity, made up just the sum needed.' He speaks of the attempts made to reduce Southold and Southampton, 'because they stand for their liberty;' of the Sabbath-school; of 'the gracious gift of charity from the friends in Dublin for such as died in the warr;' of his visits to men, Indians and whites, in prison, and on the scaffold.

In his parish he always declined taking wine, quietly remarking that it was an ancient beverage undoubtedly, but he believed water was an older one. He utterly condemned the filthy use of tobacco. He preached and prayed against wigs and long hair, and censured many fashions of the day as ridiculous. Some of his biographers have set down his sentiments on these matters as well as on war, temperance, and the treatment of the natives, to his 'prejudices.' But they condemn themselves more than they censure him. He considered what was just, and thought of the follies of fashion as they indicated and affected character. For himself, he saved that he might be liberal. He never had but one dish at meal. He wore a leathern girdle. Notwithstanding his great private benevolence, with his small salary, he accomplished costly undertakings.

When he could not preach, at the close of his life, he said to the parish, 'I do here give up my salary to the Lord Jesus Christ, and now, brethren, you may fix that upon any man that God shall make a pastor.' But the society declined to receive it, saying they deemed his presence necessary, whatever sum was granted for his support.

'Mr. Eliot was peculiarly happy in domestic life. His wife was an excellent economist, and by her prudent management enabled him to be generous to his friends and hospitable to strangers. With a moderate stipend, he educated four sons at college.'

As a preacher, Eliot was very effective and popular. His manner was easy and pleasing, his voice sweet and clear, his style plain, and free from the conceit of the day. He always was earnest and spoke from the fullness of his own feelings.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION.

VIRGINIA—COLONIAL PERIOD.

VIRGINIA COMPANY.

The Virginia Company were the first to take steps relative to the establishment of schools in the English colonies of America. In a letter written to the authorities of the infant settlement at Jamestown, on November 18, 1618, they use these words: "Whereas, by a special grant and license from his Majesty, a general contribution over this realm hath been made for the building and planting of a college for the training up of the children of those infidels in true religion, moral virtue, and civility, and for other godliness, we do therefore, according to a former grant and order, hereby ratify and confirm and ordain that a convenient place be chosen and set out for the planting of a university at the said Henrico in time to come, and that in the mean time preparation be there made for the building of the said college for the children of the infidels, according to such instructions as we shall deliver. And we will and ordain that ten thousand acres, partly of the land they impaled, and partly of the land within the territory of the said Henrico, be allotted and set out for the endowing of the said university and college with convenient possessions."

A week after the date of this communication, a ripe scholar in England, the Rev. Thomas Lorkin, subsequently distinguished as secretary of the English embassy in France, writes to an acquaintance: "A good friend of mine proposed to me within three or four days a condition of going over to Virginia, where the Virginia Company means to erect a college, and undertakes to procure me good assurance of £200 a year, and if I shall find there any ground of dislike, liberty to return at pleasure."

The offer, after due consideration, appears not to have been accepted, and nothing more was done until the reorganization of the company in April, 1619, and the election of Sir Edwin Sandys as its presiding officer.

* Prepared by Rev. E. D. Neil, in Office of Education, for a series of chapters on the Historical Development of Education in the United States, projected by the Commissioner (Heery Barnard).

By his integrity, patriotism, scholarship, and great administrative talent, he infused new life into the expiring society, and associated with him Nicholas Ferrar, the honorable merchant of London, Sir John Danvers, the step-father, and Edward Lord Oherbury, the brother of the sweet poet, George Herbert, also the Earl of Southampton, who in early life extended a helping hand to a poor boy that is said to have held horses for gentlemen at the doors of play-houses, and became Shakspeare, the portrayer of all the varied emotions of the soul, whose reputation as a dramatist has increased in lustre as the centuries have advanced.

The new managers of the company proceeded to reconstruct Virginia with the most liberal views. By their permission the first representative and legislative body in America was convened at Jamestown, on July 30, 1619, in the church, the most convenient place they could find, the minister of which was Mr. Buck.

During the sessions of this body, which continued until the fourth of August, a petition was presented relative to the erection of a university and college. From this period until the dissolution of the Virginia Company the design of a university and college was never forgotten.

The collections taken up by order of the King for a college in 1619 amounted to £2,043 2s. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., and at a meeting of the company on May 26th, Sir Edwin Sandys, as treasurer, propounded to the court "a thing worthy to be taken into consideration for the glory of God and honor of the company, forasmuch as the King, in his most gracious favour, hath granted his letters to the several bishops of his kingdom for the collecting of moneys to erect and build a college in Virginia for the training and bringing up of infidels' children to the true knowledge of God and understanding of righteousness. He conceived it the fittest that as yet they should not build the college, but rather forbear awhile, and begin first with the advances they have to provide and settle an annual revenue, and out of that to begin the erection of said college. And for the performance hereof also moved that a certain piece of land be laid out at Henrico, being the place formerly resolved on, which should be called the college land, and for the planting of the same send presently fifty good persons, to be located thereon, and to occupy the same."

On June 14, 1619, it was moved by Mr. Treasurer, "that the court would take into consideration to appoint a committee of their gentlemen and other of his Majesty's counsel for Virginia concerning the

college, being a weighty business, and so great that an account of their proceedings therein must be given to the State. Upon which the court, upon deliberate consideration, have recommended the rare trust unto the right worthy Sir Dudley Diggs, Sir John Danvers, Sir Nath. Rich, Sir Jo. Wolstenholme, Mr. Deputy Ferrar, Mr. Dr. Anthony, and Mr. Dr. Gulson, to meet at such time as Mr. Treasurer shall order thereto."

On June the 24th the committee by the last court appointed for the college having met, as they were desired, delivered over their proceedings, which the court allowed, being this that followeth:

"A note of what kind of men and most fit to be sent to Virginia in the next intended voyage of transporting one hundred men.

"A minister to be entertained at the yearly allowance of forty pounds, and to have fifty acres of land for him and his forever; to be allowed his transportation and his man's at the company's charge, and ten pounds to furnish himself withall.

"A captain thought fit, to be considered of, to take charge of such people as are to be planted on the college land.

"All the people at this first sending, except some soon to be sent as well for planting the college and public land, to be single men, unmarried.

"A warrant to be made and directed to Sir Thomas Smith for the payment of the collection money to Sir Edwin Sandys, treasurer, and that Dr. Gulstone shall be entreated to present unto my Lord Primate of Canterbury such letters to be signed for the speedy paying of the moneys from every diocese which yet remain unpaid.

"The several sorts of tradesmen and others for the college land: smiths, carpenters, bricklayers, turners, potters, husbandmen, brick-makers.

"And whereas, according to the standing order, seven were chosen by the court to be of the committee for the college, the said order allowing no more, and, inasmuch as Mr. Johu Wroth came in error to be left out, he is therefore now desired to be an assistant with them, and to give them meeting at such time and place as is agreed of."

At a meeting of the company held in London, at Mr. Ferrar's house, on July 21, 1619, the Earls of Southampton and Warwick, Sir Thomas Gates, and others being present, the following anonymous letter was read:

+
I. H. S.

"SIR EDWIN SANDYS, *Treasurer of Virginia* :

"Good luck in the name of the Lord, who is daily magnified by the experiment of your zeal and piety in giving beginning to the foundation of the college in Virginia, sacred work due to Heaven and so longed for on earth.

"Now know we assuredly that the Lord will do you good and bless you in all your proceedings, even as He blessed the house of Obed Edom and all that pertaineth unto him because of the ark of God. Now that you seek the kingdom of God, all things shall be ministered unto you. This I well see already, and perceive that by your godly determination the Lord hath given you favor in the sight of all His people, and I know some whose hearts are much enlarged because of the house of the Lord our God to procure you wealth, which greater designs I have presumed to outrun with this oblation, which I humbly beseech you may be accepted as the pledge of my devotion, and as an earnest of the power which I have vowed unto the Almighty God of Jacob concerning this thing, which till I may in part perform I desire to remain unknown and unsought after.

"The things are these : a communion cup with the ewer and vase ; a trencher plate for the bread ; a carpet of crimson velvet ; a linen damask cloth."

On Wednesday, November 17, 1619, at a great and general quarterly meeting of the Virginia Company, the treasurer referred to the instructions sent out by the new governor of the colony, Sir George Yeardley, by which were to be selected ten thousand acres of land for the university to be planted at Henrico, of which one thousand was reserved for the college for the conversion of infidels.

On December 1st, "It was propounded that in consideration of some public gifts given by sundry persons to Virginia, divers presents of church plate and other ornaments, two hundred pounds already given toward building a church, and five hundred pounds promised by another toward the educating of infidels' children, that, for the honor of God, and memorial of such good benefactors, a tablet might hang in the court with their names and gifts inserted, and the ministers of Virginia and the Sommer islands may have intelligence thereof, that for their pious works they may recommend them to God in their prayers ; which generally was thought very fit and expedient."

On February 2, 1619-20 : "A letter from an unknown person was

read, directed to the treasurer, promising five hundred pounds for the educating and bringing up infidels' children in Christianity, which Mr. Treasurer, not willing to meddle therewith alone, desired the court to appoint a select committee for the managing and employing of it to the best purpose. They made choice of: Lord Pagett, Sir Tho. Wroth, Mr. J. Wroth, Mr. Deputie, Mr. Tho. Gibbs, Dr. Winstone, Mr. Bamfourde, and Mr. Keightley.

The copy of the letter.

"SIR: Your charitable endeavour for Virginia hath made you a father, me a favourer of those good works which, although heretofore hath come near to give birth, yet for want of strength could never be delivered, (envy and division dashing these younglings even in the womb,) until your helpful hand, with other favorable personages, gave them both birth and being, for the better prosecuting of which good and pious work, seeing many casting gifts into the treasury, I am encouraged to tender my poor mite; and although I cannot with the princes of Issaker bring gold and silver covering, yet offer you what I can, some goats' hair, necessary stuff for the Lord's tabernacle, protesting here in my sincerity, without Papistical merit or Pharisaical applause, wishing from my heart as much unity in your honorable undertaking as there is sincerity in my designs, to the furtherance of which good work, the converting of infidels to the faith of Christ, I promised by my good friends £500 for the maintenance of a convenient number of young Indians taken at the age of seven years, or younger, and instructed in the reading and understanding the principles of Christianity unto the age of twelve years, and then as occasion sheweth, to be trained and brought up in some lawful trade with all humanity and gentleness until the age of one and twenty years, and then to enjoy like liberties and privileges with our native English in that place.

"And for the better performance thereof you shall receive £50 more, which shall be delivered into the hands of two religious persons with certitude of payment, who shall unto every quarter examine and certify to the treasurer here, in England, the due operation of these promises, together with the names of those children thus taken, the foster-fathers and overseers, not doubting but you are all assured that gifts devoted to God's service cannot be diverted to private and secular advantages without sacrilege. If your graver judgments can devise a more charitable course for the younger, I beseech you inform my friend, with your security for true performance, and my benevolence shall be always ready to be delivered accordingly.

"The greatest courtesy I expect or crave is to conceal my friend's name, lest importunity might urge him to betray that trust of service, which he hath faithfully promised, who hath moved my heart to this good work. I rest, ab famo,

"DUST AND ASHES.

"Sir Edwin Sandys,

"*The faithful Treasurer for Virginia.*"

On the sixteenth of February the following was passed :

"Whereas, at the last court a special committee was appointed for the managing of the £500 given by an unknown person for educating the infidels' children, Mr. Treasurer signified that they have met and taken into consideration the proposition of Sir John Wolstenholme, that John Peirce and his associates might have the training and bringing up of some of these children; but the said committee, for divers reasons, think it inconvenient, first, because they intend not to go this two or three months, and then after their arrival will be long in settling themselves; as also that the Indians are not acquainted with them, and so they may stay four or five years before they have account that any good is done.

"And for to put it into the hands of private men to bring them up, as was by some proposed, they thought it was not so fit, by reason of the difficulty unto which it is subject.

"But forasmuch as divers hundreds and particular plantations are already there settled, and the Indians well acquainted with them, as namely, Smith's Hundred, Martin's Hundred, Bartlett's Hundred, and the like, that, therefore, they receive and take charge of them, by which course they shall be sure to be well nurtured and have their due so long as these plantations shall hold; and for such of the children as they find capable of learning shall be put in the college and brought up to be Fellows, and such as are not shall be put to trades and be brought up in the fear of God and the Christian religion.

"And being demanded how and by what lawful means they would preserve them, and after keep them, that they run not to join their parents or friends, and their parents or friends steal them not away, which natural affection may inforce in the one and the other, it was answered and well allowed that a treaty and agreement be made with the King of that country concerning them, which if it so fall out at any time, as is expressed, they may by his command be returned.

"Whereupon Sir Thomas Roe promised that Bartlett's Hundred should take two or three, and Mr. Smith to be respondent to the com-

pany, and because every hundred may the better consider thereof they were licensed till Sunday in the afternoon, at which time they sit at Mr. Treasurer's to bring in their answer how many they will have, and bring those that will be respondent for them, and those that others will not take Mr. Treasurer, in behalf of Smith's Hundred, hath promised to take into their charge."

"The Treasurer signified, on February 22d, "that the corporation of Smith's Hundred very well accepted of the charge of infidels' children commended unto them by the court, in regard of their good disposition to do good; but, otherwise, if the court shall please to take it from them they will willingly give £100. And for their resolutions, although they have not yet set them down in writing, by reason of some things yet to be considered of, they will, so soon as may be, prepare the same and present it."

A box standing upon the table with this direction, "*To Sir Edwin Sandis, the faithful Treasurer for Virginia,*" he acquainted them that it was brought unto him by a man of good fashion, who would neither tell him his name nor from whence it came; but, by the subscription being the same as the letter, he considered that it might be the £550 promised them.

And it being agreed that the box should be opened, there was a bag of new gold containing the said sum of £550.

Whereupon Doctor Winstone reporting that the committee had requested for the managing thereof, and that it should be wholly in charge of Smith's Hundred. It was desired by some that the resolution should be presented in writing at the next court, which, in regard of the Ash-Wednesday sermon, was agreed to be upon Thursday afternoon.

At a meeting held at the house of Sir Edwin Sandys, on April 9, 1620, intelligence was given that Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, elder, being translated from this life unto a better, had by his will bequeathed £300 towards the converting of infidels' children in Virginia, to be paid unto Sir Edwin Sandys and Mr. Jo. Ferrar, at such time as, upon certificate from there, ten of the said infidels' children shall be placed in the college, to be there disposed of by the said Sir Edwin Sandys and Jo. Ferrar, according to the true intent of the said will; and that in the mean [time] till that was performed he hath tied his executors to pay eight per cent. for the same unto three several honest men in Virginia, (such as the said Sir Edwin Sandys and John Ferrar shall approve of,) of good life and fame, that will undertake each of them to bring

up one of the said children in the grounds of Christian religion, that is to say, £8 yearly apiece.

About this period Mr. George Thorpe, a gentleman of sterling character, of his Majesty's privy chamber, and one of his council for Virginia, sailed for the colony, having been appointed by the company deputy to take charge of the college lands.

At a meeting of the company on November 15, 1620, as the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting were completed, "a stranger stepped in," and presented a map of Sir Walter Raleigh's, containing a description of Guiana, and with the same four great books, as the gift of one that desired his name might not be known. One of these was a translation of St. Augustine's City of God; the others were the works of the distinguished Calvinist and Puritan, Mr. Perkins, "which books the donor desired might be sent to the college in Virginia, there to remain in safety to the use of the collegiate educators, and not suffered at any time to be lent abroad."

For which so worthy a gift my lord of Southampton desired the party that presented them to return deserved thanks from himself and the rest of the company to him that had so kindly bestowed them.

The next year the interest of the company in establishing schools in America was increased by another unexpected donation.

The Rev. Patrick Copeland,* a devout man, like the celebrated and accomplished Henry Martyn, a century and a half later, became a chaplain of the East India Company, and in 1613 arrived at Surat. The next year there was sent to England an East India youth, that had been taught to read and write by Mr. Copeland, and he was sent to school by the East India Company, "to be instructed in religion, that hereafter he may be sent home to convert some of his nation."

On July 18, 1615, letters were read at a meeting of the East India Company from Patrick Copeland, informing them how much the Indian youth recommended to his care had profited in the knowledge of the Christian religion, so that he is able to render an account of his faith and desiring to receive directions concerning his baptism, "being of opinion that it was fit to have it publicly effected, being the first fruits of India." The company instructed their deputy to speak with Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, to understand his opinion before they resolved on anything in so weighty a matter.

Mr. Copeland returning home from India in 1621, met some ships on the way to Virginia, and learning the destitution of the New World

* The manuscript records spell the name in two ways, Copland and Copeland.

colony in churches and schools, he longed to do them good. The mode devised for helping them is fully explained in the minutes of the Virginia Company.

At a court held 24th October, 1621, Mr. Deputy acquainted the court "that one Mr. Copland, a minister lately returned from the East Indies, out of an earnest desire to give some furtherance unto the plantation in Virginia, had been pleased, as well by his own good example as by persuasion, to stir up many that came with him in the ship called the *Royal James* to contribute toward some good work to be begun in Virginia, insomuch that he had already procured a matter of some £70 to be employed that way, and had also written from Cape Bona Speranza to divers parties in the East Indies to move them to some charitable contribution thereunto. So, as he hoped, they would see very shortly his letters would produce some good effect among them, especially if they might understand in what manner they intended to employ the same. It was therefore ordered that a committee should be appointed to treat with Mr. Copland about it. And forasmuch as he had so well deserved of the company by his extraordinary care and pains in this business, it was thought fit and ordered that he should be admitted a free brother of this company, and at the next quarter court it should be moved that some proportion of land might be bestowed upon him in gratification of his worthy endeavors to advance this extended work; and further, it was thought fit also to add thereunto a number of some other special benefactors unto the plantation whose memorial is preserved. The committee to treat with him are these: Mr. Deputy, Mr. Gibbs, Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, Mr. Bamforde, Mr. Abra. Chamberlyne, Mr. Roberts, Mr. Ayres."

On the last of October, 1621, Mr. Deputy signified that, "forasmuch as it was reserved unto the company to determine whether the said money should be employed towards the building of a church or a school, as aforesaid, your committee appointed have had conference with Mr. Copland about it, and do hold it fit, for many important reasons, to employ the said contribution towards the erection of a public free school in Virginia, towards which an unknown person hath likewise given £30, as may appear by the report of said committee, now presented to be read.

"At a meeting of the committee on Tuesday, the 30th of October, 1621, present Mr. Deputy, Mr. Gibbs, Mr. Wroth, Mr. Ayres, Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, Mr. Roberts.

"The said committee meeting this afternoon to treat with Mr. Copland touching the dispose of the money given by some of the East India Company that came with him in the Royal James, to be bestowed upon some good work for the benefit of the plantation in Virginia, the said Mr. Copland did deliver in a note the names of those that had freely and willingly contributed their moneys hereunto, which money Mr. Copland said they desired might be employed towards the building either of a church or school in Virginia, which the company should think fit. And that although the sum of money was but a small proportion to perform so great a work, yet Mr. Copland said he doubted not but to persuade the East India Company, whom he meant to solicit, to make some addition thereunto; besides, he said that he had very effectually wrote (the copy of which letter he delivered and was read) to divers factories in the East Indies to stir them up to the like contribution towards the performance of this pious work, as they had already done for a church at Wapping, to which, by his report, they have given about £400.

"It being, therefore, now taken into consideration whether a church or a school was most necessary, and might nearest agree to the intentions of the donors, it was considered that forasmuch as each particular plantation, as well as the general, either had or ought to have a church appropriated unto them, there was therefore a greater want of a school than of churches.

"As also for that it was impossible, with so small a proportion, to compass so great a work as the building of a church would require, they therefore conceived it most fit to resolve for the erecting of a public free school, which, being for the education of children and grounding them in the principles of religion, civility of life, and human learning, seemed to carry with it the greatest weight and highest consequence unto the plantations, as that whereof both church and commonwealth take their original foundation and happy estate, this being also so like to prove a work most acceptable unto the planters, through want whereof they have been hitherto constrained to send their children from thence hither to be taught.

"Secondly. It was thought fit that the school should be placed in one of the four cities, and they conceived that Charles City, of the four, did afford the most convenient place for that purpose, as well in respect it matcheth with the best in wholesomeness of air, as also for the commodious situation thereof, being not far distant from Henrico and other particular plantations.

"It was also thought fit that, in honor of the East India benefactors, the same should be called the East India School, who shall have precedence before any other to present their children there, to be brought up in the rudiments of learning.

"It was also thought fit that this, as a collegiate or free school, should have dependence upon the college in Virginia, which should be made capable to receive scholars from the school into such scholarships; and fellowships of said college shall be endowed withal for the advancement of scholars as they arise by degrees and desert in learning.

"That, for the better maintenance of the schoolmaster and usher intended there to be placed, it was thought fit that it should be moved at the next quarter court that one thousand acres of land should be allotted unto the said school, and that tenants, besides an overseer of them, should be forthwith sent upon this charge, in the condition of apprentices, to manure and cultivate said land; and that, over and above this allowance of land and tenants to the schoolmaster, such as send their children to the school should give some benevolence unto the schoolmaster, for the better increase of his maintenance.

"That it should be specially recommended to the governor to take care that the planters there be stirred up to put their helping hands towards the speedy building of the said school, in respect that their children are likely to receive the greatest benefit thereby, in their education; and to let them know that those that exceed others in their bounty and assistance hereunto shall be privileged with the preferment of their children to these said schools before others that shall be found less worthy.

"It is likewise thought fit that a good schoolmaster be provided, forthwith to be sent unto this school.

"It was also informed, by a gentleman of this committee, that he knew one, that desired not to be named, that would bestow £30, to be added to the former sum of £70 to make it an £100, towards the building of the said school."

This report, being read, was well approved of, and thought fit to be referred for confirmation to the next quarter court. On November 19, 1621, the company again considered the matter.

"Whereas the committee appointed to treat with Mr. Copland about the building of the East India church, or school, in Virginia, towards which a contribution of £70 was freely given by some of the East India Company that came home in the Royal James, did now make report what special reasons moved them to resolve for the bestowing

of that money towards the erection of a school, rather than a church, which report is at large set down at a court held last October.

"And further, that they had allowed one thousand acres of land and five apprentices, besides an overseer, to manure, besides that benevolence that is hoped will be given by each man that sends his children thither to be taught, for the schoolmaster's maintenance in his first beginning; which allowance of land and tenants, being put to the question, was well approved of, and referred for confirmation to the quarter court: provided that in the establishment hereof the company reserve unto themselves power to make laws and orders for the better government of the said school and the revenues and profits that shall thereunto belong.

"It was further moved that, in respect to Mr. Copland, minister, hath been a chief cause of procuring this former contribution to be given by the aforesaid company, and had also writ divers letters to many factories in the East Indies to move them to follow this good example, for the better advancement of this pious work, that therefore the company would please to gratify him with some proportion of land.

"Whereupon the court, taking it into consideration, and being also informed that Mr. Copland was furnishing out persons to be transported this present voyage to plant and inhabit upon said lands as should be granted unto them by the company, they were the rather induced to bestow upon him an extraordinary gratification of three shares of land, old adventure, which is three hundred acres, upon a first division, without paying rent to the company, referring the further ratification of the said gift to the quarter court, as also his admittance of being a free brother of this company."

About this time a young Puritan minister, John Brinsley, a nephew of the English Seneca, the distinguished Bishop Hall, and the private secretary of his uncle at the synod of Dort, who in after life became the author of many classical and theological treatises, prepared a little book suitable for the projected school in Virginia. *

* In 1622 Brinsley published "A Consolation for our Grammar Schooles; or a faithful and most comfortable encouragement for laying of a sure foundation of a good learning in our schooles, and for prosperous building therefor; more specially for all those of the inferior sort, and all rude countries and places, namely, for Ireland, Wales, Virginia, with the Sommer Islands, and for their more speedie attaining of our English tongue by the same labour, that all may speake one and the same language. And withall, for the helping of all such as are derisious speedie to recover that which they had formerly got in the grammar schooles: and to proceed aright therein, for the perpetual benefit of these our nations, and of the churches of Christ. London: Printed by Richard Field, for Thomas Mann, dwelling in Paternoster Row, at the signe of the Talcoat: 1622."

At a court held for Virginia the 19th of December, 1621, Mr. Balmfield signified unto the court of a book "compiled by a painful school master, one Mr. John Brinsley;" whereupon the court gave order that the company's thanks should be given unto him, and appointed a select committee to peruse the said book, viz: Sir John Danvers, Mr. Deputy, Mr. Gibbs, Mr. Wroth, Mr. Bamfield, Mr. Copland, Mr. Ayres, and Mr. Nicho. Farrar, who are entreated to meet when Mr. Deputy shall appoint, and after to make report of their opinions touching the same at the next court.

At a court held for Virginia, on Wednesday, the 16th January, 1621, [1622,] the committee appointed to peruse the book which Mr. John Brinsley, schoolmaster, presented at the last court, touching the education of the younger sort of scholars, forasmuch as they had as yet no time to peruse the same, by reason of many businesses that did arise, they desired of the court some longer respite, which was granted unto them. Mr. Copland, being present, was entreated to peruse it in the mean time, and deliver his opinion thereof to the committee, at their meeting, about it.

At a quarter court held on January 30, 1621-'2, "the letter subscribed D. and A., brought to the former court by an unknown messenger, was now again presented to be read, the contents whereof are as follows:

"JANUARY 28th, 1621.

"MOST WORTHY COMPANY: Whereas I sent the Treasurer and yourselves a letter, subscribed 'Dust and Ashes,' which promised £550. and did, some time afterward, according to my promise, send the said money to Sir Edwin Sandys, to be delivered to the company. In which letter I did not directly order the bestowing of the said money, but showed my interest for the conversion of infidels' children, as it will appear by that letter, which I desire may be read in open court, wherein I chiefly commended the ordering thereof to the wisdom of the honorable company. And whereas the gentlemen of Southampton Hundred have undertaken the disposing of the said £550, I have long attended to see the erecting of some schools, or other way whereby some of the children of the Virginians might have been taught and brought up in the Christian religion and good manners, which are not being done according to my intent, but the money detained by a private hundred all this while, contrary to my mind, though I judge very charitably of that honorable society. And as already you have received a great and the most painfully gained part

of my estate towards the laying of the foundation of the Christian religion, and helping forward of this pious work in that heathen, now Christian, land, so now I require of the whole body of the honorable and worthy company, whom I entrusted with the disposal of said moneys, to see the same speedily and faithfully converted to the work intended. And I do further propound to your honorable company, that if you will procure that some of the male children of the Virginians, though but a few, be brought over into England here to be educated and taught, and to wear a habit as the children of Christ's Hospital do, and that you will be pleased to see the £550 converted to this use, then I faithfully promise to add £450 more, to make the sum £1,000, which, if God permit, I will cheerfully send you, only I desire to nominate the first tutor or governor who shall take charge to nurse and instruct them. But if you, in your wisdom, like not this motion, then my humble suit unto the whole body of your honorable company is that my former gift of £550 be wholly employed and bestowed upon a free school to be erected in Southampton Hundred, so it be presently employed, or such other place as I or my friends shall well like, wherein both English and Virginians may be taught together, and that the said school be endowed with such privileges as you, in your wisdom, shall think fit. The master of which school, I humbly crave, may not be allowed to go over except he first bring to the company sound testimony of his sufficiency in learning and sincerity of life.

"The Lord give you wise and understanding hearts, that his work therein be not negligently performed.

"D. and A.

"*The Right Honorable and Worthy the*

"*Treasurer, Council, and Company of Virginia.*"

The letter being referred to the consideration of this court, forasmuch as it did require an account of this company how they have expended the said money, viz: the £550 in gold for the bringing up of the infidels' children in true religion and Christianity, Sir Edwin Sandys declared that the said money coming unto him enclosed in a box in the time of his being treasurer, not long after a letter subscribed "Dust and Ashes" had been directed unto him in the quality of treasurer, and delivered in the court and there openly read. He brought the money also to the next court in the box unopened, whereupon the court, after a large and serious deliberation how the said money might be best employed to the use intended, at length resolved that it was fittest to be entertained by the societies of Southampton Hundred and Martin's

Hundred, and easy to undertake for a certain number of infidels' children to be brought up by them and amongst them in Christian religion, and some good trade to live by according to the donor's religious desire.

But Martin's Hundred desired to be excused by reason their plantation was sorely weakened and then in much confusion; wherefore it being pressed that Southampton Hundred should undertake the whole, they also considering, together with the weight, the difficulty also and hazard of the business, were likewise very unwilling to undertake the managing thereof, and offered an addition of £100 more unto the former sum of £550, that it might not be put upon them.

But being earnestly pressed thereunto by the court, and finding no other means how to set forward that great work, yielded in fine to accept thereof.

Whereupon, soon after, at an assembly of that society, the adventurers entered into a careful consideration how this great and mighty business might, with the most speed and great advantage, be effected.

Whereupon it was agreed and reported by them to employ the said money, together with an addition out of the society's purse of a far greater sum, toward the furnishing out of Captain Bluett and his companions, being so very able and sufficient workmen with all manner of provisions for the setting up of an iron work in Virginia, whereof the profits arising were intended and ordered in a ratable proportion to be faithfully employed for the educating of thirty of the infidels' children in Christian religion, and otherwise as the donor had required.

To which end they writ very effectual letters unto Sir George Yeardley, then governor of Virginia, and captain also of Southampton plantation, not only commending the excellence of the work, but also furnishing him at large with advice and direction how to proceed therein, with a most earnest adjuration, and that often iterated in all their succeeding letters, so to employ his best care and industry therein, as a work wherein the eyes of God, angels, and men were fixed. The copy of my letter and direction, through some omission of their officer, was not entered in their book, but a course should be taken to have it recovered.

In answer of this letter they received a letter from Sir George Yeardley, showing how difficult a thing it was at that time to obtain any of their children with the consent and good liking of their parents, by reason of their tenderness of them, or fear of hard usage by the English, unless it might be by a treaty with Opachankano, the King, which treaty was appointed to be that summer, wherein he would not fail to do his uttermost endeavors.

But Captain Bluett dying shortly after his arrival, it was a great setting back of the iron work intended; yet since that time there had been orders to restore that business with a fresh supply, so as he hoped will the gentleman that gave this gift should receive good satisfaction by the faithful account which they should be able and at all times would be ready to give, touching the employment of the said money.

Concerning which Sir Edwin Sandys further said that, as he could not but highly commend the gentleman for his worthy and most Christian act, so he had observed so great inconvenience by his modesty and eschewing of show of vain glory by concealing his name, whereby they were deprived of the mutual help and advice which they might have had by conferring with him; and whereby also he might have received more clear satisfaction with what integrity, care, and industry they had managed that business, the success whereof must be submitted to the pleasure of God, as it had been commended to his blessing.

He concluded that if the gentlemen would either vouchsafe himself or send any of his friends to confer with the said society, they would be glad to apply themselves to give him all good satisfaction. But for his own particular judgment he doubted that neither of the two courses particularized in this last letter, now read in court, would attain the effect so much desired. Now, to send for them into England and to have them educated here, he found, upon experience of those brought by Sir Tho. Dale, might be far from the Christian work intended. Again, to begin with building of a free school for them in Virginia, he doubted, considering that none of the buildings they there intended had yet prospered, by reason that as yet, through their doting so much upon tobacco, no fit workmen could be had but at intolerable rates, it might rather tend to the exhausting of this sacred treasure in some small fabric, than to accomplish such a foundation as might satisfy men's expectations.

Whereupon, he wished again some meeting between the gentleman or his friends and Southampton society, that all things being debated at full, and judiciously weighed, some constant course might be resolved on and pursued for proceeding in and perfecting of this most pious work, for which he prayed the blessing of God to be upon the author thereof; and all the company said Amen.

In the midst of this narration a stranger stepped in, presenting four books, fairly bound, sent from a person refusing to be named, who had bestowed them upon the college in Virginia, being from the same

man that gave heretofore four other great books; the names of those he now sent were, viz: a large church Bible, the Common Prayer Book, Ursinus's Catechism, and a small Bible richly embroidered.

The court desired the messenger to return the gentleman that gave them, general acknowledgment of much respect and thanks due unto him.

A letter was also presented from one that desired not as yet to be named, with £25 in gold, to be employed by way of addition to the former contribution towards the building of a free school in Virginia, to make the other sum £125, for which the company desired the messenger to return him their hearty thanks.

Mr. Copland moved that, whereas it was ordered by the last quarter court that an usher should be sent to Virginia, with the first convenience, to instruct the children in the free school there intended to be erected, that forasmuch as there was now a very good scholar whom he well knew, and had good testimony for his sufficiency in learning and good carriage, who offered himself to go for the performance of this service, he therefore thought good to acquaint the court therewith, and to leave it to their better judgment and consideration, whereupon the court appointed a committee to treat with the said party, viz: Mr. Gibbs, Mr. Wroth, Mr. Wrote, Mr. Copland, Mr. Balmford, Mr. Roberts, who are to join herein with the rest of the committee and to meet about it upon Monday next, in the morning about eight, at Mr. Deputy's, and hereof to make report.

On February 27, 1621-'2, the committee's report touching the allowance granted unto the usher of the free school intended in Virginia being read, Mr. Copland signified that the said usher having lately imparted his mind unto him, seemed unwilling to go as usher or any less title than master of the said school, and also to be assured of that allowance that is intended to be appropriated to the master for his proper maintenance.

But it was answered that they might not swerve from the order of the quarter court, which did appoint the usher to be first established, for the better advancement of which action divers had underwritten to a roll for that purpose drawn, which did already arise to a good sum of money, and was like daily to increase by reason of men's affections to forward so good a work. In which respect many sufficient scholars did now offer themselves to go upon the same condition as had been proposed to this party, yet in favor of him, forsomuch as he was

specially recommended by Mr. Copland, whom the company do much respect, the court is pleased to give him some time to consider of it between this and the next court, desiring then to know his direct answer, whether he will accept of the place of usher as has been offered unto him. And if he shall accept thereof, then the court have entreated Mr. Balmford, Mr. Copland, Mr. Caswell, Mr. Mollinge, to confer with him about the method of teaching, and the books he intends to instruct children by.

On the thirteenth of March the court, taking into their consideration certain propositions presented unto them by Mr. Copland in behalf of Mr. Dike, formerly commended for the usher's place in the free school intended at Charles city, in Virginia, they have agreed in effect unto his several requests, namely, that upon certificates from the governor of Virginia of his sufficiency and diligence in training up of youth committed to his charge, he shall be confirmed in the place of the master of the said school.

Secondly, that if he can procure an expert writer to go over with him that can withal teach the grounds of arithmetic whereby to instruct the children in matters of account, the company are contented to give such a one his passage, whose pains they doubt not but will well be rewarded by those whose children shall be taught by him.

And for the allowance of one hundred acres of land he desires for his own proper inheritance, it is agreed that after he hath served out his time, which is to be five years at least, and longer during his own pleasure, he giving a year's warning upon his remove, whereby another may be provided in his room, the company are pleased to grant him one hundred acres.

It is also agreed that he shall be furnished with books, first for the school for which he is to be accountable; and for the children the company have likewise undertaken to provide good store of books, fitting for their use, for which their parents are to be answerable.

Lastly, it is ordered that the agreement between him and the company shall, according to his own request, be set down in writing, by way of articles indented.

Upon the same day the following minute was entered on the journal of the company :

"Whereas, Mr. Deputy acquainted the former court with that news he had received by word of mouth, of the safe arrival of eight of their ships in Virginia with all their people and provisions sent out this last summer, he now signified that the general letter has come to his

hands, imparting as much as had been formerly delivered, which letter for more particular relations did refer to the letters sent by the George, which he hoped they should shortly hear of.

"Upon declaration of the company's thankfulness unto God for the joyful and welcome news from Virginia, a motion was made that this acknowledgment of their thankfulness might not only be done in a private court, but published by some learned minister in a sermon to that purpose, before a general assembly of the company, which motion was well approved of and thought fit to be taken into consideration upon return of the George, which was daily expected, when they hoped they should receive more particular advertisement concerning their affairs in Virginia."

Early in April, 1622, the following action was taken :

"Forasmuch as the George was now safe returned from Virginia, confirming the good news they had formerly received of the safe arrival of their ships and people in Virginia, sent this last time, it was now thought fit and resolved according to a motion formerly made to the like effect, that a sermon should be preached to express the company's thankfulness unto God for this his great and extraordinary blessing.

"To which end the court entreated Mr. Copland, being present, to take the pains to preach the said sermon, being a brother of the company, and one that was well acquainted with the happy success of their affairs in Virginia this last year.

"Upon which request, Mr. Copland was pleased to undertake it, and therefore two places being proposed where this exercise should be performed, namely, St. Michael's in Cornhill or Bowe church, it was by erection of hands appointed to be in Bowe church, on Wednesday next, being the 17th day of this present month of April, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, for which purpose Mr. Carter is appointed to give notice of the time and place to all the company."*

In the month of June there sailed from England Leonard Hudson, a carpenter, his wife, and five apprentices, for the purpose of erecting the East India school at Charles city.

The governor and council of Virginia were at the same time informed, that as the company had failed to secure an usher, upon second consideration it was thought good to give the colony the choice of the school-master or usher, if there was any suitable person for the office. If

* The sermon was delivered, and printed in quarto with this title : " Virginia's God be thanked ; or, a sermon of thanksgiving for the happy successes of the affaires in Virginia, this last yeare. Published by commandment of the Virginia company. London, 1622.

they could find no one, they were requested to inform them what they would contribute toward the support of a schoolmaster, and they would then again strive to provide "an honest and sufficient man." The letter concludes by saying, "there is very much in this business that we must leave to your care and wisdom, and the help and assistance of good people, of which we doubt not."

On July 3, 1622, the court gave order that a receipt should be sealed for £47 16s., which the gentleman mariners had given to the East India Company to be employed in laying the foundation of a church in Virginia.

The court thought fit to make Captain Martin Prim (the captain of the *Royal James*) a freeman of the company, and to give him two shares of land in regard of the large contribution which the gentlemen and mariners of that ship had given towards good works in Virginia, whereof he was an especial furtherer.

The placing and entertainment of Mr. Copland in Virginia being referred by the former court to the consideration of a committee, they having accordingly advised about it, did now make report of what they had done therein, as followeth, viz:

1. First, they thought fit that he be made rector of the intended college in Virginia for the conversion of the infidels, and to have the pastoral charge of the college tenants about him.

2. In regard of his rectorship, to have the tenth part of the profits due to the college out of their lands and arising from the labors of their tenants.

3. In regard of his pastoral charge, to have a parsonage there erected, according to the general order for parsonages.

And for that it was now further moved that he might be admitted of the council, then it was referred to the former committee to consider thereof and of some other things propounded for his better accommodation there.

The committee appointed for the college for this present year are the ensuing, viz: Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir John Danvers, Mr. Gibbs, Mr. J. Ferrar, Mr. R. Smith, Mr. Wrote, Mr. Barbor.

The report of the committee touching Mr. Copland's placing and entertainment in Virginia was now read, they having thought fit he be made rector of the intended college there for the conversion of the infidels, and to have the pastoral charge of the college there for the conversion of the infidels, and to have the pastoral charge of the college tenants about him; and in regard of his rectorship, to have the tenth

part of the profits due to the college out of the lands and arising from the labors of their tenants; and in respect of his pastoral charge, to have a parsonage there erected according to the general order for parsonages which this court hath well approved of; and have likewise admitted him to be one of the council of Virginia.

The memorable massacre by the savages, in the spring of 1622, was a great obstacle to all educational progress. Among the mutilated bodies of the slain was that of the refined and educated gentleman, George Thorpe, who had the oversight of the college lands and tenants. After the company received intelligence of his death, they made a particular request that George Sandys, the brother of Sir Edwin, a poet and translator of the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, then Treasurer of the colony, should take charge of the college interests; and they wrote: "we esteem the college affairs not only a public but a sacred business." After this we know of but one allusion to the college. In 1623, Edward Downes petitioned "that his son Richard Downes, having continued in Virginia these four years, and being bred a scholar, went over in search of preferments in the college there, might now be free to live there of himself, and have fifty acres of land."

One year after the dissolution of the Virginia Company, in 1624, another attempt was made to erect the East India free school. Mr. Caroloﬀ and others were sent over for the purpose, but he seems to have become unpopular. The governor and council, under date of June 15, 1625, write:

"We should be ready with our utmost endeavors to assist the pious work of the East India free school, but we must not dissemble that, besides the unseasonable arrival, we thought the acts of Mr. Caroloﬀ will overbalance all his other sufficiency though exceeding good."

Fuller, in his "Worthies," speaks of another attempt to establish an academy in Virginia by one Edward Palmer. He says, "his plenteous estate afforded him opportunity to put forward the ingenuity, implanted by nature, for the public good, resolving to erect an academy in Virginia. In order whereunto he purchased an island, called Palmer's island unto this day, but in pursuance thereof was at many thousand pounds' expense, some instruments employed therein not discharging the trust reposed in them with corresponding fidelity. He was transplanted to another world, leaving to posterity the monument of his worthy but unfinished intention. This Edward Palmer died in London, about 1625."

Turning to the manuscript records of the Virginia Company, we

learn that on July 3, 1622, "Francis Carter passed over sixteen shares of land in Virginia to Mr. Edward Palmer, of the Middle Temple, London, esquire," who may have been the individual referred to by Fuller, and Palmer's island, at the mouth of the Susquehanna, is where Clayborne traded with the Indians before Lord Baltimore obtained a grant for Maryland.

Although unforeseen circumstances prevented Copeland's acceptance of the rectorship of the proposed college at Henrico, he continued to feel an interest in the American plantations. The leading men of the Virginia Company were also members of the Somers Island or Bermudas Company, and under the auspices of the latter Copeland became a non-conformist minister at those isles of the sea.

Since 1615 the Rev. Richard Norwood, a distinguished surveyor and Puritan, had taught school there, and old records show that both Copeland and Ferrar were contributors to the free school in that locality.

Norwood continued as school teacher for more than thirty years, and in 1648 Copeland, when nearly eighty years of age, accompanied Governor Sayle to establish a new plantation at Eleuthera, one of the Bahamas. In the charter of the colony it was stipulated that each settler should enjoy entire freedom of conscience.

Sayle, shortly after he reached Eleuthera, visited the Puritan parishes of Virginia, and invited the parishioners, who were uncomfortable under the strictness of Governor Berkeley, to remove to the new colony.

The Rev. Mr. Harrison, formerly Berkeley's chaplain, but now a Puritan, was sent to Boston to ask the advice of the ministers there relative to emigration to Eleuthera. They decided that it was inexpedient, partly because an entire separation of church and state was proposed by the projectors of the new settlement. From this period we can learn nothing of Copeland, and probably this early friend of education in America died at the Bahamas.

Four years before John Harvard, the gentle minister of Charlestown, died, and bequeathed his estate to the college at Cambridge, Massachusetts, Benjamin Symmes, of Virginia, left the first legacy by a resident of the American plantations for founding a school. In a will, made in 1634, he gave two hundred acres on the Poquoson, a small stream that enters Chesapeake bay below Yorktown, "with the milk and increase of eight cows, for the maintenance of a learned and honest man, to keep upon the said ground a free school, for the education and instruction of the children of the adjoining parishes of Elizabeth City

and Kiquotan, from Mary's Mount downwards, to the Poquoson river."

The author of a little pamphlet on Virginia, published in 1649, alludes to the early friend of education in this language: "I may not forget to tell you that we have a free school, with two hundred acres of land, a fine house upon it, forty milch kine, and other accommodation to it. The benefactor deserveth perpetual mention, Mr. Benjamin Symmes, worthy to be chronicled. Other petty schools we have."

A long period now elapsed before another benefaction to schools was chronicled. Dr. Gataker, in a work dedicated to Oliver Cromwell, and published in 1657, deploras the neglect of education in Virginia. In March, 1660-'1, the assembly of the colony enacted: "That for the advance of learning, education of youth, supply of the ministry, and promotion of piety, there be land taken upon purchase for a college and free school, and that there be, with as much speed as may be convenient, houseing erected thereon for entertainment of students and scholars;" and at the same session a petition to the King was drawn up, praying for "letters patent to collect and gather the charity of well disposed people in England, for the erecting of colleges and schools." The year after the restoration of Charles the Second, a pamphlet, dedicated to the Bishop of London, written by a minister who had lived many years in America, was published, called "Virginia's Cure, or an Advisive Narrative Concerning Virginia," in which it was suggested that charitable persons in England should endow Virginia fellowships in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. He stated that schools in the colony were so few that "there was a very numerous generation of Christian children born in Virginia, unserviceable for any employment of church or state;" and also adds that the members of the House of Burgesses were "usually such as went over servants thither, and though by time and industry they may have obtained competent estates, yet by reason of their poor and mean condition were unskilful in judging of a good estate, either of church or commonwealth, or of the means of procuring it."

Berkeley, who had been deposed from the governorship during the Cromwellian era, was reinstated in 1661, and proved more churlish than before. In 1671, the home government made a number of queries, the last of which was: "What course is taken about instructing the people within your government in the Christian religion; and what provision is there made for the paying of your ministry?" To which he answered: "The same course that is taken in England out of towns; every man, according to his ability, instructing his children. We have forty-eight

parishes, and our ministers are well paid, and by my consent would be better, if they would pray oftener and preach less. But, as of all other commodities, so of this, the worst are sent us, and we had few that we could boast of, since the persecution in Cromwell's tyranny drove divers worthy men hither. But, I thank God, there are no free schools, nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects, into the world, and printing has divulged them and libels against the best government."

Notwithstanding this splenitive declaration of the aged governor, in 1675 Henry Peasley bequeathed six hundred acres in Abingdon parish, Gloucester county, "together with ten cows and one breeding mare, for the maintenance of a free school forever, to be kept with a schoolmaster for the education of the children of the parishes of Abingdon and Ware."

About the period of the accession of William and Mary, a new element in the emigration to Virginia appeared. They were men of angular manners and brawny frames, but also of educated minds and warm hearts. They had been nurtured in a land which for more than a hundred years had enacted in solemn assembly that there should be a school in every parish, for the instruction of youth in grammar, the Latin language, and the principles of religion; and at a later period that the school should be so far supported by the public funds as to render education accessible to even the poorest in the community. Macaulay, in his History of England, referring to the school law of Scotland, says the effect of its passage was immediately felt: "Before one generation passed away it began to be evident that the common people of Scotland were superior in intelligence to the common people of any other country in Europe. To whatever land the Scotchman might wander, to whatever calling he might betake himself, in America or India, in trade or in war, by the advantage which he derived from his early training, he was raised above his competitors."

When these men, bearing the names of Gordon, Monro, Inglis, Irvine, Blair, Porteus, the ancestor of a bishop of the church of England, came to Virginia, there was a stirring of life in communities long torpid. They felt that they had no home unless they had a school-house near, and began anew to agitate the subject of establishing the free school and college. The leader of the movement was the Rev. James Blair, a graduate of the University of Edinburgh in 1673, and gifted with the "*fervidam vim Scotorum*." His projects met with opposition, but he

was canny and did not shrink from a good fight; and, after controversy with Sir Edmund Andros, of Connecticut fame, and with the assembly of Virginia, and his brethren of the church, toward the close of the century succeeded in establishing the College of William and Mary, of which, in a sketch of education during the eighteenth century, it is proposed to give a full history. The preamble to the statutes of William and Mary College, published at an early period both in Latin and English, fully states the influences that led to the organization of the institution, with a portion of which we conclude this historical sketch:

"Nowhere was there any greater danger on account of ignorance and want of instruction than in the English colonies of America, in which the first planters had much to do in a country overrun with weeds and briars, and for many years infested with the incursions of the barbarous Indians, to earn a mean livelihood with hard labor. There were no schools to be found in those days, nor any opportunity for good education.

"Some few, and a very few indeed, of the richer sort, sent their children to England to be educated, and there, after many dangers from the seas and enemies, and unusual distempers occasioned by the change of country and climate, they were often taken off by small-pox and other diseases. It was no wonder if this occasioned a great defect of understanding and all sort of literature, and that it was followed with a new generation of men far short of their forefathers, which, if they had the good fortune, though at a very indifferent rate, to read and write, had no further commerce with the muses or learned sciences, but spent their life ignobly with the hoe and spade, and other employments of an uncultivated and unpolished country. There remained still, notwithstanding, a small remnant of men of better spirit, who had the benefit of better education themselves in their mother country, or at least had heard of it from others. These men's private conferences among themselves produced at last a scheme of a free school and college," which was exhibited to the president and council in 1690, a little before the arrival of Lieutenant Governor Nicholson, and the next year to the assembly, when Blair was sent to England to collect funds for the college.

JAMES BLAIR, D.D.

JAMES BLAIR, D.D., named in the charter the first President of William and Mary College, and entitled, by his judicious and persistent efforts in securing the same, together with the means by which the institution was put in operation, to be called its founder, was born in Scotland in 1656, and educated at Edinburgh University, where he graduated in 1678. After officiating as clergyman in an Episcopal church in Scotland for several years, he was selected by Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, in 1695, for missionary work in Virginia; and here he gave such satisfaction for his efficient and judicious course as to be commissioned as his Commissary in that colony in 1699. In his new and difficult field he soon felt the need of intelligent laymen, as well as of pious clergymen born and educated in the country, and at once set about the establishment of a seminary for this purpose. In this work he was aided by Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson, who arrived from New York in 1690 [Lord Effingham being absent from ill health], who headed a subscription, which reached £2,500. The Assembly which met in 1691 commended the enterprise in an address to their majesties William and Mary, and deputed the Commissary, Mr. Blair, to present the same. The charter was granted February 14, 1793, with a gift of £2,000, besides an endowment of 20,000 acres of land, the patronage of the office of Surveyor General, and the revenue arising from a duty of one penny a pound on all tobacco exported from Virginia and Maryland to other plantations. The Bishop of London was named the first Chancellor, and Rev. James Blair the first President, and the college was allowed to return a member to the Assembly. Mr. Blair also obtained several individual subscriptions, the largest from the Hon. Robert Boyle, for the endowment of a Professorship devoted to the conversion of the Indians, called the Brafferton Foundation,* from an estate in England in which the subscription was invested. When the first edifice erected in 1693, was destroyed by fire in 1705, President Blair at once set about raising the means to rebuild, which was done within a year, Queen Anne contributing liberally for this object. He was also successful in an application to the Assembly for an endowment for poor scholars; the £1,000 thus granted was invested in the Nottoway estate, the income of which was applied to certain scholarships down to 1777.

In 1732 Dr. Blair published four octavo volumes made up of discourses delivered on different texts selected from Our Saviour's Sermon on the Mount, which were republished in 1733, and had a high reputation for a century after his death.

As Commissary, Dr. Blair was member of the Council, or Upper House of Assembly for fifty years, and rector of the parish of Middle Plantations, or Williamsburg. He died August 1, 1743, in the 88th year of his age, and 64th of his ministry, leaving his library (of over one thousand volumes) to the college.

* Mr. Boyle died before his subscription was made, but the trustees to whom he left the bulk of his estate for the advancement of the Christian religion invested £25,000 in the Brafferton estate, and gave £45 of the income to the support of two missionaries to the Indians in Maryland, £45 to Harvard College, and the remainder to William and Mary College, on condition of their supporting one Indian scholar for every £14 received.

CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL PROVISIONS RESPECTING SCHOOLS.

MASSACHUSETTS.

THE State of Massachusetts is composed of the original Colony of Plymouth, founded by a small body of English Puritans or Independents who first took refuge in Holland in 1608, and made their first permanent settlement at Plymouth, December 22, 1620, and the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. The latter was begun in 1628, under a grant of lands from the Plymouth Company, by individuals who were incorporated in 1629 by Charles I, as the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay and New England. Under this grant and charter, settlement was made at Salem in 1628, and Charlestown and Boston in 1630. The two colonies were united under the Provincial Charter granted by William and Mary, in October, 1691, and the government organized in June, 1692, as the Province of Massachusetts.

The documents of the Company under which the Colony of Plymouth was settled, the articles of agreement formed by the first company of settlers on the deck of the Mayflower, and the Provincial Charter of Massachusetts, contain no notice of schools or the education of children. The first public movement in this direction was inspired by the necessities of the educated families who gave character and form to the infant settlements. The fathers, educated in the endowed grammar or free schools and universities of England, made early and earnest efforts to provide similar opportunities for their own children, in advance of any colonial or even any town action on the subject.

In 1636, six-years after the first settlement of Boston, the General Court of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, which met in Boston on the 8th of September, passed an act appropriating £400 toward the establishment of a college. The sum thus appropriated was more than the whole tax levied on the colony at that time in a single year, and the population scattered through ten or twelve villages did not exceed five thousand persons.

In 1638 John Harvard left by will the sum of £779 in money, and a library of over three hundred books. In 1640, the General Court granted to the college the income of the Charlestown ferry; and in 1642, the Governor, with the magistrates and teachers and

In June (14th), 1642, we find in the Records of Massachusetts Bay the following Order:

This Court, taking into consideration the great neglect of many parents and masters in training up their children in learning, and labor, and other employments which may be profitable to the Commonwealth, do hereupon order and decree that in every town the chosen men appointed for managing the prudential affairs of the same, shall henceforth stand charged with the care of the redress of this evil, so as they shall be sufficiently punished by fines for the neglect thereof, upon presentment of the grand jury or other information or complaint in any Court within this jurisdiction; and for this end, they, or the greater number of them, shall have power to take account from time to time of all parents and masters, and of their children, concerning their calling, and employment of their children, especially of their ability to read and understand the principles of religion and capital laws of this county, and to impose fines upon such as shall refuse to render such account to them when they shall be required, and they shall have power, with consent of any Court or the magistrate, to put forth apprentices the children of such as they shall find not to be able and fit to employ and bring them up.

The following order is found under date of November 11, 1647:

It being one chiefe project of y^eould deluder, Sathan, to keepe men from the knowledge of y^e Scriptures, as in form^r times by keeping y^m in an unknown tongue, so in these latt^r times by perswading from y^e use of tongues y^t so at least y^e true sence and meaning of y^e original might be clouded by false glosses of saint seeming deceivers, y^t learning may not be buried in y^e grave of o^r fath^r in y^e church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting o^r endeavor^s.

It is therefore ord^red, y^t ev^ry township in this jurisdiction, aft^r y^e Lord hath increased y^m to y^e number of 50 household^r, shall then forthwth appoint one wth in their towne to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and reade, whose wages shall be paid eith^r by y^e parents or mast^rs of such children, or by y^e inhabitants in gen^l, by way of supply, as y^e major p^t of those y^t ord^r y^e prudentials of y^e towne shall appoint; provided, those y^t send their children be not oppressed by paying much more y^e they can have y^m taught for in oth^r townes; and it is furth^r ordered, y^t where any towne shall increase to y^e numb^r of 100 families or household^r they shall set up a gramer schoole, y^e master thereof being able to instruct youth so farr as they may be fited for y^e university; provided, y^t if any towne neglect y^e performance hereof above one yeare, y^t every such towne shall pay 5^l to y^e next schoole till they shall performe this order.

At the May session, 1654, the following law was passed in addition to the foregoing, and in the digest of 1658 is annexed to it as the 3d section.

Forasmuch as it greatly concerns the welfare of this country that the youth thereof be educated not only in good literature but in sound doctrine:

This Court doth therefore commend it to the serious consideration and special care of our overseers of the college, and the selectmen in the several towns not to admit or suffer any such to be continued in the office or place of teaching, educating, or instructing youth or children in the college or schools 'that have manifested themselves unsound in the faith, or scandalous in their lives, and have not given satisfaction according to the rules of Christ.'

At the October session, 1683, the following was enacted:—

'As an addition to the law, title schools, this Court doth order and enact, That every town consisting of more than five hundred families or householders shall set up and maintain two grammar schools and two writing schools, the masters whereof shall be fit and able to instruct youth as said law directs; and whereas the said law makes the penalty for such towns as provide not schools as the law directs, to pay to the next school ten pounds, this Court hereby enacts that the penalty shall be twenty pounds where there are two hundred families or householders.'

The earliest notice in schools in the records of the Colony of New Plymouth, is under date of 1683, as follows:

'It is proposed by the Court unto the several townships of this jurisdiction, as a thing that they ought to take into their serious consideration, that some course may be taken that in every town there may be a schoolmaster set up to train up children to reading and writing.'

At a General Court held March 4, 1670, a grant was made of 'all such profits as might or should annually accrew or grow dew to this collonie from time to time, for fishing with nets or saines att Cape Cod for mackerell, basse, or herrings, to be employed and improved for and towards a *free school* in some town in this jurisdiction, for the training up of youth in litrature, for the good and benefit of posteritie, provided a beginning were made within one year;' and committed the 'ordering and managing of said affaire to the Governor and assistants, or any four of them.' In 1667, at the General Court held at Plymouth, the following order was passed:

Forasmuch as the maintainance of good literature doth much tend to the advancement of the weal and flourishing estate of societies and republicks,

This Court doth therefore order: That in whatsoever township in this government, consisting of fifty families or upwards, any meet man shall be obtained to teach a Grammar School, such township shall allow at least twelve pounds in current merchantable pay to be raised by rate on all the inhabitants of such town; and those that have the more immediate benefit thereof, by their children's going to school, with what others may voluntarily give to promote so good a work and general good, shall make up the residue necessary to maintain the same; and the profits arising of the Cape Cod fishing, heretofore ordered to maintain a Grammar School in this colony, be distributed to such towns as have such Grammar Schools, for the maintainance thereof, not exceeding five pounds per annum to any such town, unless the Court Treasurer, or other appointed to manage that affair, see good cause to add thereunto to any respective town, not exceeding five pounds more per annum. And further this Court orders: That every such town as consists of seventy families or upwards, and hath not a Grammar School therein, shall allow and pay unto the next town, which hath such Grammar School kept up amongst them, the sum of five pounds per annum in current merchantable pay, to be levied on the inhabitants of such defective towns by rate, and gathered and delivered by the constables of such towns, as by warrant from any magistrate of this jurisdiction shall be required.

The provincial charter granted by William and Mary in October, 1691, which united the two colonies of New Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, went into effect by the organization of the government in June, 1692. The first business of the legislature was the re-enactment of the principal colonial laws in a revised and amended form, to suit the altered circumstances of the time. Among the earliest acts, was one for the 'Settlement and Support of Ministers and Schoolmasters.' The *third* section of the act read as follows:

'*And be it further enacted, &c.* That every town within this province, having the number of fifty householders or upwards, shall be constantly provided of a schoolmaster to teach children and youth to read and write. And where any town or towns have the number of one hundred families or householders, there shall also be a grammar school set up in every such town, and some discreet person of good conversation, well instructed in the tongues, procured to keep such school. Every such schoolmaster to be suitably encouraged and paid by the inhabitants.'

'And the selectmen and inhabitants of such towns respectively, shall take effectual care, and make due provision, for the settlement and maintenance of such schoolmaster and masters.'

'And if any town qualified as before expressed, shall neglect the due observance of this act, for the procuring and settling of any such schoolmaster as

aforesaid, by the space of one year; every such defective town shall incur the penalty of *ten pounds*, for every conviction of such neglect, upon complaint made unto their Majesties Justices in Quarter Sessions for the same county in which such defective town lieth; which penalty shall be towards the support of such school or schools within the same county, where there may be the most need, at the discretion of the Justices in Quarter Sessions; to be levied by warrant from the said court of sessions, in proportion upon the inhabitants of such defective town, as other public charges, and to be paid unto the county treasurer.'

In 1701 an act was passed, which, after setting forth the previous act in a preamble, and saying 'That the observance of which wholesome and necessary law is *shamefully neglected* by divers towns, and the penalty thereof not required, tending greatly to the nourishment of ignorance and irreligion, whereof grievous complaint is made. For the redress of the same' declared 'That the penalty or forfeiture for the non-observance of the said law shall henceforth be twenty pounds per annum.' The following new provisions were added:

1st. That '*every grammar schoolmaster be approved by the minister of the town and the ministers of the two next adjacent towns, or any two of them, by certificate under their hands.*'

2d. 'That no minister of any town shall be deemed, held or accepted to be the schoolmaster of such town within the intent of law.'

3d. 'And the justices of the peace in each respective county are hereby directed to take effectual care that the laws respecting schools and schoolmasters be duly observed and put in execution. And all grand jurors within their respective counties, shall diligently inquire and make presentment of all breaches and neglect of the said laws, so that due prosecution may be made against the offenders.'

In 1768, an act relating to schools was passed, which authorized the division of the towns into school districts.

'Whereas it may happen that when towns and districts consist of several precincts, some of such precincts may be disposed to expend more for the instruction of children and youth in useful learning, within their own bounds, than as parts of such towns or districts they are by law held to do; and no provision has hitherto been made to enable precincts to raise money for that purpose. And whereas the encouragement of learning tends to the promotion of religion and good morals, and the establishment of liberty, civil and religious:'

Be it therefore enacted, &c. That when and so often as the major part of the inhabitants of any precinct, at their annual meeting legally warned, shall agree on the building, finishing or repairing any school-house, or the defraying any other charge for the support of schools and schoolmasters, and shall also agree on any sum or sums of money for such purpose or purposes, the assessors of such precinct are hereby empowered and required to assess the same on the polls and estates within the said precinct, and all such rates and assessments shall be paid to the constable or collector, to whom the same shall be committed, with a warrant from said assessors, in form as by law is prescribed for collecting town assessments.'

To prevent misconception it may be proper to state that the term *district* used in the foregoing preamble, was the legal designation of an incorporated community, precisely similar to a town in respect to territory, and to all rights, duties, privileges, and powers, except of being represented in the general court.

The term *precinct* was used to denote a settlement in a township, remote from the centre, and for that reason clothed by the general court with the power of selecting a minister and supporting public worship by taxation, in the same manner that the town might do. In a word, a *precinct* was a *parish*, or, more properly, an incipient *town*, having power in ecclesiastical matters only. To this power was now added that of supporting schools. Many existing towns have been created out of these ancient *precincts*.

MASSACHUSETTS DOCTRINE OF FREE SCHOOLS.

In 1647, when a few scattered and feeble settlements, almost buried in the depths of the forest, were all that constituted the Colony of Massachusetts; when the entire population consisted of twenty-one thousand souls; when the external means of the people were small, their dwellings humble, and their raiment and subsistence scanty and homely; when the whole valuation of all the colonial estates, both public and private, would hardly equal the inventory of many a private individual at the present day; when the fierce eye of the savage was nightly seen glaring from the edge of the surrounding wilderness, and no defense or succor was at hand; it was then, amid all these privations and dangers, that the Pilgrim Fathers conceived the magnificent idea of a Free* and Universal Education for the People; and, amid all their poverty, they stinted themselves to a still scantier pittance; amid all their toils they imposed upon themselves still more burdensome labors; amid all their perils they braved still greater dangers, that they might find the time and the means to reduce their grand conception to practice. Two divine ideas filled their great hearts—their duty to God and to posterity. For the one they built the church; for the other they opened the school. Religion and Knowledge!—two attributes of the same glorious and eternal truth—and that truth the only one on which immortal or mortal happiness can be securely founded.

As an innovation upon all preëxisting policy and usages, the establishment of Free Schools was the boldest ever promulgated since the commencement of the Christian era. As a theory, it could have been refuted and silenced by a more formidable array of argument and experience than was ever marshaled against any other opinion of human origin. But time has ratified its soundness. Two centuries now proclaim it to be as wise as it was courageous, as beneficent as it was disinterested. It was one of those grand mental and moral experiments whose effects can not be determined in a single generation. But now, according to the manner in which human life is computed, we are the sixth generation from its founders, and have we not reason to be grateful both to God and man for its unnumbered blessings? The sincerity of our gratitude must be tested by our efforts to perpetuate and improve what they established. The gratitude of the lips only is an unholy offering.

HORACE MANN. *Tenth Report of the Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education.*

* Was the Public School of Massachusetts at first free? Was Massachusetts the first to establish such a system as is ordained in the law of 1647?—*Ed. of Amer. Jour. of Education.*

MASSACHUSETTS DOCTRINE OF FREE SCHOOLS.

The three following propositions describe the broad and ever-during foundation on which the Common School system of Massachusetts reposes:

The successive generations of men, taken collectively, constitute one great Commonwealth.

The property of this Commonwealth is pledged for the education of all its youth up to such a point as will save them from poverty and vice, and prepare them for the adequate performance of their social and civil duties.

The successive holders of this property are trustees, bound to the faithful execution of their trust by the most sacred obligations; because embezzlement and pillage from children and descendants are as criminal as the same offenses when perpetrated against contemporaries.

Recognizing these eternal principles of natural ethics, the Constitution of Massachusetts—the fundamental law of the State—after declaring, (among other things,) in the preamble to the first section of the fifth chapter, that “the encouragement of arts and sciences and all good literature tends to the honor of God, the advantage of the Christian religion, and the great benefit of this and the other United States of America,” proceeds, in the second section of the same chapter, to set forth the duties of all future Legislators and Magistrates, in the following noble and impressive language:—

“Wisdom and knowledge, as well as virtue, diffused general among the body of the people, being necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties; and as these depend on spreading the opportunities and advantages of education in the various parts of the country, and among the different orders of the people, it shall be the duty of legislators and magistrates, in all future periods of this Commonwealth, to cherish the interests of literature and the sciences, and all seminaries of them; especially the University of Cambridge, public schools, and grammar schools in the towns; to encourage private societies and public institutions, rewards and immunities, for the promotion of agriculture, arts, sciences, commerce, trades, manufactures, and a natural history of the country; to countenance and inculcate the principles of humanity and general benevolence, public and private charity, industry and frugality, honesty and punctuality in their dealings; sincerity, good humor, and all social affections and generous sentiments among the people.”

HORACE MANN. *Tenth Report of the Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education.*

THE BOSTON LATIN GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

THE FREE, LATIN, OR LATIN GRAMMAR, SCHOOL of Boston, is one of the few historical schools in this country, its foundation having been laid either in a vote of the "townsmen" of Boston on the thirteenth day of April, 1635,* "entreating Mr. Philemon Permont to become schoolmaster for the teaching and nurturing of children," or in the subscription started "at a general meeting of the richer inhabitants," on "the 22d of the sixth month (Aug.) 1636," at which about 50*l.* "was given toward the maintenance of a free schoolmaster for the youth with us—Mr. Daniel Maud being now also chosen thereunto." In either case the school was in all probability what was then known as a Grammar School. Both Mr. Permont and Mr. Maud were men of education, as their subsequent connection with the ministry indicates, and it is not impossible that there was but one school, which was designated a *free* or *endowed* school, and that Mr. Maud was the first teacher, for the records are entirely silent as to Mr. Permont's yielding to the "entreaties of his fellow-townsmen;" and the early records of New Hampshire testify to his presence and labors as a clergyman in the settlements on the Piscataqua only a few years subsequent to the urgent call before-mentioned—an early example of the too common practice of men of the right education to become pastors, giving up the feeding of the lambs, for the less onerous charge of attending the full-grown sheep, whose fleeces probably pay better than the frolicsome and mischievous pranks of the younger portion of the flock.

Whatever may be the date of its establishment, or whoever may have been its first teacher, the first "Free Schoole," or "Grammar School," or "Latin Grammar School," of Boston, was the lineal descendant of the old Free Schoole or Grammar School, or Latin

* This was not the earliest movement in this country towards the establishment of a school—even a free school—Rev. Mr. Copeland having raised by subscription a larger sum than was raised in Boston, to establish a *Free School* in Charles City, in Virginia, as early as 1621; and among the officials of the Dutch West India Company, at Manhattan, in 1633, was Adam Roelaudsen, "the schoolmaster," and the school which he taught, it is claimed by the Historians of New York, is still in existence in connection with the Dutch Reformed Church.

Grammar Schools in England—the connecting link between the public schools (in the original use of the term) of old and New England—the hearth stones of classical learning in both countries.

In 1635, the General Court of Massachusetts granted several tracts of land, together with several Islands in the Bay, to the town of Boston; and in 1637, a grant of thirty acres of land at Muddy Brook, before assigned by them to Mr. Purment, was confirmed. In 1641, 'It's ordered that Deare Island shall be improved for the maintenance of a Free schoole for the Towne, and such other occasions as the Townsmen for the time being shall thinke meet, the sayd schoole being sufficiently provided for.' Capt. Edward Gibbon was soon after intrusted with the care and use of the island, 'until the towne doe let the same.' Accordingly, in 1644, it was let for three years, at the rate of seven pounds per annum, expressly for the use of the school. In 1647, at the expiration of this lease, it was again let for seven years, and the rent was now 'fourteen pounds per annum for the Scoles's use in provision and clothing.' This lease was extended in 1648 to twenty-one years, at the same rate of rent. The next year, Long Island and Spectacle Island were placed on similar footing, and the Selectmen were to take order that they be leased, paying a yearly rent on every acre, rated afterward at sixpence, for the use of the School.

It was the policy of Boston, as well as of all the towns which established a *free school*, [in the English sense as we apprehend] to endow the same by lands rented on long leases, by bequests, and donations, after the English manner. Thus in 1649, Wm. Phillips 'agreed to give 13s. 4d per ann. forever to the use of the Schoole for the land that Christopher Stanley gave in his will to the Schoole's use.' Forty shillings per annum for the same use were secured by lease of 500 acres of land at Braintree, and several other sums on different lands belonging to the Town, at about the same date. In 1654, 'It is ordered, that the ten pounds left by legacy to y^e schoole of Boston by mis Hudson deceased, shall be lett to Capt. James Olliver for sixteen shillings per ann. so long as hee pleases to improve itt,' &c. Orders were also taken for collecting rents on 'Deare Island, Long Island, and Spectacle Island due to the use of y^e Schoole,' and the renters were required to appear yearly and transact this concern. The first named Island was leased in 1662 to Sir Thos. Temple, knight and 'Barronight,' as the scribe of the day quaintly spells it, for 31 years, at £14 per annum, 'to be paid yearly every first day of March to the Towne Treasurer for the use of the free schoole.'

In 1650, the Record adds: 'It is alsoe agreed on that Mr. Woodmansey y^e schoolmaster shall have fiftye pounds p. an. for his teaching y^e schollers and his p'portion to be made up by ratte.' This gentleman is further named in 1652 on occasion of a sale of land by the town, with reservation to the inhabitants of a right to 'inlarge the skoolhouse;' and it appears that the house in which he lived was the town's property, and situated near the place of his professional employment, with only one lot between, which belonged to the School-house. The rent of this lot was subsequently assigned to him, and by the record of the transaction he is named Robert.

The affairs of the Free School of Boston continued to proceed in their usual train, until 1666, when the town 'agreed with Mr. Dannell Hincheman for 40£ per Ann. to assist Mr. Woodmansey in the grammar Schoole and teach childrē to wright, the yeare to begine the 1th of March ^{a.d.}' Soon after this it is recorded that Mr. Jones was sent for by the Selectmen 'for keeping a schoole,' and 'required to performe his promise to the Towne in the winter to remove himselfe and familie in the springe, and forbiden to keep schoole any longer.' He had, apparently, instructed a private school without leave.

In 1667, Mr. Benjamin Thompson was 'made choice of by the select men for to officiate in the place of the schoolemaster for one yeare, Mr. Hull being appointed to agree, for tearmes, what to allow him per annū.' Mr. Woodmansey appears to have died about this period; for in December, 1669, it is recorded as follows: 'Ordered Mr. Raynsford to give notice to Mrs. Woodmansey that the towne occasions need the use of the schoole house, and to desire her to provide otherwise for her selfe.' A considerate and respectful care of her convenience and comfort, however, was taken by the fathers of the town; for, in less than three months after this warning, 'upon the request of Mrs. Margaret Woodmansey widdowe—to provide her a house to live in, if she removeth from the schoole house: It was granted to allow her eight pounds per an. for that end, dureinge her widdowhood.'

Ezekiel Cheever, who succeeded Mr. Woodmansey, was born in London, January 25, 1614, and educated at St. Paul's School; commenced his career as a schoolmaster in New Haven in 1638, removed to Ipswich, Mass., in 1650, and to Charlestown in 1661, teaching the Free or Grammar School in each place until Jan. 6th, 1670, when he removed to Boston, when the Governor delivered to him the key and possession of the Free School and the school-house, with an allowance of sixty pounds for his services.

Some light is thrown on the internal economy of the school under Mr. Cheever's charge, of the age at which pupils were admitted, the motives to study and good behavior appealed to, the punishments inflicted, as well as on the importance attached to religious training in the family and the school at that day, in the biographies of several of his pupils who became eminent in after life.

The Autobiography of the Rev. John Barnard, of Marblehead, drawn up by him, in 1766, in the 85th year of his age, at the request of the Rev. Dr. Stiles, of Yale College, and printed for the first time in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society—Third series, Vol. V., p. 177 to 243, contains a sketch of his school experience under Mr. Cheever's tuition, and glimpses of the family and college training of that early day. In the extracts which follow, the chasms are found in the mutilated manuscript, and the words printed in *Italics* are inserted from conjecture by the Publishing Committee of the Society.

"I was born at Boston, 6th November 1681; descended from reputable parents, viz. John and Esther Barnard, remarkable for their piety and benevolence, who devoted me to the service of God, in the work of the ministry from my very birth; and accordingly took special care to instruct me themselves in the principles of the Christian religion, and kept me close at school to furnish my young mind with the knowledge of letters. By that time I had a little passed my sixth year, I had left my reading-school, in the latter part of which my mistress made me a sort of usher, appointing me to † teach some children that were older than myself, as well as smaller ones; and in which time I had read my Bible through thrice. My parents thought me to be weakly, because of my thin habit and pale countenance, and therefore sent me into the country, where I spent my seventh summer, and by the change of air and diet and exercise I grew more fleshy and hardy; and that I might not lose my reading, was put to a school-mistress, and returned home in the fall.

In the spring 1689, of my eighth year I was sent to the grammar-school,

* Of the author of this autobiography, the Rev. Dr. Chauncey, of Boston, in a letter to Dr. Stiles, dated May 6, 1768, says: "He is now in his eighty-seventh year. I esteem him one of our greatest men. He is equalled by few in regard either of invention, liveliness of imagination, or strength and clearness in reasoning." On the burning of the Library of Harvard College, in 1784, he presented many books from his own library, and imported others from England to the value of ten pounds sterling; and, in his will, bequeathed two hundred pounds to the same institution. He died January 24, 1770, in the eighty-ninth year of his age. "Of his charities," he remarks, in his autobiography, "I always thought the tenth of my income due to our great Melchisedeck. My private ones are known unto God; but, there is one way of service I venture to tell you of; I have generally kept two boys of poor parents at school, and, by this means, have been instrumental in bringing up, from unlikely families, such as have made good men, and valuable members of the Commonwealth."

† It appears from this statement that this unnamed school-mistress adopted the monitorial system a century and more before Bell, or Lancaster, or their respective adherents convulsed the educational world of England by their claims to its authorship. She applied the principle of mutual instruction which is as old as the human family, and which has been tried to some extent, in all probability, in the instruction and discipline of many schools in every age of the world. Certain it is, that the system, with much of the modern machinery of monitors, was adopted by Trotzendorf, in Germany, in the sixteenth century, and by Paulet in France, many years before these two champions of an economical system of popular education, by means of one head master, with boys and girls for assistants, in a school of many hundred children, ever set up their model schools in Madras or London.

under the tuition of the aged, venerable, and justly famous Mr. Ezekiel Cheever. But after a few weeks, an odd accident drove me from the school. There was an older lad entered the school the same week with me; we strove who should outdo; and he beat me by the help of a brother in the upper class, who stood behind master with the accidence open for him to read out off; by which means he could recite his * * * three and four times in a forenoon, *and the same in the afternoon*; but I who had no such *help, and was* obliged to commit all to memory, could not keep pace with him; so that he would be always one lesson before me. My ambition could not bear to be outdone, and in such a fraudulent manner, and therefore I left the school. About this time arrived a dissenting minister from England, who opened a private school for reading, writing, and Latin. My good father put me under his tuition, with whom I spent a year and a half. The gentleman receiving *but little encouragement*, threw up his school, and returned me to my father, and again I was sent to my aged Mr. Cheever, who placed me in the lowest class; but finding I soon read through my * * *, in a few weeks he advanced me to the * * *, and the next year made me the head of it.

In the time of my absence from Mr. Cheever, it pleased God to take to himself my dear mother, *who was* not only a very virtuous, but a very intelligent woman. *She was* exceeding fond of my learning, and taught me to pray. My good father also instructed me, and made a little closet for me to retire to for my morning and evening devotion. But, alas! how childish and hypocritical were all my pretensions to piety, there being little or no serious thoughts of God and religion in me. * * *

Though my master advanced me, as above, yet I was a very naughty boy, much given to play, inasmuch that he at length openly declared, "You Barnard, I know you can do well enough if you will; but you are so full of play that you hinder your classmates from getting their lessons; and therefore, if any of them cannot perform their duty, I shall correct you for it." One unlucky day, one of my classmates did not look into his book, and therefore could not say his lesson, though I called upon him once and again to mind his book: upon which our master beat me, I told master the reason why he could not say his lesson was, his declaring he would beat me if any of the class were wanting in their duty; since which this boy would not look into his book, though I called upon him to mind his book, as the class could witness. The boy was pleased with my being corrected, and persisted in his neglect, for which I was still corrected, and that for several days. I thought, in justice, I ought to correct the boy, and compel him to a better temper; and therefore, after school was done, I went up to him, and told him I had been beaten several times for his neglect; and since master would not correct him I would, and I should do so as often as I was corrected for him; and then drubbed him heartily. The boy never came to school any more, and so that unhappy affair ended.

Though I was often beaten for my play, and my little roguish tricks, yet I don't remember that I was ever beaten for my book more than once or twice. One of these was upon this occasion. Master put our class upon turning *Æsop's Fables* into Latin verse. Some dull fellows made a shift to perform this to acceptance; but I was so much duller at this exercise, that I could make nothing of it; for which master corrected me, and this he did two or three days going. I had honestly tried my possibles to perform the task; but having no poetical fancy, nor then a capacity opened of expressing the same idea by a variation of phrases, though I was perfectly acquainted with prosody, I found I could do nothing; and therefore plainly told my master, that I had diligently labored all I could to perform what he required, and perceiving I had no genius for it, I thought it was in vain to strive against nature any longer; and he never more required it of me. Nor had I any thing of a poetical genius till after I had been at College some time, when upon reading some of Mr. Cowley's works, I was highly pleased, and a new scene opened before me.

I remember once, in making a piece of Latin, my master found fault with the syntax of one word, which was not so used by me heedlessly, but designedly, and therefore I told him there was a plain grammar rule for it. He angrily replied, there was no such rule. I took the grammar and showed the rule to him. Then he smilingly said, "Thou art a brave boy; I had forgot it." And no wonder; for he was then above eighty years old.

We continue these extracts beyond the passages which relate to Mr. Barnard's experience in Mr. Cheever's school, because they throw light on college life at that time.

"From the grammar school I was admitted into the college, in Cambridge, in New England, in July, 1696, under the Presidentship of the very reverend and excellent Dr. Increase Mather, (who gave me for a thesis, *Habenti dabitur*,) and the tutorage of those two great men, Mr. John Leverett, (afterwards President,) and Mr. William Brattle, (afterwards the worthy minister of Cambridge.) Mr. Leverett became my special tutor for about a year and a half, to whom succeeded Mr. Jabez Fitch, (afterwards the minister of Ipswich with Mr. John Rogers, who, at the invitation of the church in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, removed to them.) Upon my entering into college, I became chamber-mate, the first year, to a senior and a junior sophister; which might have been greatly to my advantage, had they been of a studious disposition, and made any considerable progress in literature. But, alas! they were an idle pack, who knew but little, and took no pains to increase their knowledge. When therefore, according to my disposition, which was ambitious to excel, I applied myself close to books, and began to look forward into the next year's exercises, this unhappy pair greatly discouraged me, and beat me off from my studies, so that by their persuasions I foolishly threw by my books, and soon became as idle as they were. Oh! how baneful is it to be linked with bad company! and what a vile heart had I to hearken to their wretched persuasions! I never, after this, recovered a good studious disposition, while I was at college. Having a ready, quick memory, which rendered the common exercises of the college easy to me, and being an active youth, I was hurried almost continually into one diversion or another, and gave myself to no particular studies, and therefore made no great proficiency in any part of solid learning.

In July, 1700, I took my first degree, Dr. Increase Mather being President; after which I returned to my honored father's house, where I betook myself to close studying, and humbling myself before God with fasting and prayer, imploring the pardon of all my sins, through the mediation of Christ; begging the divine Spirit to sanctify me throughout, in spirit, soul, and body, and fit me for, and use me in the service of the sanctuary, and direct and bless all my studies to that end. I joined to the North Church in Boston, under the pastoral care of the two Mathers. Some time in November, 1702, I was visited with a fever and sore throat, but through the mercy of God to a poor sinful creature, in a few days I recovered a good state of health; and from that time to this, November, 1766, I have never had any sickness that has confined me to my bed.

While I continued at my good father's I prosecuted my studies; and looked something into the mathematics, though I gained but little; our advantages therefore being noways equal to what they have, who now have the great Sir Isaac Newton, and Dr. Halley, and some other mathematicians, for their guides. About this time I made a visit to the college, as I generally did once or twice a year, where I remember the conversation turning upon the mathematics, one of the company, who was a considerable proficient in them, observing my ignorance, said to me he would give me a question, which if I answered in a month's close application, he should account me an apt scholar. He gave me the question. I, who was ashamed of the reproach cast upon me, set myself hard to work, and in a fortnight's time returned him a solution of the question, both by trigonometry and geometry, with a canon by which to resolve all questions of the like nature. When I showed it to him, he was surprised, said it was right, and owned he knew no way of resolving it but by algebra, which I was an utterly stranger to. I also gave myself to the study of the Biblical Hebrew, turned the Lord's prayer, the creed, and part of the Assembly's Catechism into Hebrew, (for which I had Dr. Cotton Mather for my corrector,) and entered on the task of finding the radix of every Hebrew word in the Bible, with designs to form a Hebrew Concordance; but when I had proceeded through a few chapters in Genesis, I found the work was done to my hand by one of the Buxtons. So I laid it by.

About two months before I took my second degree, the reverend and deservedly famous Mr. Samuel Willard, then Vice-President, called upon me, (though I lived in Boston,) to give a common-place in the college hall; which I did, the

latter end of June, from 2. Peter, i. 20, 21, endeavoring to prove the divine inspiration and authority of the holy Scriptures. When I had concluded, the President was so good as to say openly in the hall, '*Bene fecisti, Barnarde, et gratias ago tibi.*' Under him I took my second degree in July, 1703."

In Turrell's "Life and Character of Rev. Benjamin Colman, D. D., late pastor of a church in Boston, New England, who deceased August 29, 1747," and published in 1749, there is the following sketch of the school life of this eminent divine.

"He was of a tender constitution from his birth, and very backward in his *speech and reading* till he arrived to the age of *five years*; when, at once, he grew forward in both, and entered (in 1678) young and small into the *Grammar School* under the tuition of the venerable and learned Mr. *Ezekiel Cheever*. His *sprightly genius* and advances in learning were soon (with pleasure) observed by his *preceptor*, inasmuch, that, in his first and second years, he was several times called upon by him to reprove and shame some *dull boys* of upper forms, when they grossly failed in their catechism and some low exercises. He was fired with a landable ambition of excelling at his book, and a fear of being outdone. By his industry at home, he always kept foremost, or equal to the best of the form at school; and, a great advantage he had (which, at that time, gave him no little pain in the promptness, diligence, and brightness of his intimate companion, *Prout*, who used to spend his hours out of school, generally, in studies with him, the two or three last years of his life; and, their *preceptor* used, openly, to compare their exercises, and, sometimes, declare he knew not which were best, and bid *Colman* take heed, for, the first time he was outdone, *Prout* should have his place. But, alas! a violent fever seized the lovely, shining, ambitious boy, and suddenly carried him to an higher form, to the great grief as well as hurt of *Colman*, who was now left without a rival, and, so without a spur to daily care and labour. However, he followed his studies so well that he was qualified for an admission into *Harvard College* in the year 1688.

His early piety was equal to his learning. His pious Mother (as he records it, to her eternal honour), like *Lemuel's*, travailed in pain through his infancy and childhood for the new birth; and, to her instructions and corrections added her commands and admonitions respecting every thing that was religious and holy; and, in a particular manner, about the duty of praying to God in secret, and, also, caused him and her other children to retire and pray together, and for one another on the Lord's Days at noon.

While a *school-boy* for a course of years, he and some of his companions, by their own proposal to each other, under the encouragement of their parents, and, with the consent of their *preceptor*, used to spend a part of *Saturdays* in the afternoon in prayer together at the house of Mr. *Colman*, which continued until their leaving the school and going to college: *Mather, Baker, Prout, Pool, Townsend* were of this number; and, for the most part, behaved decently and seriously in these early exercises of piety and devotion.

After his admission into college, he grew in piety and learning, and in favor with God and man. He performed all his exercises to good acceptance; many of them had the applauses of his learned tutor, Mr. *John Leverett*. He was much animated to the study of the liberal sciences, and to make the utmost improvement in them from the shining example of the excellent *Pemberton*, who was a year before him in standing. To be next to him seems to bound his ambition until he passed his degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts, which he did in the years 1692 and 95, under the Presidentship of the memorable Dr. *Increase Mather*. When he pronounced the public Oration, on taking his Master's Degree, his thin and slender appearance, his soft and delicate voice, and the red spots in his cheeks, caused the audience in general to conclude him bordering on a consumption, and to be designed but for a few weeks of life.

From the bright but brief career of young *Prout*, and from the "red spots" on the cheeks of the gifted *Colman*, we fear that Mr. *Cheever* did not always temper the undue ardor of his pupils.

EZEKIEL CHEEVER.

Of Mr. Cheever's discipline, we may form some notion from the testimony of his pupils. The following lines from Coote's "English Schoolmaster," a famous manual* of that day in England, may have been the substance of his "school code."

THE SCHOOLMASTER TO HIS SCHOLARS.

"My child and scholar take good heed
unto the words that here are set,
And see thou do accordingly,
or else be sure thou shalt be beat.

First, I command thee God to serve,
then, to thy parents, duty yield;
Unto all men be courteous,
and mannerly, in town and field.

Your cloaths unbuttoned do not use,
let not your hose ungartered be;
Have handkerchief in readiness,
Wash hands and face, or see not me.

Lose not your books, ink-horns, or pens,
nor girdle, garters, hat or band,
Let shoes be tyed, pin shirt-band close,
keep well your hands at any hand.

If broken-hos'd or shoe'd you go,
or slovenly in your array,
Without a girdle, or untrust,
then you and I must have a fray.

If that thou cry, or talk aloud,
or books do rend, or strike with knife
Or laugh, or play unlawfully,
then you and I must be at strife.

If that you curse, miscall, or swear,
If that you pick, flich, steal, or lye;
If you forget a scholar's part,
then must you sure your points untie.

If that to school you do not go,
when time doth call you to the same;
Or, if you loiter in the streets,
when we do meet, then look for blame.

Wherefore, my child, behave thyself,
so decently, in all assayes,
That thou may'st purchase parents love,
and eke obtain thy master's praise."

Although he was doubtless a strict disciplinarian, it is evident, from the affectionate manner in which his pupils, Mather, Barnard, and Colman speak of him, and the traditionary reputation which has descended with his name, that his venerable presence was accompanied by "an agreeable mixture of majesty and sweetness, both in his voice and countenance," and that he secured at once obedience, reverence, and love.

* The following is the title-page of this once famous school-book, printed from a copy of the fortieth edition, presented to the author of this sketch, by George Livermore, Esq., of Cambridge, Mass.

"THE ENGLISH

SCHOOL-MASTER.

Teaching all his Scholars, of what age so ever, the most easy, short, and perfect order of distinct Reading, and true Writing our English-tongue, that hath ever yet been known or published by any.

And further also, teacheth a direct course, how many unskilful person may easily both understand any hard English words, which they shall in Scriptures, Sermons, or else-where hear or read; and also be made able to use the same aptly themselves: and generally whatsoever necessary to be known for the English speech: so that he which hath this book only needeth to buy no other to make him fit from his Letters to the Grammar-School, for an Apprentice, or any other private use, so far as concerneth English: And therefore it is made not only for Children, though the first book be meer childish for them, but also for all other; especially for those that are ignorant in the Latin Tongue.

In the next Page the School-Master hangeth forth his Table to the view of all beholders, setting forth some of the chief Commodities of his profession.

Devised for thy sake that wantest any part of this skill; by Edward Coote, Master of the Free-school in Saint Edmund's-Bury.

Perused and approved by publick Authority; and now the 40 time Impriuted: with certain Copies to write by, at the end of this Book, added.

Printed by A. M. and R. R. for the Company of Stationers, 1660

Of the text-books used by Mr. Cheever,—to what extent the New England Primer had superseded the Royal Primer of Great Britain, —whether James Hodder encountered as sharp a competition as any of the Arithmeticians of this day,—whether Lawrence Eachard, or G. Meriton, gave aid in the study of Geography at that early day, we shall not speak in this place, except of one of which he was author.*

During his residence at New Haven he composed *The Accidence*, "*A short introduction to the Latin Tongue*," which, prior to 1790, had passed through twenty editions, and was for more than a century the hand-book of most of the Latin scholars of New England. We have before us a copy of the 20th edition, with the following title page:

"A SHORT
INTRODUCTION
TO THE
LATIN LANGUAGE:
For the Use of the
Lower Forms in the Latin School.
Being the
ACCIDENCE,

Abridged and compiled in that most easy and accurate Method, wherein the famous Mr. EZEKIEL CHEEVER taught, and which he found the most advantageous, by Seventy Year's Experience.

To which is added,
A CATALOGUE of Irregular Nouns, and Verbs, disposed Alphabetically.
The Twentieth Edition.

SALEM:
Printed and Sold by Samuel Hall, MDCCLXXXV."

This little book embodies Mr. Cheever's method of teaching the rudiments of the Latin language, and was doubtless suggested or abridged from some larger manual used in the schools of London at the time, with alterations suggested by his own scholarly attainments, and his experience as a teacher. It has been much admired by good judges for its clear, logical, and comprehensive exhibition of the first principles and leading inflexions of the language. The Rev. Samuel Bentley, D. D., of Salem, (born 1758, and died 1819), a great antiquarian and collector of school-books, in some "Notes for an Address on Education," after speaking of Mr. Cheever's labors at Ipswich as mainly instrumental in placing that town, "in literature and population, above all the towns of Essex County," remarks:—

"His *Accidence* was the wonder of the age, and though, as his biographer and pupil, Dr. Cotton Mather, observed, it had not excluded the original grammar, it passed through eighteen editions before the Revolution, and had been used as generally as any elementary work ever known. The familiar epistles of this master to his son, minister of Marblehead, are all worthy of the age of Erasmus, and of the days of Ascham.

"Before Mr. Cheever's *Accidence* obtained, Mr. John Brinsley's method had obtained, and this was published in 1611, three years before Cheever was born. It is in question and answer, and was undoubtedly known to Cheever, who has availed himself of the expression, but has most ingeniously reduced it to the form

* Unless some one, with more abundant material in hand, will undertake the task, we shall prepare ere long a Paper on the Early School Books of this country, published prior to 1800, with an approximation, at least, to the number issued since that date.

of his *Accidence*,—134 small 4to pages to 79 small 12mo., with the addition of an excellent Table of Irregular Verbs from the great work of the days of Roger Ascham.*

We have not been able to obtain an earlier edition of this little work than the one above quoted, or to ascertain when, or by whom, it was first printed.† An edition was published so late as 1838, under the title of CHEEVER'S *LATIN ACCIDENCE*, with an announcement on the title-page that it was "used in the schools of this country for more than a hundred and fifty years previous to the close of the last century." This edition is accompanied by letters from several eminent scholars and teachers highly commendatory of its many excellencies, and hopeful of its restoration to its former place in the schools. President Quincy, of Harvard College, says: "It is distinguished for simplicity, comprehensiveness, and exactness; and, as a primer or first elementary book, I do not believe it is exceeded by any other work, in respect to those important qualities." Samuel Walker, an eminent instructor of the Latin language, adds: "The Latin *Accidence*, which was the favorite little book of our youthful days, has probably done more to inspire young minds with the love of the study of the Latin language than any other work of the kind since the first settlement of the country. I have had it in constant use for my pupils, whenever it could be obtained, for more than fifty years, and have found it to be the best book, for beginners in the study of Latin, that has come within my knowledge."

* Mr John Brinsley, author of the *Latin Accidence* referred to, was the author of a little work on *English Grammar*, printed in 1622, with the following title:—

A
CONSOLATION
For Our GRAMMAR
SCHOOLES:

OR,

A faithful and most comfortable incouragement for laying of a sure foundation of a good Learning in our Schooles, and for prosperous building thereupon.

More Specially for all those of the inferior sort, and all ruder countries and places; namely, for Ireland, Wales, Virginia, with the Sommer Islands, and for their more speedie attaining of our English tongue by the same labour, that all may speake one and the same Language. And withall, for the helping of all such

as are desirous speedlie to recover that which they had formerly got in the Grammar Schooles:

and to proceed aright therein, for the perpetuall benefit of these our Nations, and of the Churches of Christ.

LONDON:

Printed by Richard Field for Thomas Man, dwelling in Paternoster Row, at the Sign of the Talcot, 1622; small 4to.

Epistle, dedicatory, and table of contents, pp. 1 c84 and Examiner's Censure, pp. 2

This rare treatise is in the Library of George Brinley, Esq., of Hartford, Conn.

† Since the above paragraph was in type, we have seen four other editions of the *Accidence*, the earliest of which is the seventh, printed in Boston, by B. Edes & S. Gill, for I. Edwards & I. and T. Leverett, in Cornhill, MDCCIV. For an opportunity of consulting these editions an original edition of Dr. Cotton Mather's Funeral Sermon on the occasion of Cheever's death, and several other authorities referred to in this sketch, we are indebted to George Brinley, Esq., of Hartford, who has one of the largest and choicest collection of books and pamphlets, printed in New England, or relating to its affairs, civil and ecclesiastical,—state, town, church, and individual, to be found in the country.

Mr. Cheever was also the author of a small treatise of thirty-two pages, of which, the only copy we have seen [in Harvard University Library] was published forty-nine years after his death, and entitled—

"Scripture Prophecies Explained
IN THREE SHORT
ESSAYS.

- I. *On the Restitution of all things,*
 - II. *On St. John's first Resurrection,*
 - III. *On the personal coming of Jesus Christ,*
- As commencing at the beginning of the MILLENNIUM, described in the Apocalypse.
By EZEKIEL CHEEVER,

In former days Master of the Grammar School in Boston.

'We have a more sure word of Prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, &c.'
BOSTON,

Printed and sold by Green & Russell, at their Printing Office, in Queen-street. MDCCLVII."

The author concludes his last Essay as follows:—

"*Lastly.* To conclude, this personal coming of CHRIST at or before the beginning of the thousand years, is no other but the second coming of CHRIST, and great day of judgment, which the Scripture speaks of, and all Christians believe, and wait for, only there are several works to be performed in the several parts of this great day. The first works, in the first part or beginning of this day, is to raise the Saints; destroy his enemies with temporal destruction; to set up his kingdom; to rule and reign on the earth, with his raised and then living Saints, a thousand years; after that, in the latter part of the day, to destroy *Gog* and *Magog*: To enter upon the last general judgment, raising the wicked, judging them according to their works, and *casting them into the lake of fire, which is the second death.* All this, from first to last, is but one day of judgment; *that great and terrible day of the Lord,* and is but one coming, which is his second, as we plead for. After this, the work being finished, CHRIST will deliver up his mediatory kingdom to his FATHER, and, himself, become a subject, that GOD may be all in all. With this interpretation, all the Scriptures alleged, and many more, will better agree and harmonize in a clear and fair way, not crossing any ordinary rules given of interpreting Scripture than in restraining CHRIST's personal coming to the work and time of the last judgment. And, though many of these Scriptures may have a spiritual meaning, and, may be already in part fulfilled, which I deny not, yet that will not hinder, but that they may have a literal sense also."

Of Mr. Cheever's personal history, after he removed to Boston, we have been successful in gathering but few particulars not already published. From a petition addressed by him to Sir Edmund Andross, in 1687, some seventeen years after he removed to Boston, it appears, that he was then in prime working order as a teacher—still enjoying his "wonted abilities of mind, health of body, vivacity of spirit, and delight in his work." The following is the petition copied from the Hutchinson Papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society and printed by Mr. Gould:

"To His Excellency, Sir Edmund Andross, Knight, Governor and Captain General of His Majesty's territories and dominions in New England.

"The humble petition of Ezekiel Cheever of Boston, schoolmaster, sheweth that your poor petitioner hath near fifty years been employed in the work and office of a public Grammar-schoolmaster in several places in this country. With what acceptance and success, I submit to the judgment of those that are able to testify. Now seeing that God is pleased mercifully yet to continue my wonted abilities of mind, health of body, vivacity of spirit, delight in my work, which alone I am any way fit and capable of, and whereby I have my outward subsistence,—I most humbly entreat your Excellency, that according to your former kindness

so often manifested, I may by your Excellency's favor, allowance and encouragement, still be continued in my present place. And whereas there is due to me about fifty-five pounds for my labors past, and the former way of that part of my maintenance is thought good to be altered,—I with all submission beseech your Excellency, that you would be pleased to give order for my due satisfaction, the want of which would fall heavy upon me in my old age, and my children also, who are otherwise poor enough. And your poor petitioner shall ever pray, &c.

Your Excellency's most humble servant,

EZEKIEL CHEEVER."

He died,* according to Dr. Mather, "on Saturday morning, August 21, 1708—in the ninety-fourth year of his age; after he had been a skillful, painful, faithful schoolmaster for seventy years, and had the singular favor of Heaven, that though he had usefully spent his life among children, yet he was not become *twice a child*, but held his abilities, in an unusual degree, to the very last,"—"his intellectual force as little abated as his natural." It was his singular good fortune to have lived as an equal among the very founders of New England, with them of Boston, and Salem, and New Haven,—to have taught their children, and their children's children, unto the third and fourth generation—and to have lingered in the recollections of his pupils and their children, the model and monument, the survivor and representative of the Puritan and Pilgrim stock, down almost to the beginning of the present century.

President Stiles of Yale College, in his Literary Diary, 25th April 1772, mentions seeing the "Rev. and aged Mr. Samuel Maxwell, of Warren," R. I., in whom "I have seen a man who had been acquainted with one of the original and first settlers of New England, now a rarity."† "He told me he well knew the famous Grammar schoolmaster, Mr. E. Cheever of Boston, author of the *Accidence*: that he wore a long white beard, terminating in a point; that when he stroked his beard to the point, it was a sign for the boys to stand clear." In another entry, made on the 17th of July 1774, Dr. Stiles, after noting down several dates in the life of Mr. Cheever, adds, "I have seen those who knew the venerable saint, particularly the Rev. John Barnard, of Marblehead, who was fitted for college by him, and entered 1698." Rev. Dr. Mather, in 1708, speaks of him not only as his master, seven and thirty years ago, but, also, "as master to my betters, no less than seventy years ago; so long ago, that I must even mention my father's tutor for one of them."

* "Venerable," says Governor Hutchinson, in his *History of Massachusetts*, (Vol. II., page 175, Note), "not merely for his great age, 94, but for having been the schoolmaster of most of the principal gentlemen in Boston, who were then upon the stage. He is not the only master who kept his lamp longer lighted than otherwise it would have been by a supply of oil from his scholars."

† There is now living in Bangor, Maine, "Father Sawyer," who was born in Hebron, Conn., in Nov., 1755, and who has preached the gospel for 70 years. He knew Rev. John Barnard, of Marblehead, a pupil of Mr. Cheever. These three persons connect the present with the first generation of New England.

Soon after the period of Mr. Cheever's death, the following important passage occurs in the Records of the town. 'The Committee chosen by the town the 19th of December 1709 last, to consider the Affaires relating to y^e Free-Grammer-School of this Town, having now made their report unto y^e Town as followeth, viz. Wee have discoursed with Mr. [Nathaniel] Williams the present master, of whose qualifications and fitness for that employment, we take for granted every body must be abundantly satisfied. He expresses a good Inclination to the worke; and his resolution intirely to devote him Selfe thereto. If the Town please to Encourage his continuance therein, by allowing him a competent Sallary, that he may support his family, and Granting him an Assistant. He is very Sencible of the Advantage of the Assistance lately afforded him, both with respect to his health and also as to y^e Schollars. We are of opinion the worke of that School does Necessarily require the Attendance of a master and an Usher, and it Seem's Impracticable for one person alone, well to oversee the manners of so great a number of Schollars (oft-times more than a hundred). To hear their dayly Exercises, and Instruct them to that degree of profitting, which otherwise may be with an Assistant. We Recommend it to the Town, to Encourage m^r William's continuance in the School, by advancing his Sallary to the Sum of One hundred pounds pr. Annum, which we think to be a modest demand, and to grant him the assistance of an Usher, at the Towns charge. In which we have y^e concurrent Opinion and Advice of y^e Rev^d Ministers. We further propose and recommend, as of Great Service and Advantage for the promoting of Diligence and good-Literature, That the Town Agreeably to the Usage in England, and (as we understand) in Some time past practiced here, Do Nominate and Appoint a Certain number of Gentlemen of Liberal Education, Together with some of y^e Rev^d Ministers of the Town, to be Inspectors of the S^d Schools under That name, Title, or denomination, to Visit y^e School from time to time, when and as Oft, as they shall think fit, to Enform themselves of the Methodes Used in Teaching of the Schollars, and to Inquire of their Proficiency, and be present at the performance of Some of their Exercises, the Master being before notified of their comeing, And with him to Consult and Advise of further Methods for y^e Advancement of Learning and the good Government of the Schools; and at their s^d Visitation, One of the Ministers by turn's to pray with the Schollars, and Entertain'em with Some Instructions of Piety Specially Adapted to their age and Education.'

Mr. Williams graduated at Harvard in 1693, and was ordained an evangelist for one of the West India islands, 1698; but, as the climate proved unfriendly to his constitution, he returned soon after to his native town. In 1708, he was appointed master of this, as Mr. Prince calls it, 'the principal school of the British colonies, if not in all America,' and continued in the charge of it till 1734. When in the West Indies, Mr. Williams applied himself to the study of medicine, and after his return to Boston entered into practice as a physician. When he took charge of the Latin School, he was persuaded by his friends, who had employed him, not to relinquish his profession. He continued, therefore, to practice as a physician in many families; and after he relinquished the school on account of his infirmities, he past the remainder of his days in the practice of medicine. 'He was called,' says his biographer, 'the "beloved physician," and was so agreeable in his manners, that when he entered the chambers of the sick, "his voice and countenance did good like medicine." Amidst the multiplicity of his duties, as instructor and physician, in extensive practice, he never left the *ministerial work*.' He resigned his office in 1734. He died, January 15th, 1738, at the age of sixty-three years. The celebrated Jeremy Gridley was for a time assistant to Mr. Williams, but in 1730, being about to commence the career in which he afterward became so distinguished, he left the school; and was succeeded by Mr. John Lovell, who, in 1734, was made head master.

Mr. Lovell was graduated at Harvard College in 1728, two years before his appointment to the place of assistant to Mr. Williams. After his promotion he continued to discharge the duties of that important station for nearly forty-two years with great skill and fidelity. When Boston was evacuated by the British troops, in March, 1776, Mr. Lovell retired with the loyalists to Halifax, where he spent the remainder of his life.

Mr. Lovell usually passed the two vacations, one of which was at Election, and the other at Commencement, with a fishing party, at Spot Pond, in Stoneham. 'And,' says his pupil already quoted, 'the boys heard with glee that he and the gentlemen who accompanied him passed their time pleasantly in telling funny stories and laughing very loudly.'

There was a dwelling-house and an extensive garden furnished by the town for Mr. Lovell. The house was situated in School street, nearly in front of the new Court-house; and the garden extended back toward Court street, about as far as the spot where the jail now stands. This garden was cultivated for Mr. Lovell in the best

manner, free of all expense, by the assistance of the best boys in the school; who, as a reward of merit, were permitted to work in it. The same good boys were also indulged with the high privilege of sawing his wood and bottling his cider, and of laughing as much as they pleased while performing these delightful offices.

Mr. Nathaniel Gardner, who left school in 1735, and college in 1739, was afterward assistant in it. Mr. Gardner was a fine scholar, a poet, and a wit.

The late Mr. James Lovell was afterward assistant to his father for many years. He also kept a private school for writing and ciphering from eleven to twelve, and from five to six in the afternoon. Mr. James Lovell claims the merit of being the first public instructor in Boston, who introduced an easy and compendious method of teaching arithmetic.

The following memorandum of an eminent clergyman, who was educated in the best schools of Boston, public and private, just before the Revolution, was published in the Massachusetts Common School Journal for 1848, with notes by William B. Fowle:—

At the age of six and a half years, I was sent to Master John Lovell's Latin school. The only requirement was reading well; but, though fully qualified, I was sent away to Master Griffith, a private teacher, to learn to read, write, and spell. I learned the English Grammar in Dilworth's Spelling Book by heart. Griffith traced letters with a pencil, and the pupils inked them.

Entered Lovell's school at seven years. Lovell was a tyrant, and his system one of terror. Trouncing* was common in the school. Dr. Cooper was one of his early scholars, and he told Dr. Jackson, the minister of Brookline, that he had dreams of school till he died. The boys were so afraid they could not study. Sam. Bradford, afterward sheriff, pronounced the *P* in *Ptolemy*, and the younger Lovell rapped him over the head with a heavy ferule.†

We studied Latin from 8 o'clock till 11, and from 1 till dark. After one or two years, I went to the town school, to Master Holbrook, at the corner of West street, to learn to write; and to Master Proctor, on Pemberton's Hill, in the south-east part of Scollay's Building. My second, third, and fourth year, I wrote there, and did nothing else. The English boys alone were taught to make pens. Griffith was gentle, but his being a private teacher accounts for it.

The course of study was, grammar; Esop, with a translation; Clarke's Introduction to writing Latin; Eutropius, with a translation; Corderius; Ovid's

* Trouncing was performed by stripping the boy, mounting him on another's back, and whipping him with birch rods, before the whole school. James Lovell, the grandson of John, once related to us the following anecdote, which shows the utility of corporal punishment! It seems that a boy had played truant, and Master John had publicly declared that the offender should be trounced. When such a sentence was pronounced, it was understood that the other boys might seize the criminal, and take him to school by force. The culprit was soon seized by one party, and hurried to the master, who inflicted the punishment without delay. On his way home, the culprit met another party, who cried out, 'Ah, John Brown,' or whatever his name was, 'you'll get it when you go to school!' 'No, I shan't,' said the victorious boy, who felt that he had got the start of them, 'No, I shan't, for I've got it,' and, as he said this, he slapped his hand upon the part that had paid the penalty, thus, as the poet says, 'smiting the acting to the word.'

† We saw this done by another Boston teacher, about thirty years ago, and when we remonstrated with him upon the danger of inflicting such a blow upon such a spot, 'O, the catfiss,' said he, 'it is good for them!' About the same time, another teacher, who used to strike his pupils upon the hand so that the marks and bruises were visible, was waited upon by a committee of mothers, who lived near the school, and had been annoyed by the outcries of the sufferers. The teacher promised not to strike the boys any more on the hand, and the women went away satisfied. But, instead of inflicting blows upon the hand, he inflicted them upon the soles of the feet, and made the punishment more severe.

Metamorphoses; Virgil's Georgics; Æneid; Cæsar; Cicero. In the sixth year I began Greek, and for the first time attempted English composition, by translating Cæsar's Commentaries. The master allowed us to read poetical translations, such as Trappe's and Dryden's Virgil. I was half way through Virgil when I began Greek with Ward's Greek Grammar.

After Cheever's Latin Accidence, we took Ward's Lily's Latin Grammar. After the Greek Grammar, we read the Greek Testament, and were allowed to use Beza's Latin translation. Then came Homer's Iliad, five or six books, using Clarke's translation with notes, and this was all my Greek education at school. Then we took Horace, and composed Latin verses, using the Gradus ad Parnassum. Daniel Jones was the first Latin scholar in 1771 or 1772, and he was brother to Thomas Kilby Jones, who was no scholar, though a distinguished merchant afterward.

I entered college at the age of fourteen years and three months, and was equal in Latin and Greek to the best in the senior class. Xenophon and Sallust were the only books used in college that I had not studied. I went to the private school from 11 to 12 A.M., and to the public from 3 to 5 P.M.

The last two years of my school life, nobody taught English Grammar or Geography, but Col. Joseph Ward (son of Deacon Joseph Ward, of Newton, West Parish, blacksmith,) who was self-taught, and set up a school in Boston. He became aid to General Ward when the war commenced, and did not teach after the war.

I never saw a map, except in Cæsar's Commentaries, and did not know what that meant. Our class studied Lowth's English Grammar at college. At Master Proctor's school, reading and writing were taught in the same room, to girls and boys, from 7 to 14 years of age, and the Bible was the only reading book. Dilworth's Spelling Book was used, and the New England Primer. The master set sums in our MSS., but did not go farther than the Rule of Three.

Master Griffith was a thin man, and wore a wig, as did Masters Lovell and Proctor, but they wore a cap when not in full dress. James Lovell was so beaten by his grandfather John, that James the father rose and said, 'Sir, you have flogged that boy enough.' The boy went off determined to leave school, and go to Master Proctor's; but he met one of Master Proctor's boys, who asked him whither he was going, and when informed, warned him not to go, for he would fare worse.

After Mr. Lovell left Boston in 1776, the school was shut for a short time; but before the year had expired, Mr. Samuel Hunt was appointed his successor, and taken from the North Latin School. Mr. Hunt continued at the head of the school till 1805; and was then succeeded by Mr. William Biglow; who left the school in 1814.

In May, 1814, the Latin School was committed to Mr. Benjamin A. Gould, who was induced to take the position, by an increase of salary from \$1,000 to \$2,000, and by the adoption of more stringent regulations by the School Committees.

Among the most important changes which then took place was a regulation that boys should be admitted but *once a year*, according to the ancient usage of this school, to prevent thereby the continual interruption of classes; that no boy should be allowed to be absent, except in case of sickness, or some domestic calamity; that no certificate, or apology, should in any case be received for *tardiness*, but that whoever should come after the hour, should be deprived of his seat for that half day, and bring from his parent or guardian a satisfactory *excuse for absence*, before he could be again admitted to his place. These and other judicious regulations, together with the personal exertions of the master, and high minded policy of the school committee, gradually restored the confidence of the community to the school. In August of 1814, 30 boys were admitted. In the August following, 50; and in 1816, 60 were admitted. In 1826, there were 225 on the catalogue. The following account of the Latin School in 1826, was drawn by Mr. Gould:—

MASTERSHIP OF BENJAMIN A. GOULD—1814-1897.

The scholars are distributed into separate apartments, under the care of the same number of instructors, viz., a Principal, or head-master, a sub-master, and four assistants. For admission, boys must be at least nine years old; able to read correctly and with fluency, and to write running hand; they must know all the stops, marks, and abbreviations, and have sufficient knowledge of English Grammar to parse common sentences in prose. The time of admission is the Friday and Saturday next preceding the Commencement at Cambridge, which two days are devoted to the examination of candidates. The regular course of instruction lasts five years; and the school is divided into five classes, according to the time of entrance.

Classification of Pupils.

When a class has entered, the boys commence the Latin Grammar all together, under the eye of the principal; where they continue until he has become in some degree acquainted with their individual characters and capacities. As they change their places at each recitation, those boys will naturally rise to the upper part of the class, who are most industrious, or who learn with the greatest facility. After a time a division of from twelve to fifteen boys is taken off from the upper end of the class; after a few days more, another division is in like manner taken off; and so on, till the whole class is separated into divisions of equal number; it having been found that from twelve to fifteen is the most convenient number to drill together.

In this way boys of like capacities are put together, and the evil of having some unable to learn the lesson which others get in half the time allowed, is in some measure obviated. The class, thus arranged for the year, is distributed among the assistant teachers, a division to each. This is preferred to keeping them together; for they are in the room with two divisions of higher classes, there being always three divisions in each apartment; and by the example of older boys they more readily correct their childish foibles, and fall in with the habits of the school. And further, as writing is not taught in the school, the younger classes for the first two or three years are dismissed at eleven o'clock, an hour before school is done, that they may attend a writing school. It is necessary, therefore, that one division of a class that stays till twelve should be in each room, to afford the instructor employment from eleven to twelve o'clock. This, therefore, is an hour of uninterrupted instruction to a single division in each room, after the other two have been dismissed.

Methods of Instruction and Promotion.

When this distribution is made, the boys continue for the year in the apartment in which they are first placed, unless some particular reason should exist for changing them; or when the higher divisions attend the sub-master, for instruction in Geography and Mathematics, to whom these departments are committed.

This method of studying each branch separately is adopted throughout the school. The same individuals do not study Latin one part of the day and Greek the other, but each for a month at a time; and so with mathematics, except that the lesson for the evening, which is usually a written exercise, or a portion of Latin or Greek to be committed to memory, is in a different department from the studies of the day. In this way, the aid of excitement from the continuity of a subject is secured; and a much more complete view of the whole obtained than when studied in detached portions; and the grammar of neither language is permitted to go out of mind. For it should "be remembered, that if the grammar be the first book put into the learner's hands, it should also be the last to leave them."

At the close of every month, the boys in each apartment undergo a rigid examination in all the studies of that month. This is conducted by the principal, with whom only the first class remain permanently, in the presence of their particular teacher, and such other instructors of the school as find it convenient to attend. These monthly examinations are sometimes attended by the sub-committee of the school, and are open for parents, and any other persons interested. If any class or any individuals do not pass satisfactory examination, they are put back, and made to go over the portion of studies in which they are deficient, till they do pass a satisfactory examination. The rank of each scholar and his seat for the succeeding month are determined by this examination: unless an account of places for each recitation of the month has been kept, in which case they are determined by a general average. The boy at the head of the first division of the first class is monitor for the month. The monitor writes in his bill a list of all the classes, in the order in which they are now arranged; and notes, each half day, such as are absent. The absences of each individual for a month, or a year, may be known by this bill.

Text-Books.

Boys commence with Adam's Latin Grammar, in learning which they are required to commit to memory much that they do not understand at the time, as an exercise of memory, and to accustom them to labor. There are some objections to this, it is true, but it has been found extremely difficult to make boys commit thoroughly to memory at a subsequent period, what they have been allowed to pass over in first learning the grammar. It takes from six to eight months for a boy to commit to memory all that is required in Adam's Grammar; but those who do master the grammar completely, seldom find any difficulty afterwards in committing to memory whatever may be required of them. The learned Vicesimus Knox thinks it may be well to relieve boys a little while studying grammar, "for," says he, "after they have studied Latin Grammar a year closely, they are apt to become weary."

The examples under the rules of syntax are the first exercises in parsing. The Liber Primus is the first book after the grammar. No more of this is given for a lesson than can be parsed thoroughly. This and the grammar form the studies of the first year. To these succeed Græcæ Historiæ Epitome, Viri Romæ, Phædri Fabulæ, from Burman's Text, with English notes; Cornelius Nepos; Ovid's Metamorphoses, by Willymotte; with particular attention to scanning and the rules of prosody. Portions of Ovid are committed to memory in the evening that were translated in the day, and verses selected from them for capping, which is a favorite exercise with boys. Valpy's Chronology of Ancient and English History, Dana's Latin Tutor for writing Latin, and Tooke's Pantheon, with the books already mentioned, comprise the studies of the second year. The Greek Grammar is now commenced, if it has not been before, Caesar's Commentaries and Electa ex Ovidio et Tibullo. Then follows the Delectus Sententiarum Græcarum, a most excellent little book for the commencement of Greek analysis. And here particular care is taken that no word be passed over till all the changes of which it is susceptible be gone through, and the rule given for each. Much depends on the manner in which boys are introduced to a new study. They like what they can understand. Hence it not unfrequently happens, that lads properly initiated into Greek, soon prefer it to Latin and every other study. The Coll. Gr. Minora follows next, with Sallust and Virgil: and these, with the writing of translations in English, from Latin and Greek, form the studies of the third year. The exercises in the Latin Tutor continue till the book is entirely written through once or twice. Much time and labor are saved in correcting these exercises. The head boy gives his exercise to the teacher, and takes that of the next

below him, who in his turn receives his next neighbor's, and so on through the class. The boy at the bottom reads the English, a sentence at a time; and the teacher reads the same in Latin, from the exercise in his hand, marking with a pencil such words as are wrong. Where the sentence admits of variety each form is given. The boys in the meantime mark all words differing from what is read, by placing the figures, 1, 2, 3, &c., under them. When the exercise has all been read, and each boy has marked the errors of his next neighbor the one who has fewest takes the head, and so on. This exercise is returned to be corrected; and has a second reading with the next new exercise. Thus in fifteen minutes the task of an hour and a half is performed. The attention in the meanwhile is effectually secured by the interest each boy has in noticing the mistakes of his neighbor, and the liability of having all marked to his own account which shall appear on second reading not to have been noticed in the first. But this method, of course, can be adopted only so long as the Latin words are given in the exercise book. When the Latin Tutor can be converted into correct Latin, Valpy's *Elegantiae Latinae* succeeds it. This book is a very valuable auxiliary in teaching to write Latin, and an important addition to our school books. It consists of a free translation of select portions of the most approved Latin authors, with many judicious and critical remarks on the rules of construction, and the use of words, with a key, separate from the book, to be kept by the instructor, where the original passages may be seen by the learner, and compared with his own Latin. When boys can write Latin prose grammatically, they are required to make *nonsense verses*, or to put words into verses with regard to their *quantity* only. When the mechanical structure of different kinds of versification is familiar, they have given them a literal translation, of a few verses at a time, taken from some author with whose style they are not acquainted, which is to be turned into verses of the same kind as those from which it was taken, and then compared with the original. Bradley's *Prosody* is used for this exercise. Afterwards portions of English poetry are given, to be translated into Latin verse. Original verses are then required, which, with themes in Latin and English, continue through the course. Considerable portions of all the Latin and Greek poets used in school are committed to memory, as they are read; particularly several books of Virgil; all the first book of Horace, and parts of many others; the third and tenth Satires of Juvenal entire; all the poetry in the *Græca Minora*; and many hundreds of verses in Homer. This is an important exercise to boys; and without it they can never write Latin prose or verse with the same facility as with it. It is in this way that the idioms of any language are gained; and in writing verses the quantity and proper use of most words employed by the best writers are instantaneously determined, by recalling a verse in which it occurs. Cicero's select orations, *De Officiis*, *De Senectute*, *De Amicitia*, Horace Exp., Juvenal and Persius Expur. Greek Primitives, Xenophon's *Anabasis*, Mattaire's Homer, Greek Testament, Wytttenbach's Greek Historians, together with the aforementioned exercises, and Geography, Arithmetic, Geometry, Trigonometry, Algebra, &c., form the studies of the two last years.

The study of arithmetic is commenced the latter part of the third year or the beginning of the fourth, with Colburn's "First Lessons." Recitations in this are made two or three times each half day, by those who are studying it. The boys are not expected to commit to memory the answers to the several questions, but to find them repeatedly before the recitation, that their answers may then be given with more facility; and in order that the operations, by which they solve the questions, may be strictly intellectual, numbers are often announced by the instructor different from those in the book, and only the *form* of the questions is adhered to. After the question is announced, a suf-

sufficient time is allowed for each individual of the class to find the answer; and then one is called upon; the question is passed through the class, whether the answer be given right or not; and all, whose solutions are right, go above those whose are wrong. After all the questions in a section have been understood and solved, each boy is called upon to state the general method of their solution, or the rule for working them. This rule, thus made by the boys, not given them, when corrected as to phraseology by the teacher, is written in a manuscript book, and committed to memory. The same system of advancing from particular examples to the general rule, is observed in teaching Lacroix's Arithmetic and Euler's Algebra; synthesis being considered preferable to analysis in these studies. The class, with their slates, come to the recitation forms; a question is proposed, which each is required to solve; others, more and more difficult of solution, depending on the same principles, are announced; each boy on finding his answer passes his slate to the one above him; and thus no one can correct his solution on the authority of a better scholar. All whose sums are right take precedence of the others. After the solution of numerous questions proposed in as many different forms as possible, they are furnished with the rule, and required to commit it to memory. The blackboard is also used, to show the method of arranging their work, with the greatest economy of space and labor.

In geometry the diagrams of Euclid are taken off, first on paper, with *figures* instead of letters, that nothing may be committed to memory without being understood. When they have been demonstrated from the paper, they are afterwards drawn by the pupil on the blackboard, with figures; when the proposition is demonstrated without a book, or any aid to the memory whatever. Worcester's Geography is the text-book in that branch; and here constant and particular use is made of the maps. The boys are required to find upon it the rise and course of every river, the situation of each town, etc., in their lesson; and beside getting the text of the book, to answer any question which may arise upon the map of the country they are studying.

Beside the books already mentioned, use is made of the following, viz., Neilson's Greek exercises for writing Greek, Shreveius' Greek Lexicon, Hedericus, Scapula, Morell's Thesaurus, Walker's Classical Key, Lempriere's Classical Dictionary, Adam's Roman Antiquities, Entick's and Ainsworth's Latin Dictionary, &c.

Declamation.

On Saturdays the whole school comes together in the hall for declamation. The four upper classes speak in turn, a class on each Saturday. The youngest class attends this exercise, but does not take part in it. After a boy has spoken, and the presiding instructor has made such observations as he sees fit, any individual of the class that is speaking has a right to correct any errors in pronunciation, or any violation of the text, that may not have been pointed out; and if none of the class does this before another boy is called out, it may be done by any boy in the school. This leads to much attention to the subject of pronunciation; and great acuteness is often discovered by very young boys. This is the only day in the week in which all the instructors and scholars unite in any religious or literary exercise.

On these occasions, boys are promoted from a lower to a higher division, or a higher class, who have distinguished themselves, by maintaining their place for a given time at the head of the division in which they recite. In this way a scholar sometimes gains one or two years in the five of the regular course. Cards of distinction, to such as deserve them, are also given out once a month, in presence of the whole school.

NOTE.

EXTRACTS from the "*Report of the Committee on the Latin School* (N. B. SHURTLEFF, Chairman,) to the School Committee, Sept. 1861.

The usual annual and quarterly examinations have been made by the Committee, all the pupils in the various rooms having been inspected, both in reference to their general proficiency, and also in regard to their relative condition in comparison with former years. The several rooms have been frequently visited, and there has been a general attendance of the Committee on the usual days of exhibition and on the public Saturdays. Thus advantages have been had which have enabled the Committee to witness the thorough working of the school, to judge of the progress of the pupils, and to gain a perfect knowledge of the instructors as to their efficiency in discipline and in imparting instruction in the different departments in which they are required to teach. The visits and examinations have been of a highly satisfactory character, and have shown that the school retains the high position for which it has been so long distinguished, not only for instruction in the Greek and Latin languages, but also in the more elementary branches of a good English education. The extraordinary recitations of exhibition days, and the declamation and original debates of the pupils on the public Saturdays, have been as remarkable during the past year as heretofore, and have been listened to by large audiences.

The principal part of the visitation of the school in July was devoted to the graduating class, for the purpose of deciding who should have the Franklin medals; six of which were adjudged to individuals who had received the highest number of marks for the year, and whose examination had also been the most satisfactory. The appearance of the whole class was in a high degree satisfactory to the Committee, and reflected much credit upon the students, and upon the excellent master under whose charge they had been during the year.

The usual number of the class entered college, having completed the course of instruction at the school. Fourteen entered Harvard College, having passed an examination which showed that they were among the best fitted of those who were presented; one entered Amherst College, one Dartmouth College, one Monmouth College, and one Tufts College. Thus eighteen young gentlemen were prepared during the year to take honorable positions in college, thereby carrying out the cherished wishes of the friends of the school and the general object of its establishment upon its present basis; for, although many young men join the lower classes of the school to obtain an education preparatory to entering upon a business life, they, in most cases, leave the institution before reaching the highest class. The following table will exhibit interesting statistics relating to the young gentlemen educated at the school during the last ten years, for entering college:—

YEAR.	From Public Schools.	From Private Schools.	Total sent to College.	Entered Harvard College.	Entered other Colleges.	Average Age.
1852.....	2	6	8	6	2	17.4
1853.....	8	6	14	11	3	17.4
1854.....	2	9	11	18	1	17.1
1855.....	4	6	10	7	3	17.5
1856.....	9	12	21	21	0	16.8
1857.....	10	12	22	20	2	17.5
1858.....	11	7	18	14	4	17.3
1859.....	16	12	28	24	4	17.5
1860.....	6	12	18	17	1	16.7
1861.....	9	9	18	14	4	17.4
Aggregate,.....	77	91	168	144	24	17.3

By an examination of the preceding table, and by a few simple calculations, the following particulars, being annual averages of the last ten years, are deduced, viz.:

Annual average number of those entering college,	16.8
Annual average number of these who were received from the public schools,	7.7
Annual average number of the same who were received from other schools,	9.1
Annual average number who entered Harvard College,	14.4
Annual average number who entered other colleges,	2.4
Annual average age at entering college, (which is probably too low by nearly six months, as the months which exceed the years as fractional years have been omitted in every case in the table given on page 559,)	17.3

It will, therefore, be seen that during the last ten years, one hundred and sixty-eight boys have been fitted for college at the Latin School,—seventy-seven who entered the school from the public schools, and ninety-one from private schools. Of these, one hundred and forty-four entered Harvard College, and twenty-four went to other colleges. In this connection it may be well to look back a few years, and see what the school has heretofore done toward producing college-educated men. In the year 1814, the school took a fresh start, recovering from the effects of the war then just terminated, and was restored to its proper standing under the excellent administration of our late distinguished citizen, Benjamin A. Gould, Esq. Mr. Gould was followed, in succession, by the eminent scholars, Frederic P. Leverett, Esq., Charles K. Dillaway, Esq., and Epes S. Dixwell, Esq., and these, by the present learned head of the school, Francis Gardner, Esq. The whole number of young men prepared for college by each of the above-named gentlemen, together with the years of service of each master to the school, and his average annual contribution to the colleges, can be seen at a glance in the following table:—

MASTER.	Number of Years.	Total No. Fitted.	Annual average Number Fitted.
Gould,	13	158	12.15
Leverett,	3	32	10.66
Dillaway,	5	39	7.80
Dixwell,	15	181	12.07
Gardner,	10	168	16.80
Aggregate,	46	578	12.56

Do not these figures show how eminently useful the Latin school has been in its highest vocation—the production of classical scholars? During the last forty-six years nearly six hundred young men have received their first instructions in classical learning within the walls of this school, and with such thoroughness that they have been admitted to honorable standing in the several universities and colleges of New England; and, undoubtedly, many more who have not proceeded immediately from the school to college have been indebted to the school for a large part of their preparation for college. Many of these young men are numbered among the first scholars of the country; and, indeed, we have the highest authority for stating that the Boston Latin School has a most important influence in sustaining the high standard of excellence demanded by most of the colleges in New England in the examination of applicants for entrance, arising chiefly from the eminent standing of the Latin-school boys after their joining classes at college. No school, we believe, is more thorough in imparting elementary knowledge of Latin and Greek to its pupils than is ours, an advantage which its scholars always prize and acknowledge.

II. MASTERSHIP OF FRANCIS GARDNER. 1852—1862.

FRANCIS GARDNER entered on the Mastership of the Latin School in 1852, having fitted for Harvard College under the instruction of Master Benjamin A. Gould, and been employed as an assistant in the same school under Masters C. K. Dillaway, and E. S. Dixwell. Under no former Master has the number of pupils been so large, the course of instruction more thorough, and the annual contribution to the colleges so high. The following account of the school has been drawn up by Mr. Gardner at our request:—

"As the Latin School is maintained to prepare young men for a collegiate career, its course of studies is in a great measure prescribed by the colleges, and it simply remains for the government of the school to accomplish the desired object, with the greatest benefit to the pupil. In the following sketch we propose to give some account of the existing regulations of the school and the reasons for their adoption.

I. QUALIFICATIONS FOR ADMISSION, ETC.

Every pupil must have reached the age of ten years, and pass a satisfactory examination in reading, spelling, writing, and in the elements of arithmetic, geography, and grammar.

Inasmuch as from the very nature of the subject, the memory is a very important agent in the acquisition of grammar—the pupil being ignorant of the whole nomenclature—it has seemed best to employ those years, when the verbal memory is strongest, in the acquisition of this indispensable knowledge. Therefore, for nearly the whole of the last fifty years, the age for admission to this school has been fixed at nine or at ten years.

II. METHOD OF INSTRUCTION.

The studies of the school are divided into two departments, the *Classic*, including Latin, Greek, Mythology, Ancient Geography and History; and the *Modern*, including Mathematics, French, Modern Geography, History, English Grammar, Compositions, Written Translations, Reading, and Spelling. Immediately upon entering the school, the pupil has assigned him a lesson in Latin Grammar, for one of his two lessons for each day, the other being in the Modern Department. As it is assumed that his knowledge is very limited, he is called upon to commit to memory a very short lesson, great care being taken that he shall understand, not only the general meaning of each sentence, but the particular signification of each word. When he has committed this portion to memory, test questions of all kinds are put, in order to ascertain if he understands fully what he can repeat. The reason why the words of the book are required are twofold, because they express the ideas to be conveyed better than the pupil can give them in his own language, and because it is the shortest and easiest way of acquiring the desired knowledge; the test questioning making it impossible for the learner to acquire mere words without ideas. When the class has advanced as far as Syntax, they then begin to translate and parse, quoting from their grammars all that is applicable to the word under consideration. The rules of Syntax are learned as fast as they occur.

The test questioning is kept up during the whole course, so that upon every

"advance lesson" the pupil is responsible for all that he has previously learned upon the subject, whether grammar, mathematics, or geography.

III. DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHERS AND SUBJECTS.

At the beginning of each year a class is assigned to a teacher who is to have its entire management, in both departments, for the whole year. This arrangement is found to produce better results than when frequent changes are made, or when the pupils pursue different studies with different instructors.

IV. HOURS OF RECITATION.

There is no fixed programme for the recitations, and the hours for them, experience having taught that what may be an excellent plan for one class would be a most injudicious one for another. The teacher is constantly employed in hearing recitations, and the only rule imposed on him is, that each class shall recite twice a-day, and shall receive its due share of his time and attention. If, in his judgment, one of the lessons of the day demands more of his time than the other, he gives it.

V. STUDY OUT OF SCHOOL HOURS.

To the youngest classes an out of school lesson is assigned daily, intended to occupy the pupils one hour; to the highest classes a two hours' lesson is assigned. The great advantage of this is that the teacher thereby can profitably employ all his time in drilling his classes. Were they to study only in school, he frequently would be obliged to wait for them to prepare a lesson, whereas now each of the three classes has a lesson in readiness to recite, upon entering school.

VI. DURATION OF COURSE.

Six years is the time allotted to those who enter the school at ten years of age. Very many however enter at a later period, and finish their course in two, three or four years. But experience has incontestably proved that it is impossible for a boy who begins the study of Latin at fifteen years of age, to make so good a scholar, at the time of entering college, as he would have been had he begun his Latin at ten, no matter how thorough his education may have been between ten and fifteen.

VII. CLOSING EXAMINATION.

The only closing examination is that made by the sub-committee of the school, in order to assign the Franklin Medals, and here the committee are required "to inspect the school records," to ascertain the standing of the candidates, as indicated by them. It is at the various colleges that the scholars undergo their examinations. If they fail there, any diploma or certificate of scholarship, which they might have received, would be but a mockery.

VIII. DISCIPLINE.

"As is the master, so is the school." Each teacher is held responsible not only for the order, but for the proficiency of his classes. There can be no order, no proficiency unless the teacher is really the master; unless the pupils are under his control. They perhaps may not know the fact, but unless it exists, there can be no satisfactory progress. The gentler the means by which this control is secured, the better for both teacher and pupil. He is the best teacher who produces the best results with the least application of force. But force of

some kind must lie in the teacher or good results can not be produced. Some men have a kind of magnetic force to which a boy yields unconsciously, and which it is impossible for him to resist. Others are obliged to have recourse to mere external force. These men rarely become successful teachers, however talented or learned they may be.

This account would be incomplete without the addition of the writer's belief respecting all preparatory education. It is not what a boy learns at school that makes the man, but *how* he learns it. All the knowledge that a faithful student acquires before arriving at manhood is as nothing, compared with the intellectual strength he has gained, and the ability he has of taking hold of any work that may present itself, and doing it. If the acquisition of knowledge were the chief object in education, very useful as an acquaintance with the dead languages is—indispensable, in fact, to the man of letters—one might with propriety doubt the expediency of spending so large a portion of youth and early manhood in the study. But the earnest, laborious student of language develops a power, which no other training could possibly give him, and in comparison with which, all his acquisitions of mere knowledge sink into utter insignificance."

We give below the Regulations of the School Committee as printed in 1861, so far as relates to this school.

REGULATIONS OF THE LATIN GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

SECTION 1. This school, situated in Bedford Street, was instituted early in the 17th century.

2. The rudiments of the Latin and Greek languages are taught, and scholars are fitted for the most respectable colleges. Instruction is also given in Mathematics, Geography, History, Declamation, English Grammar, Composition, and in the French language.

The following regulations, in addition to those common to all the schools, apply to this school.

3. The instructors in this school shall be, a master, a sub-master, and as many ushers as shall allow one instructor to every thirty-five pupils, and no additional usher shall be allowed for a less number.

4. It shall be a necessary qualification for the instructors of this school, that they shall have been educated at a college of good standing.

5. Each candidate for admission shall have attained the age of ten years, and shall produce from the master of the school he last attended, a certificate of good moral character. He shall be able to read English correctly and fluently, to spell all words of common occurrence, to write a running hand, understand Mental Arithmetic, and the simple rules of Written Arithmetic, and be able to answer the most important questions in Geography, and shall have a sufficient knowledge of English Grammar to parse common sentences in prose. A knowledge of Latin Grammar shall be considered equivalent to that of English.

6. Boys shall be examined for admission to this school only once a year, viz: on the Friday and Saturday of the last week of the vacation, succeeding the exhibition of the school in July.

7. The regular course of instruction shall continue six years, and no scholar shall enjoy the privileges of this school beyond that term, unless by written leave of the Committee. But scholars may have the option of completing their course in five years or less time, if willing to make due exertions, and shall be advanced according to scholarship.

8. The sessions of the school shall begin at 9 o'clock, A. M., and close at 2 o'clock, P. M., on every school-day throughout the year, except on Saturday, when the school shall close at 1 o'clock.

9. The school shall be divided into classes and sub-divisions, as the master, with the approbation of the Committee, may think advisable.

10. The master shall examine the pupils under the care of the other teachers in the school as often as he can consistently with proper attention to those in his own charge.

11. The books and exercises required in the course of instruction in this school, are the following:—

Class 6. 1. Andrews' and Stoddard's Latin Grammar. 2. English Grammar. 3. Reading English. 4. Spelling. 5. Mental Arithmetic. 6. Mitchell's Geographical Questions. 7. Declamation. 8. Penmanship. 9. Andrews' Latin Lessons. 10. Andrews' Latin Reader.

Class 5. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, continued. 11. Viri Romæ. 12. Written Translations. 13. Colburn's Sequel. 14. Cornelius Nepos. 15. Arnold's Latin Prose Composition.

Class 4. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 12, 13, 15, continued. 16. Sophocles' Greek Grammar. 17. Sophocles' Greek Lessons. 18. Cæsar's Commentaries. 19. Faguet's French Grammar. 20. Exercises in speaking and reading French with a native French teacher.

Class 3. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 12, 13, 15, 16, 19, 20, continued. 21. Ovid's Metamorphoses. 22. Arnold's Greek Prose Composition. 23. Xenophon's Anabasis. 24. Sherwin's Algebra. 25. English Composition. 26. Le Grand-père.

Class 2. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 15, 16, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, continued. 27. Virgil. 28. Elements of History. 29. Translations from English into Latin.

Class 1. 1, 7, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29, continued. 30. Geometry. 31. Cicero's Orations. 32. Composition of Latin Verses. 33. Composition in French. 34. Ancient History and Geography. 35. Homer's Iliad, (three books.)

The following books of reference may be used in pursuing the above studies:

Leverett's Latin Lexicon, or Gardner's abridgment of the same.

Andrews' Latin Lexicon.

Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon, or Pickering's Greek Lexicon, last edition.

Worcester's School Dictionary.

Smith's Classical Dictionary.

Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities.

Baird's Classic Manual. Warren's Treatise on Physical Geography, or Cartee's Physical Geography and Atlas, is *permitted* to be used.

12. No Translations, nor any Interpretation, Keys, or Orders of Construction, are allowed in the School.

13. The instructors shall pay particular attention to the penmanship of the pupils, and give constantly such instruction in Spelling, Reading, and English Grammar, as they may deem necessary to make the pupils familiar with those fundamental branches of a good education.

The improvements made within even the present century, in this—the oldest school now in operation on the original plan in the country—as in all other grades, in material, outfit, and aids of instruction, as well as in the range of studies and methods of teaching are very beautifully alluded to by Mr. Everett in an Address at Faneuil Hall, in 1855, at the close of the Annual Examination of the Grammar Schools:—

"It was, Mr. Mayor, fifty-two years last April, since I began, at the age of nine years, to attend the reading and writing schools in North Bennet street. The reading school was under Master Little, (for "Young America" had not yet repudiated that title,) and the writing school was kept by Master Tilestone. Master Little, in spite of his name, was a giant in stature—six feet four, at least

—and somewhat wedded to the past. He struggled earnestly against the change then taking place in the pronunciation of *u*, and insisted on our saying *monocement* and *natur*. But I acquired, under his tuition, what was thought, in those days, a very tolerable knowledge of Lindley Murray's abridgement of English grammar, and at the end of the year could parse almost any sentence in the American Preceptor. Master Tilestone was a writing master of the old school. He set the copies himself, and taught that beautiful old Boston handwriting, which, if I do not mistake, has, in the march of innovation, (which is not always the same thing as improvement,) been changed very little for the better. Master Tilestone was advanced in years, and had found a qualification for his calling as a writing master, in what might have seemed, at first, to threaten to be an obstruction. The fingers of his right hand had been contracted and stiffened in early life, by a burn, but were fixed in just the position to hold a pen and a penknife, and nothing else. As they were also considerably indurated, they served as a convenient instrument of discipline. A copy badly written, or a blotted page, was sometimes visited with an infliction which would have done no discredit to the beak of a bald eagle. His long, deep desk was a perfect curiosity shop of confiscated balls, tops, penknives, marbles, and jewsharps; the accumulation of forty years. I desire, however, to speak of him with gratitude, for he put me on the track of an acquisition which has been extremely useful to me in after life—that of a plain legible hand. I remained at these schools about sixteen months, and had the good fortune, in 1804, to receive the Franklin medal in the English department.

After an interval of about a year, during which I attended a private school kept by Mr. Ezekiel Webster, of New Hampshire, and on occasion of his absence, by his ever memorable brother, Daniel Webster, at that time a student of law in Boston, I went to the Latin school, then slowly emerging from a state of extreme depression. It was kept in School street, where the Horticultural Hall now stands. Those who judge of what the Boston Latin School ought to be, from the spacious and commodious building in Bedford street, can form but little idea of the old school house. It contained but one room, heated in the winter by an iron stove, which sent up a funnel into a curious brick chimney, built down from the roof, in the middle of the room, to within seven or eight feet from the floor, being like Mahomet's coffin, held in the air to the roof by bars of iron. The boys had to take their turns, in winter, in coming early to the school-house, to open it, to make a fire, sometimes of wet logs and a very inadequate supply of other combustibles, to sweep out the room, and, if need be, to shovel a path through the snow to the street. These were not very fascinating duties for an urchin of ten or eleven; but we lived through it, and were perhaps not the worse for having to turn our hands to these little offices.

The standard of scholastic attainment was certainly not higher than that of material comfort in those days. We read pretty much the same books—or of the same class—in Latin and Greek, as are read now; but in a very cursory and superficial manner. There was no attention paid to the philosophy of the languages, to the deduction of words from their radical elements, to the niceties of construction, still less to prosody. I never made an hexameter or pentameter verse, till years afterwards I had a son at school in London, who occasionally required a little aid in that way. The subsidiary and illustrative branches were wholly unknown in the Latin School in 1805. Such a thing as a school library, a book of reference, a critical edition of a classic, a map, a blackboard, an engraving of an ancient building, or a copy of a work of ancient art, such as now adorn the walls of our schools, was as little known as the electric telegraph. If our children, who possess all these appliances and aids to learning, do not greatly excel their parents, they will be much to blame.

At this school in 1806, I had the satisfaction to receive the Franklin medal, which, however, as well as that received at the English school in 1804, during my absence from the country in early life, I was so unfortunate as to lose. I begged my friend, Dr. Sturteff, a year or more ago, to replace them—these precious trophies of my school-boy days—at my expense, which he has promised to do. He has not yet had time to keep his word; but as, in addition to his other numerous professional and official occupations, he is engaged in editing the records of the Massachusetts and Plymouth Colony, in about twenty-five volumes folio, and is bringing out the work at the rate of five or six volumes a year, I suppose I must

excuse him for not attending to my medals, although, like Julius Cæsar, the doctor possesses the faculty of doing three or four things at the same time, and all with great precision and thoroughness.

Mr. Mayor, the schools of Boston have improved within fifty years, beyond what any one will readily conceive, who has not, in his own person, made the examination. I have made it myself only with reference to the Latin School, but I have no reason to doubt that it is the same with all the others. The support of the schools is justly regarded as the first care of the city government; and the public expenditure upon them is greater in proportion to the population than in any city in the world. I had occasion, last week, to make a statement on this subject, to a gentleman from a distant State, and when I informed him that the richest individual in Boston could not, with all his money, buy better schooling for his son, than the public schools furnish to the child of the poorest citizen, he was lost in admiration. I do not think the people of Boston themselves realize, as they ought, what a privilege they possess in having that education brought to their doors, for which parents in some other parts of the country are obliged to send their children a hundred or a thousand miles from home; for we may well repeat the inquiry of Cicero, "*Ubi enim aut jucundius morarentur quam in patria, aut pudicius continerentur quam sub oculis parentum, aut minore sumptu quam domi?*"

In a word, sir, when the Public Library shall be completed, (and thanks to the liberality of the city government it is making the most satisfactory progress,) which I have always regarded as the necessary supplement to our schools, I do really think that Boston will possess an educational system superior to any other in the world.

Let me, sir, before I sit down, congratulate the boys and girls in their success, who, as medal scholars are privileged to be here. The reward they have now received for their early efforts is designed as an incentive to future exertion; without which the Franklin medal will be rather a disgrace than a credit to them. But let them also bear their honors with meekness. Of their schoolmates of both sexes who have failed to obtain these coveted distinctions, some, less endowed with natural talent, have probably made exertions equally if not more meritorious; some have failed through ill health. Some, whom you now leave a good way behind, will come straining after you and perhaps surpass you in the great race of life. Let your present superior good fortune, my young friends, have no other effect than to inspire you with consideration and kind feeling toward your schoolmates. Let not the dark passions, and base, selfish, and party feelings which lead grown men to hate and vilify, and seek to injure each other, find entrance into your young and innocent bosoms. Let these early honors lead you to a more strict observance of the eleventh commandment, toward those whom you have distanced in these school day rivalries, or who, from any cause, have been prevented from sharing with you the enjoyments of this day; and as you may not all know exactly what the eleventh commandment is, I will end a poor speech by telling you a good story:

The celebrated Archbishop Usher was, in his younger days, wrecked on the coast of Ireland, at a place where his person and character were alike unknown. Stripped of everything, he wandered to the house of a dignitary of the church, in search of shelter and relief, craving assistance as a brother clergyman. The dignitary, struck with his squalid appearance after the wreck, distrusted his tale, and doubted his character; and said that, so far from being a clergyman, he did not believe he could even tell how many commandments there were. "I can at once satisfy you," said the Archbishop, "that I am not the ignorant imposter you take me for. There are eleven commandments." This answer confirmed the dignitary in his suspicions, and he replied with a sneer, "Indeed, there are but ten commandments in my bible; tell me the eleventh and I will believe you." "Here it is," said the Archbishop, "A new commandment give I unto you, that ye love one another."

He prayeth best, who loveth best
All things both great and small;
For the dear God who loveth us,
He made and loveth all.

S. T. Coleridge.

RULES AND REGULATIONS—1826.

The particular superintendence of the Primary schools was originally delegated by the vote of the Town instituting this grade of schools to a special Committee, or Board, who publish their own Rules and Regulations.

The Committee appointed to provide instruction for children, between the ages of four and seven years, shall be known by the name of the *Primary School Committee*; and shall consist of as many members, in addition to the regular officers, as there are schools belonging to the establishment.

The whole Board.

RULE 1. The officers of the Board shall consist of a Chairman, Secretary, and Standing Committee; to be chosen annually by ballot, at the quarterly meeting in January.

RULE 2. It shall be the duty of the chairman to preside at all meetings; to call to order as soon as a quorum shall have assembled; cause the journal of the preceding meeting to be read, and then proceed to business. In his absence the secretary shall call to order, and a chairman *pro tem.* be chosen forthwith by the Board.

RULE 3. It shall be the duty of the secretary to keep a faithful record of the proceedings of the Board, with the names of the members present at each meeting, which shall be read at any meeting when required. He shall timely notify the members of all meetings of the Board, and all sub-committees of their appointment and duty, by transmitting to their respective first named members, an attested copy of the vote by which they were appointed, including the names of the members of each said sub-committee. He shall transmit copies of all votes and resolutions of the Board, which may require to be communicated, agreeably to the intentions thereof; insert the names of candidates on the notifications to members; notify new members of their election by the Board; and perform such other duties as by custom belong to the office of secretary.

RULE 4. The Board shall meet on the third Tuesdays of January, April, July, and October; to devise measures for the general interests of the school; and special meetings may be called by the Chairman or standing committee, whenever deemed necessary. Sixteen members present shall form a quorum.

RULE 5. Elections to supply vacancies at this Board, shall always be by ballot, at a regular meeting; and nomination of candidates for the same, shall be made by the respective district committees in which such vacancies may occur, at some previous meeting; or in the interval of any two meetings by notice to the secretary of the Board, who shall insert the name or names thus proposed, in his notifications for the meeting next thereafter ensuing, when election thereof may be duly made.

Standing Committees.

RULE 1. The Standing Committee shall consist of as many members as there are districts; whose duty it shall be, besides their attendance on the meetings of the Board, to meet on the second Tuesdays of January, April, July, and October, (and oftener if called by their chairman and secretary,) to consider of every subject relating to the primary schools; to receive the semi-annual reports of the district committees, and the instructor's returns, and prepare abstracts of them; and report at every quarterly meeting the result of their proceedings,—recommending any improvements necessary to promote the general objects of the Board.

RULE 2. It shall be the duty of the standing committee to visit and examine all the schools, semi-annually, viz.—in the months of March and September; assigning a district to each of their members in regular rotation, or otherwise, when expedient.

District Committees.

RULE 1. The schools of this establishment shall be divided into a convenient number of districts, which shall be regularly numbered; and each District Com-

mittee shall consist of as many members as there are schools in the district, who shall annually organize themselves by the choice of a chairman and secretary, and make report thereof to the standing committee without delay.

RULE 2. The schools in each district shall be regularly numbered, and the committee of the district shall assign to each of its members the particular care of a school; but the general supervision of the schools in each district, shall be the charge of the whole committee of the district, to whom shall belong the duty of locating the schools, of electing suitable teachers, of removing those who are incompetent to their duties, or neglect to perform them faithfully, and of controlling all other matters within the district, agreeably to the rules and orders of the Board.

RULE 3. It shall be the duty of the district committees to meet at least once a quarter, and to keep a record of their proceedings relative to the schools under their care.

RULE 4. They shall visit and examine the schools in their districts as often as once a month; and these visits shall be so arranged, as that each member shall examine every school in his district at least once a year; and the report of these monthly examinations shall be made seasonably to the secretaries of their respective districts.

RULE 5. In the first weeks of January and July, each district committee shall prepare from the reports of the monthly examinations, and the returns of the teachers in the district, a tabular report conformable to the blanks furnished by the Board, stating—1. The hour, day, and month on which each examination is made; 2. The state of the weather; 3. The number of girls and boys, present and absent, belonging to each class, with an abstract of the whole; 4. The progress of the pupils in their several exercises; 5. Any occurrences or changes of importance in the district, and remarks thereon; 6. Suggestions for the improvement of the general plan. Which reports, together with the instructor's returns, regularly filed and numbered, are punctually to be sent to the standing committee, before the second Tuesdays of January and July.

RULE 6. When notified by the standing committee of an intended visitation, the directing committee of each school, or such other member as may be deputed for this purpose, shall introduce the visiting member of the standing committee to the school under his care, and assist in the examination.

RULE 7. It shall be the duty of the chairman or secretary of each district committee to call on the City Auditor, in behalf of the instructors, and present their quarterly bills for payment, made on the printed forms provided for the purpose, which must have been previously approved by one or more of the district committee, and receipted by the respective instructors, to whom the amount will be paid over as soon as received by said committee. The quarters for the payment of the instructors' salaries close with the months of February, May, August, and November.

RULE 8. The several district committees shall annually, on the week preceding the May vacation, elect the instructors for their respective schools, and report the same within ten days to the standing committee; and whenever they make any change of instructors, at any other time, shall likewise make report thereof. They shall also give to each instructor elected, a certificate of her appointment, for the time being, not exceeding one year, as follows:

Primary School Establishment.

<p>The Committee for District No. _____</p> <p>elect her to be an instructor in School No. _____</p> <p>seven years of age, for the term of _____</p> <p>to the Committee.</p> <p>Attest,</p>	<p>confiding in the qualifications of _____</p> <p>in said District, of children between four and _____</p> <p>; provided, she continues to give satisfaction</p>	<p>Boston,</p> <p>18 _____</p>
	<p>Chairman of Committee,</p> <p>District No. _____</p>	
	<p>Secretary.</p>	

RULE 9. Whenever an instructor reports the absence or habituated tardiness of a scholar to a member of the district committee, it shall be his duty thereupon, to visit the parents or guardians of said scholar, and endeavor to secure regular attendance; unless the circumstances of the case render such visit inexpedient.

RULE 10. Any member of the district committee shall have power to suspend or remove from his school any pupil, when he may deem it necessary, subject to the revocation of the district committee.

Instructors.

RULE 1. The instructors are to teach their pupils agreeably to the course of instruction hereinafter prescribed; they are also to pay strict attention to their morals and cleanliness, and are in general to conform to the directions of their respective district committees.

RULE 2. The instructors shall receive an equal compensation, as fixed by the city council, which shall be in full for tuition, school rent, and other necessary expenses; and they are expressly prohibited from receiving pay from any pupils.

RULE 3. It shall be the duty of each instructor to keep a daily record of the absence, tardiness, or negligence of the scholars, stating which are the most and least approved, in the book furnished for that purpose; noticing the visitation of any member of the Board, and any other occurrence of importance.

RULE 4. In order early to impress on the minds of our youth the importance of religious duties, and their entire dependence on their Maker,—the instructors are desired to open their schools in the morning with prayer.

RULE 5. On the last days of June and December, the instructors are to make returns to their district committees, agreeably to the blanks furnished by the Board; in which are to be stated at length, the name of each scholar, the age, and progress of each, and whatever else may be designated by said blanks, paying particular attention to arrange the pupils by classes.

RULE 6. Instructors are not to permit visitors to remain in their schools, unless introduced by the district committee; nor to be themselves employed in needle or other work during school hours, except in pursuance of their school duties.

RULE 7. Whenever by sickness or otherwise an instructor is compelled to leave her school for a season, it shall be her duty to inform the district committee thereof, who may either choose another to supply such temporary vacancy, or approve a substitute selected by herself.

RULE 8. The instructor shall be excused from keeping school on the following days, viz.: every Thursday and Saturday afternoon in the year; Fast and Thanksgiving days, and the afternoons preceding them; Election week in May; the first Monday in June; the fourth day of July; Commencement week; and Christmas day; but on no other day except by the express permission of their district committees, or the members having charge of their respective schools.

Schools and Pupils.

RULE 1. The Schools shall contain as nearly an equal number of pupils as is practicable, it being desirable that the average number of daily attendants should be about fifty to each school.

RULE 2. No pupil can be admitted into a primary school without a ticket of admission from a member of the district committee, and all pupils are to provide themselves with the necessary books, when required.

RULE 3. Every scholar on arriving at the age of seven years, shall be carefully examined by one or more members of the district committee; and if deemed qualified for removal to a higher school, shall receive a certificate of recommendation in the following form, which is designed as a reward of merit, and will readily gain the bearer admission to an English grammar school.

Certificate of Recommendation.

The Bearer	child of	, having been instructed at the
Primary School in District No.	kept by	and being
age, is deemed qualified for admission to an English Grammar School, to which		years of
is recommended by		

} Committee of Primary
School, Dist. No.

RULE 4. The school hours shall be uniform in all the schools, viz.: From the first Monday in April to the first Monday in October, each school shall keep from eight o'clock to eleven o'clock in the morning, and from two o'clock to five o'clock in the afternoon; and from the first Monday in October to the first Mon-

day in April, from nine o'clock to twelve o'clock in the morning, and from two o'clock to half past four o'clock in the afternoon.

RULE 5. The sum of two dollars shall be annually appropriated to each school, for such rewards to encourage the children, as the committee of the district shall judge fit, who shall personally distribute them in their respective schools; and a sum proportioned to the number of schools in each district, shall be placed at the disposal of each district committee for that purpose.

RULE 6. The afternoons of every Tuesday and Friday, are to be assigned to the tuition in needlework of those female scholars, who come provided with suitable materials—other pupils will pursue their studies as usual.

Course of Instruction.

CLASSIFICATION.—The pupils in each of the schools shall be arranged into four classes; and the third and fourth classes into two Divisions each, viz. :—

4th Class... 2d Div.—Cards, Alphabet.

1st Div.—Cards continued; Monosyllables and Dissyllables.

3d Class... 2d Div.—Spelling Books; words of two or more syllables.

3d Class... 1st Div.—Spelling Book continued; Spelling and Easy Reading Lessons; the Lord's Prayer; Abbreviations and Numbers commenced.

2d Class... Spelling Book continued; Spelling, Reading, and all the other lessons in the same to the end; the Commandments; Reading Book.

1st Class... Spelling Book continued; Spelling, Punctuation, Abbreviations, Numbers; words of similar sound but different in spelling and signification; Reading Book continued; New Testament.

RULE 1. The second division of the fourth class shall first stand up, and after an appropriate address, shall read from the Cards with a distinct and audible tone of voice, the letters of the Alphabet: In like manner, the first division of the same class, shall read in words of one and two syllables; and no one of this class shall be advanced to the third or higher class, who can not read deliberately and correctly in monosyllables and dissyllables.

RULE 2. The third class must be furnished with the Spelling Book adopted by the Board, and the second division of it must be taught to read therefrom in words of three, four, and five syllables. The first division of the same must be continued in their spelling, and advance to the easy reading lessons of the same book, and learn the Lord's Prayer: the learning of Abbreviations and Numbers is to be commenced, and no one is to be promoted to the second class, who can not spell with ease and propriety words of the above syllables, and read well in the easier lessons of the said Spelling Book.

RULE 3. The second class must proceed in the Spelling Book, through all the spelling, reading, and other lessons of the same; and be taught to recite well the Ten Commandments; must be provided with the book of Reading Lessons, and make progress therein; and no one of this class can be advanced to the first, who has not learned and recited, as far as practicable, all the lessons in the Spelling Book, including the stops and marks, and their uses in reading; the use of the common abbreviations; the letters used for numbers and their uses; and the catalogue of words of similar sound, but different in spelling and signification. They must be able also to recite the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, and to read correctly and readily in the Book of Reading Lessons.

RULE 4. The first class shall be continued and perfected in the lessons of the Spelling Book and book of Reading Lessons; be furnished with the New Testament, and taught to read therein fluently and correctly; and no one of the first class shall receive the highest reward—the recommendation of the examining Committee, to be received into an English Grammar School—unless he or she can spell correctly, read deliberately and audibly, has learned the several lessons taught in the second class, and is of good behavior.

In the Regulations for 1821, the fourth, or youngest class, was composed of pupils in the alphabet, and in monosyllables.

SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION IN SALEM.

BY JOSEPH B. FELT.

EARLIEST SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS.

THE earliest notice of schools and education in Salem is in 1628, when Governor Cradock recommended to Mr. Endicott 'to train up some of the Indian children to reading and religion,'—it is hardly conceivable that so much heathenism could prevail, as a total neglect of their own children; but there is no recorded evidence of such attention, until 1636, when Mr. Endicott, on introducing an application for a grant of land to Mr. John Humphrey, asks for a committee to consider the location thought of, lest it should infringe on the grant already made 'for the building of a colledge,' which had been located on a beautiful plain, called Marblehead Farms.

The first teacher named in the records is Rev. John Fisk, who appears to have commenced his duties here in 1637. Besides teaching, he assisted Mr. Peters in the pulpit, and so continued over two years. 1640, Jan.—'A generall towne meeting,—yong Mr. Norris chose by this assembly to teach schoole.'

1641, March 30.—At the Quarterly Court, 'Col. Endecot moued about the fences and about a free skoole and therefore wished a whole towne meeting about it; therefore, that Goodman Anger warne a towne meeting the second day of the week.' This applied to Salem. It is the first written intimation that we have of instruction, without price,* among our settlers. Still, the nature of the case requires us to conclude, that whatever children could not be taught without the aid of the plantation, they were thus previously assisted. How the measure, so proposed, was carried into effect, may be learned from the succeeding quotation. 1644, Sept. 30.—'Ordered that a note be published on the next lecture day, that such as have children to be kept at schoole, would bring in their names and what they will giue for one whole yeare and, also, that

* Mr. Felt seems not to have apprehended the meaning of *free* as applied to schools in the early legislation of New England, which meant an endowed grammar school, such as most of the prominent settlers had known in England. All the early *free schools*, so called, were *pay schools* in some form to the parents.—Ed.

if any poore body hath children or a childe, to be put to schoole and not able to pay for their schooling, that the towne will pay it by a rate.' The latter clause shows what our ancestors understood substantially by a free school. It was not to have the teacher paid entirely by tax on the inhabitants, but to be so compensated only for such of his pupils, as could not otherwise attend on his instructions. This continued more or less so, among our population, till 1768. Such was the practice, to a limited degree, in the metropolis, and, to a considerable degree, in other places of the Commonwealth. So it still is in such States as Connecticut and New York. Though the laws of Massachusetts, from its infancy, required, that schools should be sustained among its inhabitants, yet, until the year last named, they left them free as to the mode of paying for the tuition. Then they began to assume a more imperative style as to such compensations being raised by assessments on property. From that period, the idea of a free school, in Massachusetts, seems to have been generally, that its teacher was entirely paid by a town tax where no funds existed, and, not as before, partly by tax and partly by the pupils. Hence, the ancient signification of free school was not so extensive as in modern years.

The first notice of, one, among the regular entries of Boston records, is in 1642. But on the last leaf of the first volume, is a list, dated 1636, of subscribers and their donations toward a school of this kind. Had that leaf been lost, not long after it was written on, Boston would have been deprived of its best evidence to prove the honor of having preceded every settlement of our Colony in so honorable an enterprise. Such a fact intimates, that other towns may have made similar provision years before it appears on their common records. According to these, however, so far as they have come to the writer's knowledge, Salem takes the second stand, 1641,* in so commendable a work, and Ipswich, the third, in 1642.

To elucidate the progress of education among our fathers, we may attend to the following items in detail:—

1645.—'Ordered and agreed, that all such as God stirres vp their hearts to contribute to the aduancement of learning, for the maintayninge of poore skollers at the Colledge, at Cambridge, that they bringe into Mr. Price, within one moneth, what they please to giue, and to enter their names with Mr. Foggie and what they giue or contribute.' On a subscription paper, supposed of the same year, in the State Archives, for this purpose, Salem, among other towns, say they will 'answer in two months.'

1654.—Our legislature forbid persons of unsound doctrine and immoral conduct to instruct scholars.

* Dorchester took action respecting a Free School in 1639.

1655.—Our school was kept in the town house.

1656.—A committee are empowered to have 'the schoolehouse repayed.'

1657.—'A bill came to hand to make a rate for the Colledge' for £5 6s.
1663.—Tax for the same, £6 12s.

1668.—Voted £3 to Edward Norris so that he may have a chimney built in his school-house, and £5 'for his incouragement for teaching of children for the yeare ensuinge.' £8 to the College.

1669.—Business to be done 'about a schoole for the towne.'

1670, Feb. 21.—A meeting of inhabitants ordered in March, to consider 'of a grammer scoole maister.'

April 5.—'The selectmen shall take care to provide a Grammer scool maister and agree with him for his mayntenance.'

July 5.—A committee are to agree with Daniel Epes, Jr. 18th.—He was to have £20 a year from the town 'in such pay as may be sutable for him; to haue, besides, halfe pay for all scollers of the towne and whole pay from strangers.' His salary was £60.

1671.—'Colledge money' £6. The expression, 'where the scoolhouse formerly stood,' was used in an account. 'Voated that the selectmen shall take care to provide a house for Mr. Epps to keep skooke in.' 'Edward Norice shall haue £10 allowed him for the year ensueing, towards his maintainance and this to be paid out of the towne rate.'

1672, Jan. 16.—Bill granted by selectmen to pay Daniel Andrews 'for keeping skooke in his house and mending the skooke house, that now is.' £1 18s.

That we may have a general view of education, at this time, in Massachusetts, and thus have some idea of what it then was in Salem, the subsequent extract is given from the election sermon of Rev. Thomas Shepard, delivered in the same year:—

'O that inferior schools were every where so settled and encouraged, as that the College (which the Lord hath made to be a spring of blessing to the land) might not now languish for want of a sufficient supply of young ones from them! There is a great decay in inferior schools, it were well if that, also, were examined and the cause thereof removed, and foundations laid for Free schools, where poor scholars might be then educated by some public stock.'

1673, Jan. 4.—The town records show that Mr. Norris resumed the Grammar school the preceding July 17, for one year, and that a rate of £10 is now ordered for him accordingly. They, also, speak of bills, due Mr. Epes for similar service 'till he went out of towne.' This implies, that the latter had left his employment here and gone elsewhere. How long he staid is unknown. It will be seen, under 1677, that he was invited to take the school, and in so formal a manner, as to indicate, that he may then have been about to return. If so, Mr. Norris may have superintended the school, during his absence, though such was the distressed condition of the whole Colony, on account of the Indian war, that it is likely there was not so great a call, as usual, for such service for about two years.

In Nov. of 1676, the town allowed Mr. Norris £3 for the use of his house, 15 months, which time, it is likely, he spent in teaching the Grammar scholars.

1673, Dec.—As five men neglected to have their children instructed and brought up to some useful calling, our selectmen advertised that such children would be put out to service.

1675.—At the May session, General Court ordered letters for all town clerks, in which the ministers were desired to promote the payment of contributions, due for the new College building, and the subscription of more for its completion.

1677, April 7.—'Voted by y^e towne y^e Mr. Daniell Epes is called to bee a grammar schoole master for y^e towne, soe long as hee shall continue and performe y^e said place in y^e towne, provided hee may haue w^t shall bee annuall allowed him, not by a towne rate, butt in some other suteable way.'

June 28th.—The selectmen 'agreed with Mr. Epes to teach all such scholars, as shall be sent to him from persons in town in y^e English, Latin, and Greek tongue soe as to fit them for y^e Vniuersity, if desired and they are capable; alsoe, to teach them good manners and instruct them in y^e principles of Christian Religion.' He is to receive for each scholar 20s. a year, and if this is not enough to make £60, the selectmen will make up this sum; or, if more than enough, to have it and the price of tuition for scholars out of town and a right to commonage, and be free from all taxes, trainings, watchings, and wardings.

1678, Feb. 17.—Mr. Epes had received from his scholars, toward a half year's salary, £17 19s. 10d. The balance he was to have from rent of certain commons, of Baker's and Misery Islands, as the proportion from the town.

May 9.—Joseph Brown, son of William, who had preached several years at Charlestown, left £50 toward paying for education at the Salem Grammar school.

1680, April 5.—A return is made from Salem to the committee in Boston, 'concerning y^e colledge money and Lt. John Pickering chosen and sent for that end.' For this edifice our townsmen gave £130 2s. 3d., of which Rev. John Higginson gave £5, Messrs. Edmund Batter £20, and William Brown, Jr., £40.

1682, Dec. 18.—£25 5s. 3d., a donation for the Grammar school, by William Brown, Sen., was loaned on interest.

1684, March 8.—Having appropriated annually from £10 to £15, for the use of Mr. Edward Norris, from the first and last resignation of his office in favor of Mr. Epes till the present, the town once more voted him the latter sum, which was the last of the kind he lived to receive and enjoy. Thus to smooth the passage of so worthy a man to the grave, was an act of justice, as well as of kindness to him, who had expended the vigor of his life and intellect to enlighten this community with useful instruction. Such expressions are among the redeeming traits of fallen humanity, and lead us to feel that there is some flesh in mortal hearts.

1687, Feb. 7.—We hear again from the family of noble views and liberal hands. William Brown, Sen., gave to the Grammar school the remainder of a farm which had been granted to him by Salem, but not surveyed.

1688, Jan. 20.—Breathing his last amid the influences which crowned his life, the same benefactor, besides his other literary bequests, left £50 to the same school. This donation was made to lessen the charge of tuition.

1691.—An interesting notice is contained in a Boston Almanac. It relates

to the New England Primer of a second edition then in press. The purpose of this little book in our schools is denoted by its name. It is represented as being enlarged with more directions for spelling, the prayer of Edward VI., and the verses said to have been written by John Rogers, the martyr. One edition of it, issued at Providence, 1774, has a likeness of George III.; another at Hartford, Conn., 1777, has the portrait of Samuel Adams; and a third, at Boston, of the same year, has a profile of John Hancock. As well known, such a work, of far more utility than size, contained the catechisms of John Cotton, printed 1656, and of the Westminster Assembly. How far it resembled the Primer of Great Britain, which existed before our fathers came to America, is not known to the writer. Locke, the philosopher, mentions a book of this name, in his writings. One called the Royal Primer was common here in 1759. In one form or another, it was probably used in the Primary schools of New England from its first settlement till within a half century.

Here we are reminded of other books, once considered indispensable, but long since laid aside. The Hornbook seems to have been of a simpler plan than the Primer. It was so called because of its horn covers. Shakspeare spoke of it as the teacher of boys in his day. It was employed, for a like purpose, in Massachusetts, ninety years ago. It gave rise to an ancient remark, as expressive of ignorance, 'he does not know his hornbook.' This is equivalent to a more modern saying, 'he does not know his letters.'

Another book, early imported, was 'the English Schoole Master,' a 15th edition of which was printed in London, 1624. Its main object was to teach correct reading. The Psalter was long employed for a similar purpose. Under different modifications, it was known in Europe prior to the colonization of our territory. One, styled the New England Psalter of 1784, has the psalms of David, the proverbs of Solomon, the sermon of Christ on the Mount, and the Nicene creed. It was advertised in Salem, 1771. It was read, in some Massachusetts schools, to 1793. The Testament and Bible appear to have been read in our schools, for the most part, from their first formation. A bare hint to exclude them from this use would have alarmed our fathers, as treason, to say the least, against the claims of Protestantism.

Among our earliest Arithmetics was James Hodder's. A 28th edition of his was printed in London, 1719. Of the aids to study Geography were the works of G. Meriton, printed in London, 1679, of Laurence Eachard, issued there in a third impression, 1693, and other authors.

Of our ancient English Dictionaries was R. Coles's, published in London, 1692, and another of John Bolloker, the ninth edition of which was printed in London, 1695.

For the Latin language, there was John Brinsley's *Accidence*, by question and answer, first issued in 1611-12. Another called, 'Directions for young Latinists,' printed in London, 1639. An American publication by Ezekiel Cheever, called the *Accidence*, and printed about 1650, was long noted for such a study. Hoole's *Accidence*, 1681. For the Greek, there was the Westminster Grammar of 1671, and other like works. In the Hebrew, was the grammar of William Schickard, issued 1623, and of Buxtorf, printed before 1629. With this view of some books for different branches of education within the first century of our Commonwealth, we pass on to a later period.

1694.—Each able scholar of the town paid 15s. a year at the Grammar school; 1697, paid 12s. in money, and, 1698, paid 18s.

1698, March 15.—The village ask aid in support of their school.

1699, March 1.—Samuel Whitman, who came from Hull, succeeded Mr. Eppes in the Grammar school.

May 9.—The town, in their communication to the selectmen, said, 'you shall give y^e Gramer school-master such instructions and directions, as you shall think needfull for regulation of y^e schoole.'

June 26.—The selectmen ordered that Mr. Whitman have £50 salary in money, each scholar to pay 12^s a month, and what this lacked should be made up to him out of the funds 'sett apart for y^e Grammar school.'

Aug. 25.—They concluded to call John Emerson of Charlestown, as successor to Mr. Whitman; to teach Greek and Latin, writing, ciphering, and 'to perfect such in reading, as can read a chapter competently well.' They were to give him £50 salary out of the funds, and what these fell short, was to be 'proportioned on y^e scholars by y^e selectmen.' A contract was made with Mr. Emerson, Sept. 23.

1700, Feb. 9.—As a sample of the income for this school at the date here given, the subsequent items are presented:—

Ryall Side.....	£22 5 6
Baker's Island.....	3 0 0
Misery Islands.....	3 0 0
Beverly Ferry.....	6 0 0
Interest on Wm. Brown's legacy of £50.....	3 0 0
Interest on Joseph Brown's legacy of £50.....	3 0 0
Marblehead Ferry.....	0 18 0

Amount, £41 3 6

The school bell was to be rung at 7 A.M., and 5 P.M. from March 1 to Nov. 1, at 8 A.M. and 4 P.M. from Nov. 1 to March 1, and 'y^e school to begin and end accordingly.' The selectmen, in order to proportion the balance due Mr. Emerson, gave the ensuing facts. He had 20 scholars. For the first quarter of his tuition, each scholar was to pay 3s., and, in future, when the pupils are 20 and under, 3s., when 25, 2s. 6d., when 30, 2s., and when 40 and more, 1s. 6d. If any surplus, from this source, it should be for the use of the school.

1700, May 20.—Voted that the inhabitants, without the bridge, have £15 annually, for three years, toward 'learning their children to read, write, and cipher.' Grants, in this direction, as comprising Ryall Side, Middle Precinct, and the Village, were continually made. John Cromwell, who died this year, indicated his judicious and benevolent regard for our community, in a bequest of £20 in money, for a writing and ciphering school. He ordered this sum to be laid out in land and increased until such a school should be set up.

1712, March 10.—As Mr. Emerson had died, a committee are chosen 'to procure a suitable Grammar school master for y^e instructing of youth in Grammar learning and to fitt them for y^e Colledge and also to learn them to write and cipher and to perfect them in reading.' Thus we have notice of the first Board, who were kept distinct from our selectmen, to superintend the concerns of education. Then commenced the separate records of such a new organization.

June 25th.—John Barnard of Boston, began to keep the Grammar school at £50 a year.

Sept. 1.—Nathaniel Higginson commenced the school for reading, writing, and ciphering 'in the north end of the town,' at £30 a year. Boys, in each of the schools, except those unable, paid 8s. apiece for a year's instruction. In looking over a list of them, we are reminded, that a larger proportion of the indigent scholars became distinguished than of the others.

Dec. 16.—The people at the village voted £5 to 'widow Catherine Dealland,' for teaching school among them, and invited her to do the same service another year, for the like sum. She accepted.

1713, March 9.—The committee, perceiving that 2s. a quarter for each boy of the Latin and English schools, in the body of the town, was insufficient, agreed that it should be 2s. 6d. in money, payable at the commencement of the term. Every 'scholar that goes in winter, to find three feet of wood, or to pay to their masters 4s. 6d. in money, to purchase wood withal.'

Sept. 25.—Obadiah Ayres succeeded Mr. Barnard in the Grammar school at the same compensation. The latter took another school in Boston.

1716, Feb. 14.—Departing this life, William Brown left £100 to the Grammar school. The interest of this sum was to be used for lessening the price of tuition there.

1718, July.—As the Grammar school was destitute of an instructor, and the town liable to prosecution therefor, they sent off Mr. Pratt, on horseback, to Cambridge, so that their deficiency might be supplied. On this emergency, Col. Samuel Brown, of the kindred whose benevolence always throbbed quick and strong for the honor of Naumkeag, lent 18s. to meet the expenses.

1724, Jan 10.—The village schoolmaster was to instruct, one month at a time, in four places, namely, at Will Hill and three positions 'in the plantation.'

'Samuel Brown grants unto the Grammar school in Salem, to be kept in or near the town house street, £120 passable money, to make the same a free* school, or towards the educating of eight or ten poor scholars, yearly, in the Grammar learning or the mathematics, viz: the mariner's art; the interest thereof to be improved only for that end forever, as a committee, chosen by the town of Salem, for the taking care of said school may direct, with the advice of the minister or ministers of the first church and myself or children or two of the chief of their posterity.' Mr. Brown then stated, that he gave £60 to the English school, so that its income might be applied 'towards making the same a free school, or for learning six poor scholars;†' and a like sum 'to a woman's school, the interest thereof to be yearly improved for the learning of six very poor children their letters and to spell and read, who may be sent to said school six or seven months in the year.'

When Mr. Brown had announced his intention, the selectmen, for themselves and the town, 'did immediately signify their gratefull acceptance and hearty thanks for so generous and honorable a gift.' Judge Lynde expressed his obligations and asked 'liberty to call for a vote of thanks from the whole assembly, which was done, by a very cheerful lifting up of hands, none excepted.‡

1743, May 11.—Voted that the Latin and English schools be united under a

* We here get the meaning of free, as applied to a school—a school in which grammar learning is the staple instruction—a grammar school in the English sense.

† Mr. Brown died in May, 1731, bequeathing £150 to the schools, which was apportioned by the town as follows: £50 for the Latin; £50 for the English, and £50 for the Woman's school.

master and usher, which was revoked in three years. Each Latin scholar paid 5s. a quarter, and each English scholar 2s. 6d. a quarter.

1746, May 24.—Mr. Nutting had £140, paper currency, and Mr. Gerrish £40 a quarter. Such money then passed at 37s. for an oz. of silver.

1752, March 9.—After the first of May, all boys who go to the Grammar school, must study Latin as well as read, write, and cipher. Each of them was to pay 6s. a quarter. Abijah Hart chosen to assist Mr. Gale, and begin May 4, at £40 salary.

1764, May 16.—Order for \$50 to be drawn from the Treasury to pay for learning the poorest children to read at women's schools.

1767, March 9.—A committee of the English school are empowered to expend the same sum for a like purpose. Persons are appointed to inquire how many such children have been instructed by female teachers, within three years, with an expectation of being paid by the town. Mr. Goodale is to have £13 6s. 8d. quarterly from the town, and 6s. from each of his scholars.

1770, Dec. 6.—Town schools to begin in the morning at 7 o'clock in summer, and 8 o'clock in winter; at 1 o'clock all the year round, and leave off at 5 o'clock in summer and 4 in winter. Vacations at general election, commencement day, and rest of that week, fasts, thanksgivings, trainings, Wednesday and Saturday afternoons. Among the regulations of the town for their instructors, is one on the subject of punishing scholars, which has always perplexed teachers, committees, and parents. It judiciously observes of each master and his pupils, 'that when he is obliged to correct them, he do it calmly and endeavor to make such correction dreaded more on account of the shame, than the pain attending it.'

1771, Feb. 12.—Widow Abigail Fowler, a noted 'school dame,' finished her earthly labors. She was in her 68th year, and began to teach children before she was 18, and continued so to do till her decease, with the exception of a few years after she was married.

1772, July.—Charles Shimmin advertises to instruct children and youth in the rudiments of English, with book-keeping, geography, astronomy, etc. The next December, besides his proposal to keep an evening school, he offers the free instruction of geometry, for an hour each day, to all who will punctually attend, 'demonstrating the propositions with the greatest perspicuity, chiefly by a new and easy method of reasoning by proportional quantities.' This gentleman died in Boston, 1789, æt. 40, eminent as a teacher.

1773, April 20th.—Mr. Norris, one of the town instructors, advertises to commence a school for young ladies, beginning at the hours of 11 and 5 o'clock, where they will learn to write and cipher.

27th.—Elizabeth Gaudin opened a school yesterday in Derby street, to instruct young ladies in plain sewing, marking tent and Irish stitch. She also proposes to take some misses as boarders.

June 7.—The boys, of indigent families, who attend the masters' schools, but are not fitted, are to be placed under the care of female teachers, with other children of like condition, so that the whole expense shall not exceed £30.

Dec. 18.—Mr. Steward will teach, at the Grammar school-house, from Jan. 1 to April 1, six poor youths the mariner's art, and as many indigent lads to write and cipher, every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday-evenings. Paid out of Brown donation.

THE ORIGINAL GRAMMAR SCHOOL OF NEW ENGLAND.

THE FREE TOWN SCHOOL OF DORCHESTER.*

THE first Town School established in Dorchester, in May, 1639, was a Grammar School for instruction in "English, Latin, and other tongues," and was supported out of an endowment in the lands of Thompson's Island granted by the General Court to the inhabitants of the town of Dorchester, on the 4th of March, 1634-5. The occupants of these lands were assessed by the Town in 1639 a certain proportionate "rent" (20 pounds) towards the maintenance of a (not a free) school. This "rent of 20 pounds yearly," was not collected from all the inhabitants of the town, but only from the proprietors of this Island, and was to be paid "to such a schoolmaster as shall undertake to teach english, latine, and other tongues, and also writing;" and the seven (select) men were to decide from time to time whether "the maydes shall be taught with the boys or not." It appears from the records of the time, that "such girls as can read in the Psalter," were for the first time allowed to attend a Grammar School in 1784, "from the 1st of June to the first of October."

Owing to a difficulty in collecting the rents, a voluntary agreement was made in 1641 by certain inhabitants of the Town of Dorchester "whose names are hereunto subscribed," "for themselves and their heirs," by which their interest in Thompson Island was conveyed to the town for the maintenance of a free school for instructing children and youth in good literature and learning." To this school other donations were made by the General Court and by individuals. In 1659, the Court donates to the Dorchester people 1000 acres of land "where they can find it according to law," in consideration of a loss of title by the town to the Island, by which the town school was endangered. In 1655, John Clap gave by will a house and land "for the maintenance of the ministry and a school in Dorchester for ever," out of which the town realized \$13,590. In 1673, John Howard donated £20, and in 1674 Christopher Gilson devised "the residue of his property after paying his debts, to the free school of Dorchester in perpetuity." In 1701, Gov. Stoughton, and in 1797, Hon. James Bowdoin, made liberal donations to the school. In the early history of this school, as of the original "free school," the teacher was paid, beyond the avails of the endowment, a certain sum by each pupil, which was not unfrequently paid in produce. Mr. Ichabod Wisner, received either for rent or tuition, "4 bushels of Indian Corn from Mr. Patten, 2 of Ensigne Foster, and peas of Arthur Brecke."

The custom also prevailed in Dorchester of paying part of the expense of the school, by assessing the cost of fuel on "them who send their children to schoole." In 1688, it was provided that those who send to the school shall bring for each child a load of wood, "and those who bring it in log-wood are to cut it after it come to the school-house." In 1710, the parents could commute by "paying two shillings and sixpence in money, to be delivered to the school-

* See chapter on Schools by Mr. A. B. Trask, in the History of the Town of Dorchester, 1889.

master within one month after the 29th of September annually, or their children to have no privilege of the fire." This is certainly not a *free school* according to our modern notions. In 1713 the commutation was increased to three shillings and sixpence. In 1731, a writing school was voted for the south end.

The following rules and orders, concerning the original Town School of Dorchester were drawn up by the wardens of the school, and confirmed by the major part of the inhabitants in 1645, when the school was first opened:—

RULES FOR THE ORDERING OF THE TOWN SCHOOL OF DORCHESTER IN 1645.

First. It is ordered that three able and sufficient men of the plantation shall be chosen to be wardens or overseers of the school, who shall have the charge, oversight and ordering thereof, and of all things concerning the same in such manner as is hereafter expressed, and shall continue in their office and place for term of their lives respectively, unless by reason of any of them removing his habitation out of the town, or for any other weighty reason, the inhabitants shall see cause to elect and choose others in their room, in which cases and upon the death of any of the same wardens, the inhabitants shall make a new election and choice of others. And Mr. Haward, Deacon Wiswall, Mr. Atherton are elected to be the first wardens or overseers.

Secondly. The said wardens shall have full power to dispose of the school stock, whether the same be in land or otherwise, both such as is already in being and such as may by any good means hereafter be added; and shall collect and receive the rents, issues and profits arising and growing of and from the said stock. And the said rents, issues and profits shall employ and lay out only for the best behoof and advantage of the said school, and the furtherance of learning thereby, and shall give a faithful and true account of their receipts and disbursements so often as they shall be thereunto required by the inhabitants or the major part of them.

Thirdly. The said wardens shall take care and do their utmost and best endeavor that the said school may from time to time be supplied with an able and sufficient schoolmaster who nevertheless is not to be admitted into the place of schoolmaster without the general consent of the inhabitants or the major part of them.

Fourthly. So often as the said school shall be supplied with a schoolmaster so provided and admitted as aforesaid, the wardens shall from time to time pay or cause to be paid unto the said schoolmaster such wages out of the rents, issues and profits of the school stock as shall of right come due to be paid.

Fifthly. The said wardens shall from time to time see that the school-house be kept in good and sufficient repair, the charges of which reparation shall be defrayed and paid out of such rents, issues and profits of that school stock if there be sufficient, or else of such rents as shall arise and grow in the time of the vacancy of the schoolmaster if there be any such—and in defect of such vacancy the wardens shall repair to the 7 [select] men of the town for the time being, who shall have power to tax the town with such sum or sums as shall be requested for the repairing of the school-house as aforesaid.

Sixthly. The said wardens shall take care that every year at or before the end of the 9th month there be brought to the school-house twelve sufficient cart or wain loads of wood for fuel, to be for the use of the schoolmaster and the scholars in winter, the cost and charge of which said wood to be borne by the scholars for the time being who shall be taxed for the purpose at the discretion of the said wardens.

Lastly. The said wardens shall take care that the schoolmaster for the time being do faithfully perform his duty in his place, as a schoolmaster ought to do, as well in other things as in these which are hereafter expressed, viz:—

1st. That the schoolmaster shall diligently attend his school, and do his utmost endeavor for benefiting his scholars according to his best discretion, without unnecessarily absenting himself to the prejudice of his scholars and hindering their learning.

2dly. That from the beginning of the first month until the end of the seventh, he shall every day begin to teach at seven of the clock in the morning and dismiss his scholars at five in the afternoon. And for the other five months, that

is from the beginning of the eighth month until the end of the twelfth month he shall every day begin at eight of the clock in the morning, and [end] at four in the afternoon.

3dly. Every day in the year the usual time of dismissing at noon shall be at eleven, and to begin again at one, except that

4thly. Every second day in the week he shall call his scholars together between twelve and one of the clock to examine them what they have learned on the sabbath day preceding, at which time also he shall take notice of any misdemeanor or outrage that any of his scholars shall have committed on the sabbath, to the end that at some convenient time due admonition and correction may be administered by him according as the nature and quality of the offense shall require, at which said examination any of the elders or other inhabitants that please may be present, to behold his religious care herein, and to give their countenance and approbation of the same.

5thly. He shall equally and impartially receive and instruct such as shall be sent and committed to him for that end, whether their parents be poor or rich, not refusing any who have right and interest in the school.

6thly. Such as shall be committed to him he shall diligently instruct, as they shall be able to learn, both in humane learning and good literature, and likewise in point of good manners and dutiful behavior towards all, especially their superiors as they shall have occasion to be in their presence, whether by meeting them in the street or otherwise.

7thly. Every day of the week at two of the clock in the afternoon, he shall catechise his scholars in the principles of Christian religion, either in some catechism which the wardens shall provide and present, or in defect thereof in some other.

8thly. And because all man's endeavors without the blessing of God must needs be fruitless and unsuccessful, therefore it is to be a chief part of the schoolmaster's religious care to commend his scholars and his labors amongst them unto God by prayer morning and evening, taking care that his scholars do reverently attend during the same.

9thly. And because the rod of correction is an ordinance of God necessary sometimes to be dispensed unto children, but such as may easily be abused by overmuch severity and rigor on the one hand, or by overmuch indulgence and lenity on the other, it is therefore ordered and agreed that the schoolmaster for the time being shall have full power to minister correction to all or any of his scholars without respect of persons, according to the nature and quality of the offense shall require; whereto all his scholars must be duly subject; and no parent or other of the inhabitants shall hinder or go about to hinder the master therein: nevertheless if any parent or other shall think there is just cause of complaint against the master for too much severity such shall have liberty friendly and lovingly to expostulate with the master about the same; and if they shall not attain to satisfaction, the matter is then to be referred to the wardens, who shall impartially judge betwixt the master and such complainants. And if it shall appear to them that any parent shall make causeless complaint against the master in this behalf, and shall persist in and continue so doing, in such case the wardens shall have power to discharge the master of the care and charge of the children of such parents. But if the thing complained of be true, and that the master have indeed been guilty of ministering excessive correction, and shall appear to them to continue therein, notwithstanding that they have advised him otherwise, in such case, as also in the case of too much lenity or any other great neglect of duty in his case persisted in, it shall be in the power of the wardens to call the inhabitants together to consider whether it were not meet to discharge the master of his place, that so some other more desirable may be provided. And because it is difficult, if not impossible, to give particular rules that shall reach all cases which may fall out, therefore, for a conclusion, it is ordered and agreed in general, that, where particular rules are wanting, there it shall be a part of the office and duty of the wardens to order and dispose of all things that concern the school, in such sort as in their wisdom and discretion they shall judge most conducive for the glory of God and the training up of the children of the town in religion, learning, and civility:—And these orders to be continued till the major part of the town shall see cause to alter any part thereof."

Mr. Trask, in his chapter on "Schools," makes the following remarks on the school-houses, school-books, and teachers of Dorchester:—

In 1694, the town, after voting in 1674 to repair the school-house by clabording or shingling the roof, and fitting up with seats, and a lock and key, voted to erect near the meeting-house a new building 20 feet long and 19 feet wide, with a chamber floor, one pair of stairs, and a chimney. Dr. Harris says—"the smooth face of a large rock made the principal part of the north end and formed the back of the fireplace." Of a school-house standing in 1759, an old scholar says—"The school-room was nearly square. On three sides of the house a seat was attached, for the boys to sit on, in front of which, at a proper distance, was the place to write and lay their books while studying. This flat desk or form was made of sufficient width to accommodate them with another range of seats on the inside, so that the boys would write and study facing each other. There was a shelf, also, running round the house on three sides, on which the books were laid when not in use. The boys of the inner seat, coming to the school, through mud and snow, as they often did, by stepping on their own seat to the place on which they wrote, had access to their books on the shelves.

One of the earliest books used in our schools was the old fashioned, blue-covered, New England Primer, so well known to us, which has passed through such a variety of editions—the undisputed standard of orthodoxy in the days of our fathers. There was another book, however, which may have been, to some extent, its antecedent. A single leaf of coarse paper, with the alphabet and Lord's prayer printed on it, was fastened firmly, with glue, or some other similar substance, on a thin piece of board, and covered over with horn, to keep it from soiling. A book thus manufactured was called a "horn-book," and was "used for teaching children their letters." Not unlikely it may have had priority to the primer in the Dorchester dame schools. It was a requisite of admission into the grammar school, that the child should be able to read correctly in the primer. Previously to 1665, Richard Mather's catechism* was in use. In that year, the town voted to distribute a "new impression" of the book among the families in town. In relation to the books and classes in the old school, near Meeting-house Hill, a century ago, Dea. Humphreys states that there were three classifications. The lowest was called "the Psalter class," next "the Testament class," then "the Bible class." The latter were required to read about two chapters at the commencement and close of the school, spell words contained in those chapters, and write and cypher. From the year 1759 to 1767, when he left the school, he saw "no other English books" there, he says, except those that have been mentioned, "till about the last two years, we had Dilworth's spelling-book and Hodder's arithmetic."

Of the seventy teachers whose names have been found connected with the Dorchester schools, during the time above mentioned—nearly a century and three quarters—fifty-three, or three-fourths of the whole number, graduated at Harvard College. Another obtained his education at that College, but did not receive a degree, though he subsequently fulfilled, faithfully, the duties of a minister, both in a clerical and in a political capacity. Of the remaining seventeen in the list, two graduated at Cambridge University, in England, two at Brown University, R. I., and one at Dartmouth College. Thirty-one of these school-masters, or nearly one half, were ordained ministers, the most of them subsequent to their teaching school.

* The following is the title-page of a copy of this rare book in the possession of J. W. Thornton, Esq., Boston, Mass.

A | CATECHISM | or, | The Grounds and Principles of Christian Religion, set | forth by way of Question | and Answer | Wherein the summe of the Doctrine of | Religion is comprised, familiarly opened, | and clearly confirmed from the | Holy Scriptures. | By RICHARD MATHER, Teacher to the | Church at Dorchester in New England.

Hold fast the form of sound words which thou hast heard of me | in faith and love, which is in Christ Jesus. 2 Tim. 1, 13.

When for the time ye ought to be Teachers, ye have need that | one teach you again the first principles of the Oracles of God, and are become such as have need of | Milk, and not of strong meat. Heb. 5, 12.

London. | Printed for John Rothwell, and are to be sold at | his shop at the sign of the Sunne and Foun | inaine in Paul's Church yard near the little | North-gate. 1650.

Brief Notices of the Early Teachers.

Mr. Trask, in Chapter XXIII., gives "brief notices of the early teachers in the public schools" of Dorchester, and we avail ourselves of his labors to make their names and merits known to our readers:

REV. THOMAS WATERHOUSE is the pioneer teacher on the records of the town. He was born about the year 1600; was a graduate of Cambridge University, in England; taught in Dorchester in the year 1639, but soon after returned to England, and was a preacher in the County of Suffolk.

Palmer in his *Nonconformist's Memorial*, mentions his subsequent labors in England: "He was a scholar of the Charter house. He came from the university very zealous for the ceremonies, but being curate to old Mr. Candler of Coddensham, his zeal very much abated. He there married a gentlewoman of a very good family. He afterwards had a living (in the gift of the Charter house) near Bishops-Stortford, in Herts. Upon the breaking out of the civil war, he went to New England, and had removed all his effects in order to his settling there. But soon hearing of the death of his wife's brother (upon which a good estate fell to her and her sister), he returned to Old England, when he became master of the public school in Colchester. He had not been there long before he had an impulse upon his spirit that some remarkable judgment would befall that place, upon which he determined to remove, and no arguments could prevail with him to stay. Accordingly, in about half a year that town was besieged, and the hardships they went through were peculiar. Mr. W. had removed into High-Suffolk, where his wife's estate lay. After being silenced, he lived at Ipswich, and sometimes preached there occasionally; but his principal employment was teaching a school, for which he was peculiarly qualified, and he had good success. He died at Cresting in 1679 or 1680, near 80 years of age. He was a very useful man, of a blameless conversation, and very firm in his Nonconformity."

HENRY BUTLER was the teacher as early as 1648. He was born in the county of Kent, England, and received the degree of M.A. at Cambridge University. "When he was about 30 years of age he took a voyage into New England, with several others, for the free exercise of their religion, and continued there 11 or 12 years in the work of the ministry, and teaching university learning."

ICHABOD WISWALL, the second son of Elder Thomas and Elizabeth Wiswall, was born in Dorchester in 1637, and entered Harvard College, 1654. Several of the members of his class were dissatisfied with a vote of the College Corporation, requiring that students should pass four years in the institution previous to taking a degree, whereas, at the time they entered, a continuance of three years entitled them to that honor. Accordingly, Mr. Wiswall, with William Brimsmead, of Dorchester—who was afterwards the first minister of Marlborough—and perhaps others, in a spirit, as they thought, of manly independence, left the College at the expiration of three years, without receiving the customary degree. Before leaving College, however, young Wiswall seems to have been engaged in teaching school in Dorchester. In the Town Records, under date of 8 Feb., 1655, is an agreement between the Selectmen and Thomas Wiswall, that his son Ichabod, then about 18 years of age, should be the teacher of the school for three years.

The following is a copy of the contract, signed by Ichabod Wiswall, and by Edward Breck in the name of the rest of the Selectmen:

"First, that Ichabod, wth the Consent of his Father, shall from the 7th of March next Ensuinge, vnto the end of three full years from thence be compleate and ended, instructe and teach in a free Schoole in Dorchester all such Cheldren as by the Inhabitants shall be Committed vnto his Care, in English, Latine and Greeke as from time to time the Cheldren shall be Capable, and also instruct them in writings as hee shall be able; w^{ch} is to be understood such Cheldren as are so farr entr^d all redie to knowe there Leters and to spell some what; and also prouided the schoole-howse from time to time be kept in good order and comfortable for a man to abide in, both in somer and in Winter, by prouiding Fire seasonably, so that it may neather be preiudiciall to master nor Scholar—and in cause of palpable neglect and matter of Complaint, and not reformed, it shall not binde the m^r to Endanger his health.

"Secondly, that the Selectmen of Dorchester shall, from yeare to yeare, every yeare paye or cause to be paid vnto Icabod or his Father by his Assignment the full somme of Twentie-Five Pounds, two-thirds in wheate, pease, or barley, marchantable, and one-third in Indian, att or before the first of March, duering the three yeares, yearly, at price Currant, w^{ch} is to be understoode the price w^{ch} the generall Court shall from time to time appoint."

WILLIAM POLE, an early settler of Dorchester, taught as early as 1659, and until 1668. In the year 1661, "the Selectmen did covenant" with him, and promised him £25 for his services that year. In 1666, there were "agitations about a schoolmaster," and a committee, consisting of Mr. Richard Mather, Lieut. Hopestill Foster and John Minot, were chosen to procure a master, while at the same time, "it was voted that Mr. Pole should go on in keeping school until another master be provided." In 1667, the same committee were empowered "to agree with such a man as they shall judge meet, not exceeding £40 a year." Mr. Pole continued with them, at the desire of the town, till another could be obtained, a schoolmaster having long "been endeavored after." In 1669, "Sir Atherton" succeeded him. In addition to Mr. Pole's services as a schoolmaster, it may be mentioned that "he was Clerk of y^e Writs & Register of Births, Deaths & Marriages in Dorchester about 10 years."

During Mr. Pole's administration (in 1665) the town voted that "the new impression of Mr. Mather's catechism should be paid for out of the town rate; and so the books to become the town's"—the said work to be disposed of, to each family, according to the direction of the Elders, with the Selectmen and Deacon Capen. The town paid Anthony Fisher £4 10s. for printing the catechism. Cotton Mather, in his life of Rev. Richard Mather, his grandfather, says: "He published *catechisms*, a lesser and a larger, so well formed that a Luther himself would not have been ashamed of being a learner from them."

HOPE ATHERTON, son of Maj. Humphrey Atherton, was born in Dorchester, where he was baptized 30th August, 1646. He graduated at Harvard College, 1665, and taught the school in his native town in 1668 and 1669. Consideration £25, "to be paid him in such Marchantable pay as y^e towne usually pay Rates & towne charges in:"—"what Children come out of other Towns, he shall have y^e benefit of them." In 1669, he was to have £30. On the 8th of June of the same year, it was voted by the town to dismiss Mr. Atherton from his engagement to the school by the 20th of September following, "or sooner, if the town by their Committee can provide a supply for the school." This action was taken in accordance with a desire expressed by "brethren & friends living at or near the town of Hadley," that Mr. A. should enter "the public work of the Ministry with them." In 1670, Hatfield was incorporated as a distinct town, having been previously a part of Hadley. Mr. Atherton accepted a call tendered him by the people of Hatfield to become their first minister, and on the 25th of November, 1670, they voted to build him a suitable house, and to give him a salary of £60 a year, "two-thirds to be paid in good merchantable wheat, and one-third in pork, with this provision: 'If our crops fall so short that we cannot pay in kind, then we are to pay in the next best pay we have.'"

Rev. Hope Atherton married Sarah, daughter of Lieut. John Hollister, of Wethersfield, Conn., in 1674. She had by Mr. Atherton three children. Soon after the death of Mr. Atherton, probably in 1679, his widow married Timothy Baker, of Northampton, a man of distinction in that town. She was his second wife. By this connection Mr. Baker had five children (the first child being born in February, 1680-81), one of whom was the celebrated Capt. Thomas Baker, who married Christine Otis, of Dover, N. H.

Mr. Atherton accompanied Capt. Turner, in 1678, as chaplain, in the expedition against the Indians, in the neighborhood of Greenfield, which resulted in the celebrated "Falls Fight."

JOHN FOSTER, son of Capt. Hopestill and Mary Foster, was born in Dorchester about 1648; graduated at Harvard College in 1667; commenced teaching school, it is thought, October of 1669, at £25 per annum. In article fourth of his agreement, it was "granted as a liberty to y^e Master if he see it meete, for to go once in a fortnight to a lecturer." His salary in 1670 was £30. On the 23d of December, 1672, it was agreed that Mr. Foster "shall teach such latten scholars as shall come to his fathers hous one wholl yeer next ensuing from the first of January next, and to instruct and give out Coppies to such as come to him to learne to write"—"for his paines to haue £10." In 1674, his "recompence" for teaching grammar scholars in English, Latin and writing, "at y^e schole-house" was £30. The same year the General Court granted permission to establish a printing press in Boston. One was set up by Mr. Foster in 1675 or '6. This was the first printing house in Boston; now there are about eighty in that city. Mr. F. is known to have been the author of an almanac for 1673, also for 1680; and author and printer of almanacs for the years 1676, '78, '79, '81, the latter being the year of his decease. Among other works, he printed Increase Mather's *Exhortation to the Inhabitants of New England* ("Are to be sold over against the Dove"), 4to, 1676; Hubbard's *Election Sermon*, delivered 3d May, 1676, 4to, 1676; L. Mather's *Brief History of the Warre with the Indians, &c.*, 4to; A relation of the Troubles of New

England from the Indians, &c., by I. Mather, 4to, 1677; Hubbard's Narration of the Troubles with the Indians, &c., 4to, 1677; Rev. John Eliot's Harmony of the Gospels, 4to, 1678; Increase Mather's Sermon "preached to the Second Church in Boston in New England, March 17, 1679-80, when that Church did solemnly and explicitly Renew their Covenant with God, and one with another," also, Samuel Willard's Discourse, preached the same day, after that Church had "renewed their Covenant." The two discourses, which were probably among the last works printed by Mr. Foster, are bound together. The preface, by Increase Mather, is dated April 19th, 1680. These books are all in quarto form, and several of them are in the possession of Mr. S. G. Drake.

Blake, in his Annals (p. 29), states that Mr. Foster "made the then Seal or arms of y^e Colony, namely an Indian with a Bow & Arrow,* &c."

Mr. Foster died September 9th, 1681, aged 33.

JAMES MINOT, who taught in 1675, '77, '78, '79, '80, was born in Dorchester, 14th (Farmer says 18th) September, 1653. He was the son of Capt. John and Lydia (Butler) Minot, and grandson of Elder George Minot, who settled at what is now Neponset Village about 1630. Elder George was born in England, August 4th, 1594, and was the son of Thomas Minot, Esq., of Saffron Walden, Essex, England.

James, the subject of this notice, graduated at Harvard College in 1675. "He studied divinity and physic," and by the combination made himself more efficient to minister to the general wants of the people. In June, 1680, the town "voted that if Mr. Minot can be procured to preach once a fortnight (his year beginning in January last and to end next January) that he should have twenty pounds, half money and half other pay." Probably Rev. Mr. Flint, the pastor, was in feeble health at this time, for he died on the 16th of September following.

After relinquishing the school in Dorchester, Mr. M. "removed to Concord, where he was employed as a teacher and physician. In 1685, he was hired to preach in Stow, 'for 12s. 6d. per day, one-half cash and one-half Indian corn;' and again in 1686, for 'what older towns had given their ministers—£13 for 13 Sabbaths.' In 1692, he had another application to preach there, which he declined. Relinquishing the profession soon after, he was appointed Justice of the Peace, in 1692, and a captain of the militia, then offices of much distinction. He represented the town several years in General Court, was much employed in various public trusts, and distinguished himself for his talents and excellent character."

He married Rebecca, daughter of Capt. Timothy Wheeler, of Concord, by whom he had ten children. Many distinguished individuals in our country descended from them. Mrs. Minot died on the 23d of September, 1734, aged 68. He deceased September 20th, 1735, aged 83 years.

WILLIAM DENISON taught the school in 1681—to have £20 and "his accommodation for diet;" the next year to have twenty shillings more in money; in 1683 he taught part of the year. He was a son of Edward Denison; was born in Roxbury, 18th September, 1664; graduated at Harvard College, 1681; married Dorothy, daughter of Thomas Weld, of Roxbury, 12th May, 1686. He was made a freeman in 1690; was a representative to the General Court for twenty years, and died in Roxbury, 22d of March, 1718, aged 54 years.

Mr. D. belonged to a family of note. His grandfather William, one of the early settlers of Roxbury, was a freeman in 1632, and a representative in 1653. His son Daniel was a representative many years; an assistant; a speaker of the House; afterwards a major-general. Edward, the second son of William, and the father of the subject of this notice, married Elizabeth Weld in 1641;

* Dr. Pierce says (Address at opening of Town Hall, Brookline, 1845, p. 21) "the device is" "ascribed to" "John Hull, the mint master. In regard to this, it may be said that the original silver seal of the Massachusetts Company, in England, was sent over to Gov. Endicott in the year 1629. It was in use until the accession of Gov. Andros in 1696, which was about five years after the decease of Mr. Foster. The seal was probably restored in 1699, after the denigration of Andros, and laid by in 1692, when the Province seal, under the second charter, was substituted. In 1775, the colony seal was adopted; and in 1780, our present State seal. The five seals, by way of distinction, may be designated as the "first charter," "usurpation," "second charter," the "revolution," and "constitution" seals.

It seems to be a mistake, therefore, to suppose that either of the persons above mentioned "made" or "designed" the first seal. Engravings of it certainly were formed, on blocks or plates, for printing, and it would be natural enough for the mint master and the printer, especially the latter, to have an oversight in their production. The impressions of the seal on the public documents, were variable in their size, and it is not improbable that both Hull and Foster may have designed or manufactured, in wood or metal, different sized models of it.

was a representative in 1653 and '55. He died April 26, 1668. George, the third son of William, and brother of Edward, was distinguished in the war with King Philip.

JOHN WILLIAMS, son of Dea. Samuel, and grandson of Robert, of Roxbury, was born in Roxbury, 10th December, 1664. The maiden name of his mother was Theoda Park. She was a daughter of Dea. William Park, a person of distinction in the town of Roxbury. Through the aid and influence of this worthy man, his grandson, John Williams, was enabled to obtain a college education. He graduated at Harvard College in 1683, and in the subsequent year became a teacher in the Dorchester school. In the month of May, 1686, he was ordained as the first minister in Deerfield. This town, at that time a frontier settlement, was continually exposed to the attacks of the savages. Mr. Williams, with an undaunted spirit, took his lot with the people. Soon after his settlement he married Eunice Mather, of Northampton, who was a daughter of Rev. Eleazer Mather, and granddaughter of Rev. Richard Mather, of Dorchester. On her mother's side she was a granddaughter of Rev. John Warham, also of Dorchester.

Rev. Mr. Williams had by his wife Eunice nine children, three of whom were afterwards ministers of the gospel, viz.: Eleazer, who was ordained at Mansfield, Ct.; Stephen, ordained at Long Meadow, Mass.; Warham, ordained at Watertown, west precinct, now Waltham.

The whole of Mr. Williams's family, then living, with the exception of Eleazer—nine in number—were taken captive by the French and Indians, in Deerfield, 29th February, 1703-4. The two youngest sons were murdered by them on the spot; the mother shared the same fate a few days afterwards.

A full account of the taking of Deerfield, and of the privations and awful sufferings that attended this unfortunate family in their journey through the wilderness to Canada, is feelingly narrated by Mr. Williams in his book entitled, "The Redeemed Captive returning to Zion."

His captivity continued a year and nine months, during which time every artifice was used to bring the members of the family under the dominion of popery, but without success, except in one instance. His daughter Eunice was left among the Indians, when he was redeemed in 1706, and no sums of money could procure her redemption. She was at that time ten years of age. Soon after this she forgot the English language, and in her habits became an Indian, one of whom she married. It is said the Rev. Eleazer Williams of "Dauphin" notoriety, is her great-grandson. She died in Canada at the age of 90 years.

Mr. Williams, after his release, settled again in the ministry at Deerfield. He married for his second wife a daughter of Capt. Allen, of Windsor, Ct., who, like his first wife, was a granddaughter of Rev. Mr. Warham. By this connection he had five children. He died at Deerfield in a fit of apoplexy, on the 12th of June, 1729, in the 65th year of his age and the 44th of his ministry.

JONATHAN PIERPONT, son of Robert and Sarah (Lynde) Pierpont, and grandson of James, a merchant of London, afterwards of Ipswich, Mass., was born in Roxbury, in this State, 10th of June, 1665. Robert, the father, was a younger brother of John, who settled early in Roxbury. The latter was a great-great-grandfather of Rev. John Pierpont, the former pastor of Hollis Street church, Boston. He took his first degree at Harvard College in July, 1683, and in February, 1686, took charge of the school at Dorchester.

EDWARD MILLS, son of John and Elizabeth (Shove) Mills, and grandson of John and Susanna, was born in Braintree, the 29th of June, 1665; graduated at Harvard College in 1685; taught the school in Dorchester, probably from 1687 till 1692. In the year 1689, there was a "treaty about Mr. Mills keeping the school," between the Selectmen and the teacher; also in 1687, "as more fully appears in the new book." He went from Dorchester to Boston, where he exercised his gift of teaching for about forty years.

JOSEPH LORD, son of Thomas and Alice (Rand) Lord, of Charlestown, was born June 30, 1672; graduated at Harvard College in 1691. From 1692 till 1696, probably, he taught the school in Dorchester. In the Fall of the latter year, a church was gathered in this town with the design of removing to South Carolina, and Mr. Lord was ordained pastor. The newly-formed church arrived at their place of destination, on the Ashley river, about eighteen miles from Charleston, on the 20th of December, and called the place Dorchester. On the subsequent second of February, "the sacrament of the Lord's Supper," it is said, "was first administered in Carolina." It was necessary that the minister should be ordained in Massachusetts to his work, for "in all that country," whither he was going, says Mr. Danforth, in his valedictory discourse, there was "neither ordained Minister nor any Church, in full gospel order." He married Abigail, daughter of Gov. Thomas Hinckley (by his first wife), on the third of June, 1696.

Mr. Lord remained with his church and society over twenty years, when he returned to this State, and on the 15th of June, 1720, was installed pastor of the church in Chatham. He died in 1748, after preaching at Chatham twenty-eight years.

JOHN ROBINSON, born in Dorchester, April 17, 1675, was a son of Samuel and Mary (Baker) Robinson, Samuel being the eldest son of William, of Dorchester. John graduated at Harvard College in 1695, and taught the school in D. the next year; preached at New Castle, in Pennsylvania, for a few years; settled at Duxbury, Mass., on the 18th of November, 1703, as successor to Rev. Ichabod Wiswall, whose daughter Hannah he married, January 31, 1705. They had three sons and five daughters, viz.: Mary, Hannah, Althea, Elizabeth, Samuel, John, Ichabod and Faith. The latter married the elder Gov. Jonathan Trumbull, of Conn. On the 23d September, 1723, Mr. Robinson lost his wife, and eldest daughter Mary, who was then in her 17th year. Mrs. R. and daughter being desirous of making a visit to Boston, took passage for that city in a coaster, in company with Mr. Thomas Fish, of Duxbury, a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1719. When off Nantasket beach there came up suddenly a tempest; the vessel upset, and all on board were drowned. Mrs. R. was in her 42d year. The body of the daughter was soon recovered—that of the mother about six weeks afterwards. On the body of the latter was found a golden necklace, which is said to be in the possession of her descendants.

Mr. R. continued pastor of the church in Duxbury till November, 1738. He died at Lebanon, Conn., at the residence of his son-in-law, Gov. Trumbull, on the 14th of November, 1745, aged 70 years. A granite monument has been recently erected in the cemetery of Lebanon, at an expense of nearly \$2,000, to the memory of Mr. Robinson and his descendants there interred.

JOHN SWIFT, son of Thomas and Elizabeth, and grandson of Thomas Swift, was born in Milton, March 14th, 1678-79; taught the school for a short time in 1696; graduated at Harvard College in 1697, and was the first minister in Framingham, where he was ordained October 8th, 1701. He soon after married Sarah, daughter of Timothy and Sarah Tileton, of Dorchester, by whom he had six children. His only son, John (H. C. 1733), was a minister at Acton. John, the father, died at F. on the 24th of April, 1745, in his 67th year.

RICHARD BILLINGS, son of Ebenezer and Hannah Billings, and grandson of Roger, of Dorchester, was born in D., September 21st, 1675; graduated at Harvard College, 1698; taught the school the same year, and, probably, during parts of the two years succeeding.

SAMUEL WISWALL, son of Enoch, and grandson of Elder Thomas Wiswall, of Dorchester, was baptized September 21st, 1679; graduated at Harvard College in 1701. About this time he taught the school; afterwards he preached occasionally, as opportunity offered, having first received encouragement from an association of divines, to whom he had offered himself for examination. He subsequently embarked as chaplain on board of a ship. They were unfortunately taken captive on the voyage by the Spaniards, and carried into Martinico, where he experienced a severe sickness; but, recovering therefrom, returned soon after to his native land. He preached at various places, and in a manner acceptable to the people.

ELIJAH DANFORTH, son of Rev. John and Elizabeth (Minot) Danforth, of Dorchester, grandson of Samuel and Mary (Wilson) Danforth, and great-grandson of Nicholas, of Framlingham, County of Suffolk, England—was born in Dorchester the 30th of November, 1683, (bap. 2 Dec.), graduated at Harvard College in 1703. He was probably a teacher in town for a short time in 1706; for in the accounts made up to December 2d of that year, is the following: "Paid to Mr. Danforth, schoolmaster, £15." "He was a physician at Castle William (now Fort Independence), and died the 8th of October, 1736, aged 53."

PETER THACHER,* son of Rev. Peter and Theodora (Oxenbridge) Thacher, of Milton (grandson of Thomas, of Weymouth, who was subsequently the first minister of the Old South Church, Boston, and great-grandson of Peter, a Puritan minister of Salisbury, England), was born in Milton the 6th of October, 1688, graduated at Harvard College in 1706, in his eighteenth year—taught school probably in D. about one-quarter of that year, for which he received £8. On the 1st of December, 1707, £30 more had been paid him for keeping school. Some two months previous to this date, however, he had commenced preaching in Middleborough. He was chosen pastor the 30th of

* Prof. Thacher of Yale College is a descendant.

June, 1708, and was ordained there the 2d of November, 1709. On the 25th of January, 1711, he married Mary, daughter of Samuel Prince, Esq., then of Rochester. She was a sister of Rev. Thomas Prince, of the Old South Church in Boston. By this union Mr. Thacher had ten children—Peter, Oxenbridge, Samuel, John, Thomas, Mary, Susannah, Mercy, Theodora, and Moses. Peter, their eldest, was a graduate of Harvard College in 1737, and the first minister of the church in Attleborough. He was ordained there in 1748, and was the pastor for forty years.

EBENEZER DEVOTION was born in Brookline about 1684, graduated at Harvard College in 1707, taught the school in 1709. He was ordained minister at Suffield, Conn., the 28th of June, 1710 (succeeding Rev. Benjamin Ruggles, ordained in May, 1698, and died the 5th of September, 1708). The town of Suffield was at that time under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

On the 4th of October, 1710, Mr. Devotion married Hannah (born the 17th of February, 1688), daughter of Capt. John and Susannah Breck, of Dorchester. They had a son, Ebenezer, who graduated at Yale College in 1732; was ordained at Scotland, Windham County, Conn., the 23d of October, 1735, and died there the 16th of July, 1771, aged 57 years. Ebenezer, the second, married Martha Lathrop (who was the sixth in descent from Rev. John Lathrop, of Scituate, who died in 1653). They had one son and five daughters; among them, Martha, who married Gov. Samuel Huntington; Hannah, who married Rev. Samuel Huntington, D.D.; Lucy, who married Dr. Joseph Baker, of Brooklyn, Conn. Their youngest daughter, Sarah Jane (Mrs. Lippincott), is favorably known to the reading public under the cognomen of "Grace Greenwood." Ebenezer graduated at Yale College in 1759, was a Judge, &c. Samuel H., son of Ebenezer, and great-grandson of the subject of this notice, graduated at Yale College in 1806. Rev. Ebenezer Devotion, the teacher, died in Suffield the 11th of April, 1741, aged 57 years.

SAMUEL FISKE, son of Rev. Moses Fiske, of Braintree, and grandson of Rev. John Fiske, the first minister of Wenham and Chelmsford, was born in Braintree, April the 6th, 1689. His mother was Sarah Symmes, a daughter of Mr. William Symmes, of Charlestown. Samuel graduated at Harvard College in 1708—taught the school in 1710 and '11; was chosen minister of Hingham the 11th of February, 1716-17, as successor to the Rev. Mr. Norton, but did not accept the invitation; was ordained over the First Church in Salem the 8th of October, 1718, afterwards became minister of the Third Church in Salem. He died there the 7th of April, 1770, aged 81.

EBENEZER WHITE, son of James White, of Dorchester, and grandson of Edward, who came from England, was born in Dorchester the 3d of July, 1685; graduated at Harvard College in 1704. He was employed soon after to teach school in Weymouth, as we learn from the records of that town: "19 Jan., 1704-5, agreed with Mr. Eben' White, of Dorchester, to Teach school in Weymouth for half a year, beginning the 23d Day of Jan., 1704-5, and to pay the said Schoolmaster 15 lbs. for his service the half year above sd."

In 1711, and the four subsequent years, he taught the school in Dorchester. On the 18th of July, 1715, he was again chosen by the church in Attleborough to be their minister, and was ordained their second pastor on the 17th of October, 1716, and died in 1736.

SAMUEL DANFORTH, son of Rev. John, of Dorchester, was baptized in D. the 15th of November, 1706. He graduated at Harvard College in 1715, and taught school in Dorchester soon after. In the town's account for 1718, it is stated: "Paid at sundry times to Mr. Samuel Danforth, for keeping school, £60." He was afterwards made President of His Majesty's Council for the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, which office he held several years. He was a Judge of the Probate Court and of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of Middlesex, and was named a Mandamus Counsellor in 1774.

DANIEL WITHAM was born in Gloucester, "August 30th, 1700. His father, Thomas W., was a son of Henry Witham, who, I suppose, was a son of Thomas Witham, died in 1653. His mother was Abigail Babson, daughter of James Babson." He graduated at Harvard College in 1718.

The first notice of him in Gloucester, after this, is in 1726, when he engaged "to keep a school for one year, for \$60." He probably taught in Dorchester previous to 1724. "In 1733 he was chosen Selectman [of Gloucester], an office which he subsequently filled thirty-six years. In 1734 he became town clerk, and was elected to the same place every year till 1775. Being qualified by education, experience in public affairs, and interest in the general welfare, his services were often in requisition in the preparation of resolves and addresses to give expression to the sentiments of the people during the anxious and exciting period that immediately preceded the Revolutionary war."

ISAAC BILLINGS, of Milton, born in Dorchester the 9th of July, 1703, was the twelfth child of Roger and Sarah (Paine) Billings, who were married the 22d of January, 1678. He graduated at Harvard College in 1734, and taught the school the same year. In 1737 or '38, he married Beulah Vose, of Milton, where he spent the residue of his days. They had four children—Sarah, Elizabeth, Ruth, Abigail.

PHILLIPS PAYSON, son of Samuel and Mary Payson, was born in Dorchester, the 29th of February, 1704-5. He graduated at Harvard College in 1724, and taught the school probably the next year. In 1727, the Selectmen agree with him to keep the school for one year, "for y^e sum of £40 and y^e Income of y^e Money Mr. Stoughton gave for y^e Benefit of y^e School."

Four of his sons were settled ministers, viz: Phillips, who graduated at Harvard College in 1754, was ordained at Chelsea the 26th of October, 1757, died the 11th of January, 1801; Samuel, who graduated at Harvard College in 1753, was ordained at Lunenburg in September, 1762, but died of an atrophy in February, 1763, aged 24; John, who graduated at Harvard College in 1764, was ordained at Fitchburg, as their first minister, the 27th of January, 1768, died the 18th of May, 1804; Seth, who graduated at Harvard College in 1777, was ordained at Rindge, N. H., the 4th of December, 1782, died the 26th of February, 1829—the father of Rev. Edward Payson, D.D., minister of Portland, who was born the 25th of July, 1783, graduated at Harvard College in 1803, was ordained the 16th of December, 1807, died 22d of October, 1827. Two of the above sons of Phillips Payson, Sen., viz., Phillips and Seth, had the degree of D.D. conferred on them.

SAMUEL MOSELEY, son of Ebenezer and Hannah, was born in Dorchester the 15th of August, 1708; graduated at Harvard College in 1729; taught the school the same year for £50 5s.; was ordained the second pastor of the church in Windham Village, now Hampton, Conn.; was successor of the Rev. William Billings, whose widow, Bethiah (Otis) Billings, he married the 4th of July, 1734.

SUPPLY CLAP, son of Samuel and Mary (Paul) Clap, was born in Dorchester the 1st of June, 1711; graduated at Harvard College in 1731. In his diary he says, "July 19, 1733, I began my third year to keep school." His salary, this season, was £55 15s.

NOAH CLAP.—He taught the school at various times from 1735 to 1769—some eighteen or twenty years in all. His salary in 1735 was £60; in 1750 and '51, was £270 old tenor, or £26 lawful money; in 1767, at the rate of £40 per annum.*

JOSIAH PIERCE was a son of Samuel and Abigail Pierce, of that part of Woburn which is now Burlington, where he was born July 13th, 1708; graduated at Harvard College in 1735; taught the school about 1738; went to Hadley, in this State, early in 1743, and was hired to keep the Grammar and English school in that town the same year—was to instruct in Latin and Greek, in reading, writing, and arithmetic. He kept the school in Hadley twelve years, from 1743 to 1755; and again six years, from 1760 to 1766.

He was a representative from the town, Justice and Town Clerk, and was engaged in farming to some extent after the year 1760. He was a good penman, accurate in his accounts, and left several interleaved almanacs. Mr. P. was an ardent Whig in the Revolution. He married, in 1743, Miriam Cook, daughter of Samuel Cook, and sister of Rev. Samuel Cook, of West Cambridge. They had six children.

* Mr. Everett in his Dorchester Address in 1855, speaking of Roger Clap, one of the first settlers of the town, remarks: "Induced by his example and advice, several of his kindred followed him to America, among whose descendants are those of that name, who in every generation have creditably served their native town, as well as some of the most eminent sons of New England in other parts of the country. Of this stock was the learned President Clap of Yale College and the venerable Nathaniel Clap of Newport, of whom Bishop Berkeley said, 'before I saw Fisher Clap, I thought the Bishop of Rome (Pope Clement XI.) had the most grave aspect of any man I ever saw, but really the minister of Newport has the most venerable appearance. The resemblance is very great.' I may be permitted to allude to my own grateful associations with this name, as that of the patient and faithful instructress of the same lineage (Mrs. Lucy Clapp), who taught me to read before I could speak plain. Considerately mingling the teacher and nurse, she kept a pillow and a bit of carpet in the corner of the school-room, where the little heads, throbbing from a premature struggle with the tall double letters and ampersand, with Korah's troop and Vashti's pride, were permitted, nay encouraged, to go to sleep. Roger Clap was a military man; and in time succeeded, with the title of captain, to the command of our stout little colonial Sebastopol—originally the Castle, then Castle William, and now Fort Independence—a fortress coveled with the colony; whose walls, first of mud, then of wood, then of brick, and now lastly of granite, not inappropriately symbolize the successive stages of our political growth."

PHILIP CURTIS was son of Samuel and Hannah Curtis, of Jamaica Plain, Roxbury, where he was born, October 4th, 1717. He was admitted into Harvard College in July, 1734, and was the first of the name in that institution. He took his degree in 1738; was admitted into church fellowship January 6th, 1739; studied divinity with Mr. Bowman, of Dorchester, and kept school in this town two years. He preached his first sermon in Stoughtonham, now Sharon, in the month of May, 1741, and was ordained to the ministry in that place, January 5th, 1742. His salary was £60 per annum. He had the use of a meadow, and was supplied with wood. On this slender stipend, with the income of a small farm, he brought up a large family, and, during the war of the Revolution, liberally educated one of his sons. He married Elizabeth Bass, of Dorchester, September 6th, 1744. As Mr. Curtis taught his own children, he opened a school, gratuitously, for the children of his parishioners, and occasionally fitted scholars for the College. The children of Commodore Loring (who married his sister) were all educated by him. The late Christopher Gore, Esq., was also his pupil. After the war, his people purposed to build a new church, but their means were insufficient. He contributed his mite to their help, by giving up one quarter's salary. He also gave an acre of land through the middle of his farm, to accommodate them with a nearer road to the meeting.

THOMAS JONES, son of Ebenezer and Waitstill Jones, was born at Dorchester the 20th of April, 1721; graduated at Harvard College in 1741; taught the school this year—for the first quarter at the rate of £85 per annum, for the next three months at the rate of £95, probably old tenor money; he taught also in 1743. He was ordained as second pastor of the church in Burlington (then a precinct of Woburn) the 2d of January, 1751.

EDWARD BASS, son of Joseph and Elizabeth (Breck) Bass, of Dorchester, and great-grandson of Samuel and Ann Bass, of Roxbury, was born in Dorchester, Nov. 23d, 1726. He entered Harvard College at the early age of thirteen, and graduated in 1744. From the time of taking his first degree till he received that of Master of Arts, he was engaged in keeping school—a part of the time in Dorchester—and also occupied himself in such studies as would qualify him for his contemplated profession. From 1747 to 1751, he resided at the College, making progress in theological studies and occasionally supplying vacant pulpits in the Congregational churches. In 1751, he was chosen assistant minister of St. Paul's Church (Episcopal) in Newburyport, and in 1752 went to England, where, on the 24th of May, of the same year, he was ordained by Dr. Thomas Sherlock, then Bishop of London. In the Autumn of the same year, he returned to New England, and soon after took charge of the church in Newbury, at that time vacant by the death of Rev. Matthias Plant. He married Sarah Beck, September 19th, 1754. She died on the 9th of May, 1789. In July of that year, the University of Pennsylvania conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. On the 18th of November following (1789), he married Mercy Phillips, who died, his widow, January 15th, 1832, in her 87th year. In 1796, he was elected the first Bishop of Massachusetts, and was consecrated to that office in Christ Church, Philadelphia, the 7th of May, 1797, by the Bishops of the Episcopal churches in Pennsylvania, New York, and Maryland. The Episcopal churches of Rhode Island afterwards elected him as their Bishop, as did those also of New Hampshire, in 1803, the year of his decease. He died on the 10th of September, aged 77, after an illness of but two days. He was a man of profound knowledge, accomplished and exemplary. He was also noted for his good humor and wit.

JAMES HUMPHREY, son of Jonas, who was the son of Hopestill, the son of Elder James, the son of Jonas Humphrey, was born in Dorchester the 20th of March, 1722; graduated at Harvard College in 1744; taught the school in 1748; and was ordained the first minister of Pequoaig, now Athol, November 7th, 1750. On the 9th of November, 1751, he married Esther Wiswall, of Dorchester, "a lady of high respectability and much energy of character," who lived to an advanced age, respected and beloved by the people of Athol. Mr. Humphrey commenced his labors at that place under very trying circumstances. Being a frontier town, it was greatly exposed to the incursions of the Indians. It was necessary to station sentinels at the entrance of the church, on the Sabbath, to avoid a surprise from "their devouring enemy, whilst others were worshipping God within." For three successive years "did the first minister of Pequoaig carry his weapons of defence into his pulpit, and preach with his gun by his side."

PELATIAH GLOVER, son of Nathaniel Glover, Jr., and Rachel (Marsh), was born in Dorchester, April 2d, 1716—a descendant in a direct line from John

Glover. He married Mary Crehore in June, 1740. They had two daughters, one of whom (Rachel) married William Blake, of Boston, the 29th of November, 1767. Mr. Lemuel Blake, of Boston, son of William and Rachel, is the only descendant now (1858) living, having attained the age of 83 years. In 1756, the subject of this notice was appointed by the town of Dorchester to keep school for "Squantum and the Farms."

JAMES BAKER, born at Dorchester, Sept. 5th, 1739, graduated at Harvard in 1760, and taught in the town while pursuing his preparatory studies for the ministry.

DANIEL LEEDS, the son of Hopestill and Sarah (Clap) Leeds, and a descendant in the fourth generation from Richard, was born in Dorchester on the 28th of May, 1739, and graduated at Harvard College in the year 1761. "Master Leeds," it is said, taught school in town about fifteen years—probably the most, if not all of that time, on "Meeting-house Hill."

WILLIAM BOWMAN was born January 8th, 1744; graduated at Harvard College in 1764; taught the school in 1765; was afterwards Town Clerk in Roxbury, and a Justice of the Peace.

SAMUEL COOLIDGE, the famous instructor, son of Samuel and Ruth (Clarke) Coolidge, and the fourth in descent from John, of Watertown, was born in W., August 8th, 1751. He graduated at Harvard College in 1769, in which year, at the age of eighteen, he appears to have commenced teaching school in Dorchester. He taught, subsequently, at various times, closing in 1789, the year previous to his death. He was of the board of Selectmen and Assessors ten successive years, from 1780 to 1789, inclusive, and for the last four years their chairman; was Town Clerk and Treasurer in 1787 and '88, being a successful competitor with Noah Clap, who for thirty-eight continuous years preceded him in both offices, and for ten years succeeded him as Town Clerk. Mr. Coolidge was also Treasurer for 1789. He was noted for his beautiful penmanship; was distinguished for his abilities as a teacher, and for his high classical attainments.

SAMUEL PIERCE, great-grandson of one of the early settlers, born March 25th, 1739, colonel in the militia, and "began to keep school February 1st, 1773, at £3 5s. per week"—so says his diary.

ONESIPHORUS TILESTON, born in Boston, April 28th, 1755; graduated at Harvard College in 1774; taught the school about the year 1775; died October 8th, 1809.

EDWARD HUTCHINSON ROBBINS, son of Rev. Nathaniel Robbins, of Milton, was born February 19th, 1758. His mother was Elizabeth, daughter of Judge Edward and Lydia (Foster) Hutchinson. She was a descendant, in the fourth generation, from the celebrated Mrs. Ann Hutchinson. He graduated at Harvard College in 1775; married Elizabeth, daughter of Hon. James Murray, of Boston. He taught school at intervals before entering on the duties of his profession (law) in Dorchester. He was chosen a representative from Milton in 1781, and Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1793, which office he held for nine successive years. In 1802, and for some years afterwards, he was Lieutenant-Governor of the State. He was subsequently engaged in public business, as Commissioner of the Land Office; was one of the committee of defence, &c. He was a member of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, and of many other useful and benevolent institutions. On the decease of Hon. William Heath, in 1814, he was appointed Judge of Probate for the County of Norfolk, which office he held until his death, which occurred in Milton, December 29th, 1829.

OLIVER EVERETT, son of Ebenezer and Joanna Everett, of Dedham, was born in that town, June 11th, 1752; graduated at Harvard College in 1779; taught the school about 1776; was ordained pastor of the New South Church in Boston (on "Church Green," so called), January 2d, 1782, succeeding Rev. Joseph Howe, who died August 25th, 1775. Mr. Everett was dismissed, on account of ill-health, May 26th, 1792, "after a ministry of ten years, having acquired a high reputation for the extraordinary powers of his mind." His successor was Rev. J. T. Kirkland, D.D., ordained February 5th, 1794. Mr. E. was appointed Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in Norfolk County, in 1799, which office he held until his death in Dorchester, December 19th, 1802. It is a singular fact that his elder brother Moses, for some years a cotemporary in the ministerial office (ordained in Dorchester in 1774), was compelled, for the same reason, to relinquish preaching in 1793, the year following his own resignation, and that, in the year 1803, Moses was appointed to fill the vacancy on the bench of the Court of Common Pleas, occasioned by the death of his

brother Oliver. He married Lucy Hill, of Boston, November 6th, 1787. She was a daughter of Alexander S. Hill, of Philadelphia. Mr. Everett had sons—Alexander H., Edward, John. (H. C. 1806, 1811, 1818.) All of them were remarkable for their ability and scholarship, and the Hon. Edward Everett has achieved a reputation as an orator second to none of his cotemporaries.

AARON SMITH, son of Joseph, was born in Hollis, N. H., November 2d, 1756; graduated at Harvard College in 1777, about which time he taught the school in Dorchester, having tarried a while, it may have been, in Sudbury. "He was afterwards master of the North Latin School," North Bennet street, Boston.

PHILIP DRAPER, son of Timothy and Hannah Draper, was born in Dedham, March 2d, 1757; graduated at Harvard College in 1780; taught one of the schools, it is believed, the same year, and for some years subsequently; afterwards practised as a physician in South Dedham. He married Mehitable, daughter of Jeremiah Kingsbury, of Dedham, and died March 21st, 1817. They had sons, Jeremiah and Moses, both graduates of Harvard College in 1808.

SAMUEL SHUTTLESWORTH, son of Samuel and Abigail (Whiting) Shuttlesworth, was born in Dedham, November 1, 1751; graduated at Harvard College in 1777; taught school, and was ordained at Windsor, Vt., June 23d, 1790. After a few years, he left, and entered the profession of the law.

SAMUEL CHENEY, son of Ebenezer and Elizabeth, was born in Roxbury, March 9th, 1745-6, graduated at Harvard College in 1767, taught the school in Dorchester, and was for some time a teacher in the "Eliot School," in Boston.

JONATHAN BIRD, son of Jonathan, Jr., and Ruth Bird, was born in Dorchester, March 30, 1761; graduated at Harvard College in 1783, about which time he probably commenced teaching school in town, in a dwelling-house on the corner of what is now Sumner and Cottage streets, near the "Five Corners."

THEOPHILUS CAPEEN, a descendant in the fifth generation from Barnard and Jane Capen, was born in Stoughton, June 5th, 1760, graduated at Harvard College in 1783, and married Rachel Lambert in 1784. Soon after his graduation, he taught the school in Dorchester, but the time thus spent by him is uncertain. It was not long, however, as we find him in Bath, Me., for a while previous to 1787, and in that year preceptor, also, of a school in Sharon. It was his father's intention to educate him for the ministry; and accordingly he began to study divinity with Rev. Mr. Adams, of Stoughton, and spent much time in the composition of sermons, &c. This plan was finally relinquished, however, on account of the weakness of his voice. He again went to Bath, settled there, and was many years engaged in trading in that place; also in Vassalborough and Augusta. He removed to Pittsford, Vt., in 1811, and resumed his former profession as teacher, which was continued for several years. In the latter part of his life Mr. C. was chiefly engaged in farming. He died in 1842, aged 82, at Chittenden, Rutland County, Vt., his wife having died six weeks previously, in her 76th year.

DANIEL LEEDS, JR., son of Daniel (one of the schoolmasters before mentioned) and Abigail (Gore) Leeds, was born in Dorchester, on Monday, May 7th, 1764; graduated at Harvard College in 1783; taught at different times, and in various parts of the town, commencing as early, probably, as 1784. He was the first teacher in the school-house built at the Lower Mills Village, in 1802. One of his pupils thus describes this house and its surroundings. "It was perhaps 20 feet by 30—a half moon entry—a dignified desk—boys one side (the right, going in), girls the other—old fashioned seats for one and two each—a cast-iron wood stove midway the aisle, in winter—a trap-door with a ring to lift, to go down cellar for wood—abundance of smoke sometimes, but none too much fire—open front yard down to the road, with rocks, apple trees, and pathways, as one might say, in primitive state. Here was fun, play, and plenty of exercise, and in the house, no doubt, some good teaching and scholarship."

MOSES EVERETT, JR., son of Rev. Moses and Lucy (Balch) Everett, was born November 25th, 1775; graduated at Harvard College in 1796; taught school "on the upper road," in the now Gibson School District; removed to Ohio in or about the year 1800, and died at Gallipolis, in that State, November 30th, 1814, aged 39.

Ebenezer, his brother, who graduated at Harvard College in 1806, taught school in Dorchester, commencing in the autumn of that year. The school in the second district, where he taught, was at that time kept for six months, in the cold season, on the lower road, now Adams street, and the remainder of the year in the brick school-house, on Meeting-house Hill.

Rev. Enoch Pratt, Griffin Child, and Hon. Ebenezer Everett, are among the few of the early teachers who now survive. Mr. Silas Randall, a native of Stow, Mass., who graduated at Brown University in 1804, was the immediate predecessor of the last-mentioned Mr. Everett in District No. 2.

LEMUEL CRANE, born in Milton in 1757, and removed to Dorchester in 1782. He taught the first school (1790-1797) in the school-house erected on a lot given by himself to the town for that purpose. It was one story in height, fourteen feet long, twelve feet wide, with no plastering inside or clapboards outside, and was only comfortable in Summer. It had four small glass windows, and one without glass, closed with a wooden shutter. A door was in one corner, with no porch or entry. It was filled in, or lined, with brick, in the year 1791, but not plastered, and was sold for twenty-five dollars, in 1802. Mrs. Hawes, wife of Joseph Hawes, Miss Gillespie, and other female teachers, taught here in the Summer season. In the Winter of 1790 and 1791 Mr. Lemuel Crane kept school in his own dwelling-house, and afterwards in the school-house in Winter, the building having been made more comfortable by the filling in before mentioned. Mr. Crane also kept an evening school, to teach the apprentices and other boys in the fundamental branches of reading, writing and arithmetic. He also taught a singing school, and was devoted to fruit culture,—apple trees of his planting were in bearing in 1859.

FRANCIS PERRY taught the South School in Dorchester, previous to the 11th of June, 1791. He states, in a letter from Hallowell, Me., of the above date, that he is out of health—has had but £45 salary in Dorchester—that his expenses were £19 10s. for board, and for clothing £12—leaving him only 13s. 10d. He would like to renew his services as teacher in town, but wishes the compensation increased to £55.

JOSEPH GARDNER ANDREWS, born in Boston, February 7th, 1768, graduated at Harvard College in 1785. He was a physician. In a letter, written May 10th, 1792, to Ebenezer Toltman, one of the Selectmen of Dorchester, he says, "By reason of an appointment in the Federal army, I shall be necessitated to give up the school in the course of a few weeks;" but requests "a dismissal this day."

*Dorchester Influence on Connecticut and Georgia.**

It seems to have been thought extremely desirable, in the first settlement of the country, to be seated either on the sea-coast or the banks of a river. The inhabitants of the Bay had been early made acquainted by those at Plymouth with Connecticut river, although the court declined an application from that quarter, to join them in anticipating the Dutch in their attempts to get possession of it. Three or four individuals, however, from Dorchester, had as early as 1633 crossed the intervening wilderness, and explored this magnificent stream.

Influenced by their reports of the noble range of pasturage to be found on its banks, aided, it must be confessed, by discontents in the Bay, an emigration was contemplated in 1634 by the inhabitants of Dorchester and Newtown. Mr. Ludlow, of Dorchester, it was said, was of opinion that some other persons, himself included, would fill the chair of State as well as Governor Winthrop; and the star of Mr. Hooker in the church at Newtown, it was thought, was not wanted so near the light of John Cotton. The emigration was warmly debated in the court. Fifteen out of twenty-five of the infant house of deputies, first elected that year, were for the removal; a majority of the magistrates placed their *veto* on the measure, and great heats ensued. It was opposed on various grounds, but the "procatartical" reason (as Hubbard somewhat learnedly expresses it) was, that so many of its inhabitants could not safely be spared from the Bay. The next year the Rev. Messrs. Richard Mather and Thomas Shepherd, with numerous associates, arrived in the colony. Mr. Mather's company being prepared to fill the places of those desiring to leave Dorchester, and Mr. Shepherd's to succeed to their brethren at Newtown (Cambridge), the court gave way and permitted the undertaking. A portion of the emigrants went in the Autumn of 1635, the residue in the following Spring. Great were the hardships and severe the sufferings endured in this early American exodus through the wilderness, first faint image of that living tide of emigration which in all subsequent time has flowed westward from the Atlantic coast, till in our day it has reached the boundless west; and is even now swelling over the Rocky Mountains, and spreading itself on the shores of

* Everett's "Oration delivered at Dorchester on the 4th of July, 1853"—full of proud and affectionate memories of his native town.

the Pacific. Still may it swell and still may it flow; bearing upon its bosom the laws and the institutions, the letters and the arts, the freedom and the faith, which have given New England her name and praise in the world! The adventurers from Dorchester,—men, women, and children,—were fourteen days in making the journey now daily accomplished in three hours, and reached the river weak with toil and hunger, and all but disheartened. Both the Dorchester ministers, though it is said reluctantly, agreed to join their emigrating church. Mr. Maverick, the senior, died in Boston before starting; Mr. Warham conducted his flock to East Windsor, where they formed the first church in Connecticut, as they had been in Massachusetts second to Salem alone. Thus from our native town of Dorchester, and from Cambridge, not yet bearing that honored name, within five years from their first settlement, went forth the founders of Connecticut.

Two generations later, namely, in 1695, application was made to our minister, Mr. Danforth, both personally and by letter, from South Carolina, setting forth the spiritual destitution of that region, and asking aid from us. A missionary church was forthwith organized, in compliance with this request from the remote sister plantation. A pastor, Mr. Joseph Lord, was ordained over it; it sailed from Dorchester in the middle of December, and arrived at its destination in fourteen days. The little community established itself on Ashley river, in South Carolina, and fondly assumed the name of Dorchester. Here, for more than half a century, the transplanted church and settlement enjoyed a modest prosperity. But the situation proving unhealthy, and the quantity of land limited, a removal to Georgia was projected in 1752. The legislature of that colony made a liberal grant of land, where the emigrants from Dorchester founded the town of Midway, as being half-way between the rivers Ogeechee and Altamaha. This settlement constituted a considerable part of the parish of St. John's, afterwards honorably known as Liberty County in Georgia. Its inhabitants, in the third generation, retained the character and manners, the feelings and principles, which their ancestors brought from our Dorchester eighty years before. On the assembling of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia in 1774, Georgia as a colony not having chosen delegates, the parish of St. John's addressed themselves directly to that body, and received from them a copy of the "General Association." The convention of Georgia declining to join it without modification, the Parish of St. John's subscribed it on their own account, and sent one of their number, Dr. Lyman Hall, a native of [Wallingford] Connecticut, a member of the little Dorchester-Midway church, to represent that parish in the congress at Philadelphia. "At this period," says Dr. Stevens, the intelligent historian of Georgia, "the parish of St. John's possessed nearly one-third of the entire wealth of the province; and its inhabitants were remarkable for their upright and independent character. Sympathizing, from their New England origin, more strongly with the northern distresses than the other parts of Georgia, and being removed from the immediate supervision of the Governor and his council, they pressed on with greater ardor and a firmer step than her sister parishes. The time for action had arrived, and the irresolution of fear had no place in their decisive councils. Alone she stood, a Pharos of liberty in England's most loyal province, renouncing every fellowship that savored not of freedom, and refusing every luxury which contributed to ministerial coffers. With a halter around her neck and a gallows before her eyes, she severed herself from surrounding associations, and cast her lot, while as yet all was gloom and darkness, with the fortunes of her country, to live with her rights or to die for their defence. Proud spot of Georgia's soil! Well does it deserve the appellation (Liberty county) which a grateful State conferred upon it; and truly may we say of its sons, in the remembrance of their patriotic services, "nothing was wanting to their glory, they were wanting to ours."

Dr. Hall appeared at Philadelphia on the third day of the session of 1775 (13th May), and was admitted as a delegate. On that day Congress was composed of the representatives of the twelve United Colonies, and Dr. Lyman Hall, the deputy from the Parish of St. John's. The patriotic example was soon followed by the colony, and four delegates, of whom Dr. Hall was one, were in the course of a few weeks deputed to Philadelphia. In this way, and by the strange sequence of events which pervades our history, the pious zeal of a few humble Christians of our ancient town, in 1695, was the remote cause that the great empire State of the south, then in its infancy, was represented at the opening of the Congress of 1775.

THE FREE SCHOOL AT ROXBURY.

FOUNDERS, BENEFACTORS, AND TEACHERS.

"Divers free schools were erected, as at Roxbury (for maintenance whereof every inhabitant bound some house or land for a yearly allowance forever), and at Boston (where they made an order to allow forever £50 to the master, and an house and £30 to an usher, who should also teach to read, and write, and cypher, and Indian children were to be taught freely, and the charge to be by yearly contribution, either by voluntary allowance, or by rate of such as refused, etc., and this order was conformed by the general court [blank]."—*Winthrop's Journal*—under date of 1643; Savage's Edition, 1853. Vol. II., p. 234.

THE FREE SCHOOL in Roxbury was established subsequent to 1643, in which year Samuel Hugburne provided in his will that a certain sum (ten shillings per annum out of the necks of land, and ten shillings per annum out of his house and house-lot) should be paid unto "a free school when Roxbury shall set up the same in the town;" and prior to August, 1645, when sundry inhabitants—Mr. Thomas Dudley, afterwards Governor of the Colony; Mr. John Eliot, "the Apostle to the Indians;" Captain Goskins, who came from Virginia in 1644, and aided Mr. Eliot in his Indian work; Mr. Thomas Welde, the first minister of Roxbury, and sixty others, entered into an agreement to assess their estates for certain annual sums to be paid annually forever "for the support of a free school for the education of their children in literature," "to fit them for publicke service both in Church and Commonwealthe in succeeding ages." The original agreement, made in August, 1645, was destroyed by fire, and on the 20th day of December, 1646, the following instrument was duly signed, on the basis of which, and not by public statute or general town taxation, the free school was duly established and supported—a grammar school, open to the subscribers or donors, free to the extent that the subscription would pay, a great public blessing, but not a public school in our sense of the term:

Whereas, The inhabitantes of Roxburie, out of theire religious care of posteritie, have taken into consideration how necessarie the education of theire children in Literature will be to fit them for publicke service, bothe in Churches and Commonwealthe, in succeeding ages; they therefore unanimously have consented and agreed to erect a free schoole in the said towne of Roxburie, and to allow twenty pounds per annum to the schoolemaster, to be raised out of the Messuages and part of the Lands of the severall donors, (inhabitantes of the said towne) in severall proportions as hereafter followeth under theire handes. And for the well ordering thereof they have chosen and elected seven Ffoffees who shall have power to putt in, or remove the schoolemaster, to see to the well ordering of the schoole and schoolers, to receive and pay the said twenty pounds per annum to the schoolemaster, and to dispose of any other gifte or giftes which hereafter may or shall be given for the advancement of learning and education of children. And if it happen that any one or more

of the said Ffeoffees to dye, or by removal out of the towne, or excommunication to bee displaced, the said donors hereafter expressed doe hereby covenant for themselves and for their heires, within the space of one month after such death or removal of any one or more of the Ffeoffees to elect and choose other in their room so that the number may be compleate. And if the said donors or the greater parte of them doe neglect to make election within the time forelimited, then shall the surviving Ffeoffees or the greater part of them, elect new Ffeoffees in the room or roomes of such as are dead or removed (as before) to fulfill the number of seven, and then their election shall be of equal validity and force, as if it had been made by all or the greater number of the said donors.

In consideration of the premises and that due provision may not bee wanting for the maintenance of the schoolmaster for ever, the donors hereafter expressed, for the severall proportions or annuities by them voluntarily undertaken and under written, have given and granted, and by these presents doe for themselves, their heires and assignees, respectively hereby give and grant unto the present Ffeoffees, viz., Joseph Weld, John Johnson, John Roberts, Joshua Hewes, Isaac Morrell, Thomas Lambe and their successors chosen as is aforesaid, the severall rents or summes hereafter expressed under their handes issueinge and goeing forth of their severall messuages, lands and tenements in Roxburie hereafter expressed, to have and to hold, percieve and enjoy the said annual rents or summes to the only use of the Free Schoole in Roxburie, yearly payable at or upon the last of September, by even portions; the first payment to begin the last of September in this present year. And the said donors for themselves, their heires and assignees do covenant and grant to and with the Ffeoffees and their successors that if the said annual rent or any parte thereof bee arriere and unpaid the space of twenty days next after the days appointed for payment, that then and from thence forth it shall be lawfull for and to the said Ffeoffees and their successors unto the said messuages lands and premises of the partie or parties making default to enter and distreine and the said distressed then and there found to leade, drive and carry away, and the same to prize and sell for the payment of the said rents returning the overplus unto the owners or proprietors of the said houses and lands. And further the said donors doe for themselves, their heires and assignees covenant and grant to and with the Ffeoffees aforesaid and their successors, that if no sufficient distresse or distressed can be had or taken in the premises according to the true intent and meaning of this present deed, or if it shall happen that any—to bee made or replevie or replevins to be sued or obtained of or by reason of any distresse or distressed to be taken by virtue of the presents as is aforesaid, that then and from thenceforth it shall and may bee lawfull for the said Ffeoffees and their successors into the said messuages lands and premises to enter and the same and every part thereof to have use and enjoy to the use of the schoole and the rentes, issues and profits thereof to receive and take, and the same to deteine and keepe to the use and behoofe of the schoole as is aforesaid, without any account making thereof unto the said donors, their heirs or assignees and to use and to occupy the said houses, lands and premises to the use aforesaid untill such time as the said annual rents or summes and every parte or parcell thereof with all arrearages and damages for non-payment be fully satisfied and paid unto the said Ffeoffees, their successors or assignees by the said donors, their heires or assignees or any of them; of which said rentes or summes the said donors every and singular of them have putt the said Ffeoffees in full possession and seisin at the delivery hereof. And for the further ratification hereof, the said donors become suitors to the honoured General Court for the establishment hereof by their authority and power. Alwayes provided that none of the inhabitantes of the said towne of Roxburie that shall not joyne in this act with the rest of the donors shall have any further benefit thereby than other strangers shall have who are no inhabitantes. And lastly it is granted by the said donors that the Ffeoffees and their successors shall from time to time be accountable unto the Court of Assistants and the donors for the trust committed to them when at any time they shall bee thereunto called and required. In witness whereof the said donors aforesaid have hereunto subscribed their names and sommes given yearly the last day of August in the year of our Lord 1645.

It is agreed by all of the inhabitantes of Roxburie as have or shall subscribe their names or marke to this booke for themselves severally and for their severall and respective heires and executors that not only their houses but also their yards, orchards, gardens, outhouses and homesteads shall bee, and are hereby bound, and bee made liable to and for the severall yearly sommes and rentes before or hereafter in this booke mentioned to be paid by every of

them. Dated the twentieth day of December, 1646. (This latter clause is inserted in the midst of the subscriptions.)

The several rents created by these agreements were first collected in 1636, and thereafter for one hundred years—sometimes by a collector designated by the Feoffees, and sometimes by the schoolmaster, who was often obliged to take it out in board, and more frequently in marketable produce. Several attempts were made to get the whole town to assume the work, and from time to time to induce new families to join by voluntary agreement. In 1666, according to the historian of the school (in 1826), a meeting of the subscribers was held, of which the original record says:

In the year Sixty-Six, in the month of January, Mr. Daniel Weld being formerly dead the Feoffees thought it needful for them to meete together and accordingly did to consider what course was best to be taken for the settling of the schole in Roxbury, and upon consultation they judged it convenient to advise with all the donors to have there counsell therein, wherupon the Feoffees sent out to call together the donors, who upon warning and notice came in and mett the same month aforesaid and after some discourse it was thought convenient and a matter most tending to peace and love to propound the case to the whole towne that so opportunity might be given to as many as thought good of the Towne to come in and joyne in this worke; and as to help beare the charge, so to have the priveledg of the schole; according to which conclusion at the generall towne meeting that was in January it was propounded to the towne that they would apoynt a time to meete and consider of the schole and either come in and joyne with us in this foundation of the schole or els that they would present a better way settled upon as good or a better foundation and we would gladly joyne with them when it should be presented to us. Upon the proposition of this motion to the towne it was voted and concluded to meete that day seaven night, and upon that day the towne mett, and when they were mett the scope of the discourse of some persons that spake most was for the removall of the schoole (which was not the worke of the day) without which there seemed to appeare (we will not say a party) severall persons that would not doe anything for the schoole; so after much discourses spending the day, they neither coming in to joyne in the old foundation of the schoole nor present us any other or better, that meeting was orderly dissolved and nothing done.

In the year 1669 the following petition, signed by Mr. John Eliott and Mr. Thomas, was presented to the General Court:

Whereas, The first inhabitants of Roxbury to the number of more than sixty families, well nigh the whole town in those days, have agreed together to lay the foundation of a Grammar School, and for the maintainance thereof have by voluntary donation given a small rent forever out of their several habitations and homesteads, as appears in the record of our school book, and have settled a company of Feoffees to gather and improve the same rents. Second, *whereas*, by Divine Providence our first book and charter was burned in the burning of John Johnson's house, it was again renewed in this form and manner as we do now present it, yet by reason of sundry of the donors, and the alienations of tenements, we are under this defect that some of the hands of the donors are not unto this second book personally which were to the first, nor are they attainable, being dead; therefore, our humble request is that the Honored Court empower the Feoffees to receive and gather the same as if the names of the donors were written with their own hands.

The petition was referred to a committee, who reported that the school had been carried on on the original foundation, although certain subscribers had not paid according to agreement, and certain townsmen objected to this mode of providing a school, yet in the absence of any other mode, the committee advise the Feoffees be empowered to collect former subscriptions, and to receive certain

lands devised for the benefit of the school. On this recommendation the following act was passed in 1670:

Whereas, Certain of the inhabitants of Roxbury out of a religious care of their posterity, and their good education in literature, did heretofore sequest'r and set apart, certain sums of money amounting to twenty pounds to be paid annually unto certain Feoffees and their successors, by the said Donors or Feoffees orderly chosen for the sole and only behoof of benefit and settlement of a free school in the sd. town of Roxbury; obliging themselves, heirs, executors and assignes, together with their houses and homesteads, for the true and full performance of their respective obligations—all which doth fully appear by their agreement bearing date the last of August one thousand six hundred forty-five; in which agreement the original donors were wisely suitors to the General Court for the establishment of the premises, according to which a petition was offered in the name of the present Feoffees to the General Court holden at Boston—May 19, 1669. In answer of which the Court impowered a committee to take cognizance of, and return the case to the Court, which accordingly was done as appeared by their return dated May 19, 1670. After serious consideration whereof the Court doth hereby order and enact, that the said agreement made and signed by the donors of the said sum of money the last of August, 1645, be by our authority, ratified and established, to all intents, ends and purposes therein specified; both with respect to the orderly choice, and power of the Feoffees, as, also for the time and manner of payment of the said sums of money distinctly to be yielded and paid by the donors of the same, according to their respective subscriptions, and in case of refusal of payment of any part of the said sums of money to which subscription is made or consent legally proved, that the orderly distress of the Feoffees upon the respective estates obliged shall be valid for the payment of any such sums of money so refused to be paid; as also this Court by their authority doth settle and determine the lands of Lawrence Whittamore with all the rents and arrearages that have or may arise from thence from time to time, to be received and improved by the sd. Feoffees to the use, behoof, and benefit of the free school in Roxbury, which sd. Feoffees are hereby impowered for the ordering of all things for the settlement, and reparation, of the school-house, choice of masters and orders of schooles, to improve all donations either past or future, for the behoof, and benefit of the said school, without any personal or private respects, as also the ordering of twenty acres of arable land, lying in the great lots, which hath been in occupation for the sd. school about twenty years, as also that if for the necessary and convenient future being of a school-master there be necessary the future levying of any further sums of money: That the said donors be absolutely and wholly free from any such levy or imposition, those only being accounted donors who are possessors of, or responsible for, the sd. sums of money according to subscription and the said Feoffees to be always responsible to the Court of Assistants and Donors for the faithful discharge of their trust, provided there be constant provision of an able grammar schoolmaster, and the school-house is settled where it was first intended, and may be accommodable to those whose homesteads were engaged towards the maintainance thereof, and in case there be need of further contribution that the levy be equally made on all the inhabitants excepting only those that do by virtue of their subscription pay their full proportion of the annual charges.

The Free School was continued under this act until January 21, 1789, when an act was passed incorporating the trustees of the Grammar School in the easterly part of Roxbury, and for a half century afterwards the Free School was conducted like any other incorporated academy.

BENEFACTORS AND TEACHERS OF THE ROXBURY SCHOOL.

Among the early benefactors of the Roxbury Free or Grammar School were SAMUEL HUGBURN, who died in 1642; LAWRENCE WHITAMORE, who died in 1644, "an ancient Christian of 80 years," leaving his whole estate to the school, which still belongs to the trustees; ISAAC HEATH, who left by will in 1660, 256 acres to the school; and THOMAS BELL.

Thomas Bell who came over in 1635, was made freeman in 1636, but returned to England in 1654, where he died in 1672—leaving a will dated Jan. 29, 1671,

in which is the following provision, held on long leases for the benefit of the school :

"*Imprimis*, I give unto Mr. John Eliot, minister of the Church of Christ and People of God at Roxbury in New England and Isaac Johnson whom I take to be an officer or overseer of or in said Church, and to one other like Godly person now bearing office in said Church and their successors the minister and other two such head officers of the said Church at Roxbury as the whole church there from time to time shall best approve of successively from time to time forever all those my messuages or tenements, lands and hereditaments with their and every of their appurtenances situate, lying, and being at Roxbury in New England aforesaid in parts beyond the seas to have and to hold to the said officers of the said Church of Roxbury for the time being and their successors from time to time forever, in trust only notwithstanding, to and for the maintenance of a schoolmaster and free school for the teaching and instructing of *Poor Men's* children at Roxbury aforesaid forever and to be for no other use, intent, and purpose whatsoever."

Mr. Ellis in his History of the Town of Roxbury says:

With such bounties, it is no wonder that this school was, very early, one "of high character" and "the admiration of the neighboring towns." It was said by Mather "that Roxbury had afforded more scholars, first for the college and then for the public, than any other town of its bigness or, if I mistake not, of twice its bigness, in all New England."

And the Roxbury Free School, for the liberality of its objects, the great names that have been associated with it, and the actual good it has done, as well as for its wealth, deserves an honorable place amongst the institutions of the country. But these must be passed by now, whilst we turn over a few matters concerning its early days.

In 1648, Isaac Morrill agreed to collect the school money and pay it over to the schoolmaster.

The first teacher named in the school records is Master Hanford, who agreed for twenty-two pounds per annum.

The 25th of the 9th month, 1652, the feoffees agreed with Mr. Daniel Welde "that he provide convenient benches with forms, with tables for the scholars, a convenient seate for the schoolmaster, a Deske to put the Dictionary on and shelves to lay up bookes, and keepe the house and windows and doores with the chimney sufficient and proper and there shall be added to his yearly stipend due by the Booke the rent of the schoole land being four pounds the yeare. He having promised the Feoffees to free them of the labor of gathering up the particulars of the contributions and they to stand by him in case any be refractory."

Though our early law of the colony required each town to provide a schoolmaster to teach children to read and write, and, when any towns should have a hundred families or householders, to set up a grammar school, there appears to have been none but this in Roxbury.

In 1663, the Feoffees made an agreement with John Prudden as teacher, for a year, the terms of which are a little curious. Master Prudden "promised and engaged to use his best endeavor, both by precept and example, to instruct in all Scholasticall, morall, and Theological discipline, the Children (soe far as they are or shall be capable) of the signers all A. B. C. darians excepted."

About fifty persons signed the agreement, and four of whose children were to be instructed gratis; this exception would prove that the school was not free in the present use of that word, to the fifty subscribers.

And the Feoffees, "not enjoyning, nor leting the said Pruden from teaching any other children, provided the number thereof doe not hinder the profitting of the forenamed youth," promised to allow Mr. Pruden twenty-five pounds half on the 29th of Sept. and the other half "to be payed on March 25, by William Parks and Robert Williams, their heirs or administrators, at the upper mills in Roxbury, three-quarters in Indian Corn, or peas, and the other

fourth part in barley, all good and merchantable at price current in the country rate, at the day of payment."

It was "alsoe further added" that "if any other persons in the town of Roxbury shall for like ends desire and upon like grounds with the above-mentioned, see meete to adde their names to this writing, they shalle enjoye the like priviledges."

One column of the subscribers was headed "*Gratis*."

At one time, probably about 1673, the Bell lands were let to John Gore for twenty-one years, he agreeing "to teach the school or procure a substitute, or pay £12 a year in corn, or cattle," &c.

In 1679, it was ordered that "parents, &c., of children coming to the school, whether inhabitants or strangers, shall pay four shillings a child to the master or bring half a cord of good merchantable wood, except such as for poverty or otherwise shall be acquitted by the feoffees."

In 1724 it was ordered that parents, &c., shall send 4s. 6d. in money or two feet of good wood for each child within ten days "or the master to suffer no such children to have the benefit of the fire."

In 1735 the amount for each child was eight shillings or two feet of wood.

In 1665, the school-house, probably the first, was repaired by Capt. Johnson. But in 1666 it was complained of as out of repair. In 1681 one of the teachers in a letter to one of the trustees says "of inconveniences, I shall instance no other, but that of the school-house the confused and nastie posture that it is in, not fitting for to reside in, the glass broken and thereupon very raw and cold, the floor very much broken and torn up to kindle fires, the hearth spoiled, the seats some burnt and others out of kilter, that one had as well nigh as goods keep school in a hog stie as in it." (This master was evidently not restricted to morall, ecclesiasticall and theologicall discipline.) A new building was probably built about this period.

In 1742, the old school-house being much gone to decay, the Feoffees, "with the help of many well disposed persons by way of subscription" erected a new school-house. This was built of brick, of one story. The second story was added in 1820. It was sold in 1835. When they built the brick school-house in 1742 the "Honl. Paul Dudley Esquire was pleased to bestow for the use of said school a good handsome Bell."

In 1688, the school lands were let at auction for five hundred years. This gave great dissatisfaction, and it was alleged that there was fraud in the sale. About 1716 a petition was presented to the council and the leases of Bell's land were declared to be contrary to the law and statutes of England and beyond the power of the Feoffees. A suit or suits were brought in court. Achmuty and Valentine were counsel for the school, but Gore the defendant prevailed at last, after the case had been appealed and reviewed. These leases were finally all cancelled by agreement.

In 1723 the standard of admission was raised. Instead of excluding only ABCdarians, the order provided that the master should "not be obliged to receive any children for his instruction at the said school until such time as they can spell common easy English words either in the Primer, or in the Psalter in some good measure." Latin was ordered to be taught at least as early as 1674.

In a petition of Stephen Williams and others, in the year 1715, to the General Court, to confirm a grant of 500 acres by the Legislature to the school in 1680, and of which the school had received no benefit, it is claimed "that said Free School is one of the ancientest and most famous school in this Province, where, by the fear of God, more persons have had their education who have been, and now are, worthy ministers of the everlasting gospel, than in any, (we may say) than in many towns of like bigness in the Province," &c.

FREE SCHOOL IN CHARLESTOWN.

The settlement of Charlestown was begun in 1629, and in June, 1636, 'Mr. William Witherell was agreed with to keep a school for a twelvemonth;' and in the same year, the General Court granted to the town Lovell's Island, which was leased out, and the rent was applied by the town to the support of the school.

In 1647, against a marginal reference in the Town Records—'Allowance granted for the Town School.' January 20, it is recorded—'It was agreed that a rate of fifteen pounds should be gathered of the town towards the school for this year, and the five pounds that Major Sedgwick is to pay this year (for the island) for the school; also, the town's part of the Mistick weir for the School for ever.' The town in 1650 had 'about one hundred and fifty dwelling houses.'

In 1661, Mr. Ezekiel Cheever removed from Ipswich to Charlestown, and took charge of the Town School. On the 3d of November, 1666, he presented to the Selectmen the following motion:—

First, That they would take care the school-house be speedily amended, because it is much out of repair.

Secondly, That they would take care that his yearly salary be paid, the constables being much behind with him.

Thirdly, Putting them in mind of their promise at his first coming to town; viz., that no other schoolmaster should be suffered to set up in the town so long as he could teach the same, yet Mr. Mansfield is suffered to teach and take away his scholars.

From an order of this date (Jan. 12, 1666) it appears that 'many of our youths were guilty of rude and irreverent carriage in the times of the public ordinances of praying and preaching on the Lord's Day,' it was commended to all the inhabitants to further their cheerful endeavors by sitting in turn before the youths' pew during morning and evening exercise—and 'it is our joint expectation that all youths under fifteen years of age, unless on grounded exemption by us, do constantly sit in some one of those three pews made purposely for them, except Mr. Cheever's scholars, who are required to sit orderly and constantly in the pews appointed for them together.'

In 1671, Benjamin Thompson, a celebrated teacher, was engaged by the Selectmen to keep the Town School on the following terms:

1. That he shall be paid thirty pounds per annum by the town, and receive twenty shillings a year from each particular scholar that he shall teach, to be paid him by those who send children to him to school.

2. That he shall propose such youth as are capable of it for the college, with learning answerable.

3. That he shall teach to read, write, and cipher.

4. That there shall be half a year's mutual notice by him and the town, before any change or remove on either side.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN WATERTOWN.

WATERTOWN was settled in 1630; the first church was organized July 28, in the same year, and a place for public worship was erected prior to 1634. The earliest mention of a school-house in the town records is September 17, 1649. This was probably a Town Grammar or Free School, for it was robbed in 1664, by two Indians, of seventeen Greek and Latin books. The earliest mention of a teacher is 1649, when the town 'signified its desire to David Mitchell, of Stamford, Conn., for him to teach school.' In 1650-51, Richard Norcross was hired for one year for £30, and was 'allowed 2s. a head for keeping the dry herd.' Pupils not inhabitants were to pay tuition 'as before.' The same teacher was employed, at different periods afterward, for forty years, 'to be paid by the parents for English, 3d. per week; for writing, 4d. a week; for Latin, 6d. a week.'

In 1700, the town 'voted Mr. Goddard £10 for the year ensuing, and the rates from parents and owners of children.' In 1764, 'Rev. Joseph Moore was desired to keep school and be helpful to the minister for £40; and 4d. per week for all who should send their children.'

FREE SCHOOL IN NEWBERRY.

'OULD NEWBERRY' was settled and incorporated in 1635; in 1639, ten acres of land were granted to Anthony Somerby 'for his encouragement to keep school one year.' And the first notice of the town's intention to build a school-house and to support a teacher at their expense was in 1652. In the year following, it was ordered 'that the town should pay twenty-four pounds by the year to maintain a free school at the meeting-house,' against which vote seventeen persons 'desired to have their dissents recorded.'—Coffin's *History of Newberry*.

FREE SCHOOL OF DUXBURY.

THE settlement of Duxbury was begun about 1632, and was made a township in 1637. The earliest instruction was publicly given by the clergyman, Rev. Ralph Partridge, but there is no record of a public school in the colony till after the Court of Plymouth granted the people certain fisheries 'for and toward a free school, for the training up of youth in literature for the benefit of posterity, in 1655.'

GRAMMAR OR FREE SCHOOL OF IPSWICH.

THE Grammar school of Ipswich, in which Mr. Cheever taught after leaving New Haven, was in existence in 1651, when the town granted 'all the Neck beyond Chebacco river for the maintenance thereof.' This land was leased for £14 a year. The committee fixed what each scholar should pay yearly or quarterly.

VI. HARVARD COLLEGE.*

1636—1654.

IN 1636, six years after the first settlement of Boston, the General Court, or Legislature, of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, which met at Boston on the 8th of September, and continued in session until the 28th of October, passed an act appropriating £400 toward the establishment of a school, or college. The sum thus set apart was more than the whole tax levied on the colony, at that time, in a single year. The civilized portion of the population did not exceed five thousand persons of all ages, and these were scattered thinly through ten or twelve small villages, in a country whose resources was not yet developed, and of which so little was known, that it might be said to be unexplored. But in all these villages, the magistrates and ministers were educated men—many of them were eminent graduates of the university of Cambridge, and not a few of them had taught in the public schools of England. These men gave direction to the educational policy of the colony, which resulted in the establishment of public schools and colleges, so that "learning was not buried in the graves of the fathers in church and commonwealth."[†]

In 1637, Governor Winthrop, Deputy-Governor Dudley, Counsellors Humphrey, Harlaskenden, and Houghton, and the Ministers Cotton, Wilson, Davenport, Wells, Shepard, and Peters, were appointed by the General Court "to take order for a college," which, in the same year, was located in Newtown, and which name was changed, in 1638, to Cambridge, in remembrance of the place where so many of the leading colonists had received their education.

In 1638, the Rev. John Harvard, who came to Charlestown in 1637, gave by his will the sum of £779 17s. 2d. in money, and more than three hundred volumes of books. It is to be lamented that so

* This sketch will follow substantially Elliot's "*History of Harvard College*."

† "The Court agreed to give £400 toward a school or college, whereof £300 to be paid next year, and £100 when the work is finished, and the next Court to appoint where and what building." For List of Legislative Grants, see Appendix, p. 139.

‡ "The ends for which our fathers did chiefly erect a college in New England, were that so scholars might be there educated for the service of Christ and his churches, in the work of the ministry, and that they might be seasoned in their tender years with such principles as brought their blessed progenitors into this wilderness. There is no one thing of greater concernment to these churches, in present and aftertimes, than the prosperity of that society. They can not subsist without a college"—*Dr. Increase Mathew*.

very little is known of a man whose name is deservedly commemorated in that of the college, to which his bequest was so timely and so bountiful an aid. He had been but a few months in the colony, though long enough to acquire the respect of his associates, and to excite in himself the strongest sympathy with the effort to extend the means of education. He was a scholar, as well as an orthodox divine, and a practical Christian; and it is a striking characteristic of the age, and of the individual, that a man of such character, and in such circumstances, should have been found in his position. The sum above named was but half of his property, and must be esteemed equal to six or seven times the same nominal amount at the present day—sufficient, certainly, to secure to its possessor the comforts of life, as they would then have been esteemed. And yet he leaves his native country, a voluntary exile, and resorts to the feeble settlement of a scanty colony, in an unknown wild, and preaches the gospel to the little flock that can be found there to attend his ministrations. If there be such a thing as strength in the human character, or elevation of purpose, and superiority to worldly advantages, in the human heart, surely they were exhibited by John Harvard.*

The first class was formed in 1638, under the care of Mr. Nathaniel Eaton—but whether as a preparatory or collegiate class does not appear. It is certain, however, that Mr. Eaton enjoys the bad pre-eminence of being mentioned as one of the earliest schoolmasters in New England, who disgraced his calling as a teacher of "the school at Cambridge," by bad temper, unjustifiable severities, and short commons.

In 1640 the General Court granted to the college the income of the Charlestown ferry; and in the same year, the Rev. Henry Dunster arrived from England; and so eminently qualified was he by learning, ability and virtues for the office of president, that he was placed in it at once by a sort of acclamation and general consent. He was inducted into the office on the 27th of August, 1640. Under his administration, and principally by his efforts, a course of study was prescribed, a code of laws for the government of the students was framed, the ceremonial of the annual commencement and conferring of degrees was instituted, and a charter, the first corporation created by the General Court, and which still remain as the fundamental law of the oldest literary institution in this country, was obtained. Probably the college never had a more able, faithful, and devoted officer than President Dunster, and yet all his services to the cause of good learning could not protect him from being indicted by the grand jury

* For "Memoir of Harvard," and Mr. I'verett's address on erecting a monument to his memory in 1838, see Barnard's "*American Journal of Education*," Vol. V., p. 521-534.

for disturbing the ordinance of infant baptism by preaching *antipedo-baptism* in the church of Cambridge, of which he was pastor. He was tried, convicted, and sentenced to receive admonition on Lecture Day,* and to be laid under bonds for good behavior; and so strong was the pressure against him, that on the 24th of October, 1654, he resigned the presidency, and retired to Scituate, in the jurisdiction of Plymouth Colony, where he died in the following year. In compliance with his dying request, his body was brought back to Cambridge, that it might rest near the college which he had loved and served so faithfully.

Some of the provisions in the laws for the government of the college, drawn up by President Dunster, presents a vivid picture of the manners of that age. "They [the students] shall honor, as their parents, the magistrates, elders, tutors, and all who are older than themselves, *as reason requires*, being silent in their presence, except when asked a question, not contradicting, but showing all those marks of honor and reverence which are in praiseworthy use, saluting them with a bow, standing uncovered," &c. The use of their mother tongue was prohibited, and perhaps so much might be effected by law even now; but it would be entirely unsafe to predict what would be the substitute for it in familiar use. Latin, surely, would scarcely be thought of.

The mode of discipline authorized by the "seventeenth rule" is a recorded proof of what otherwise might have rested on obscure tradition only, that our fathers, in common with their contemporaries generally, were not well informed upon one characteristic of human nature, at least. The degrading and brutalizing effect of stripes has been so often, so eloquently, and so learnedly demonstrated in modern times, and has been shown, besides, by the experience of so many ages, that it has become a matter of especial wonder that the generations which grew up under such a liability did not relapse into barbarism, rather than make any further progress toward civilization. We, of the nineteenth century, sympathize deeply, and even painfully, with the feelings, wounded and indignant as they must have been, of a future baronet, a governor, three presidents of the college, and thirty-seven ministers of the gospel, to say nothing of the less distinguished individuals, all of whom were exposed, for the four years of their college life, to the cruelty permitted in the following law, sanctioned by Dunster. "If any student shall violate the law of God and

* Lecture Day—Rev. Dr. Cotton commenced the practice of a public discourse on Thursday of each week, which was attended by the devout from all the villages about Boston, and has been continued to the present time.

of this college, either from perverseness, or from gross negligence, after he shall have been twice admonished, *he may be whipped*, if not an adult; but if an adult, his cause shall be laid before the overseers, that notice may be publicly taken of him according to his deserts. In case of graver offences, however, let no one expect such gradual proceedings, or that an admonition must necessarily be repeated in relation to the same law."

The enforcement of the "twelfth rule" would, in these days, certainly afford frequent occasion for both the admonition and the rod, and one can not but suspect that, even then, the police of the college must have had some calls for activity, both in word and in deed. "No scholar shall buy, sell, or exchange any thing of the value of sixpence, without the approbation of his parent, guardian, or tutor. But if he shall do so, he shall be fined by the president, according to the measure of his offence."

The first commencement at Harvard College, was holden on the 9th of October, 1642, when nine candidates took the degree of Bachelor of Arts.* "They were young men of good hope," remarks Gov. Winthrop, "and performed their parts so as to give good proof of their proficiency in the tongues and arts. Most of the members of the General Court were present, and for the encouragement of the students, dined at the "ordinary commons." Thus commenced flowing out that current of cultivated intellect, which has widened and deepened into more than a mighty stream, and exerting a powerful influence over the social life and public sentiment of each successive generation for more than two centuries.

In 1642 the General Court, held at Boston, passed the following "*Act establishing the Overseers of Harvard College*:"—

Whereas, through the good hand of God upon us, there is a College founded in Cambridge, in the county of Middlesex, called HARVARD COLLEGE, for the encouragement whereof this Court has given the sum of four hundred pounds, and also the revenue of the ferry betwixt Charlestown and Boston, and that the well ordering and managing of the said College is of great concernment;

It is therefore ordered by this Court, and the authority thereof, that the Governor and Deputy Governor for the time being, and all the magistrates of this jurisdiction, together with the teaching elders of the six next adjoining towns, viz., Cambridge, Watertown, Charlestown, Boston, Roxbury, and Dorchester, and the President of the said College for the time being, shall, from time to time, have full power and authority to make and establish all such orders, statutes, and constitutions, as they shall see necessary for the instituting, guiding, and furthering of the said College, and the several members thereof, from time to time, in piety, morality, and learning; as also to dispose, order, and manage, to the use and behoof of the said College, and the members thereof, all gifts, legacies, bequests, revenues, lands, and donations, as either have been, are, or shall be, conferred, bestowed, or any ways shall fall, or come, to the said College.

* See APPENDIX VI. for the Statutes, &c.—reprinted entire from Quincy's "*History of Harvard College*."

And whereas it may come to pass, that many of the said magistrates and said elders may be absent, or otherwise employed about other weighty affairs, when the said College may need their present help and counsel,—It is therefore ordered, that the greater number of said magistrates and elders, which shall be present, with the President, shall have the power of the whole. Provided, that if any constitution, order, or orders, by them made, shall be found hurtful to the said College, or the members thereof, or to the weal-public, then, upon appeal of the party or parties grieved, unto the company of Overseers, first mentioned, they shall repeal the said order, or orders, if they shall see cause, at their next meeting, or stand accountable thereof to the next General Court.

In 1643 a vote was passed by the governors of the college to adopt a common seal, in a form which has the qualities of simplicity and appropriate beauty. Three books were spread open on a shield, and upon them was inscribed the word VERITAS, expressing in the most emphatic manner, the object of the institution, and indicating the most prominent means by which it was to be attained. It does not appear that this device was ever engraved, or used; though it has the merit of being more comprehensive, and more simple, than the first seal which was actually used, and which had the motto "IN CHRISTI GLORIAM." This, as it would be ordinarily understood, conveys the erroneous impression that the institution was designed to be, or that it actually was, a theological school; and such an idea is still more directly countenanced by the motto subsequently introduced, and which is still in use, CHRISTO ET ECCLESIE. VERITAS includes every species of truth, and is therefore more strictly in unison with the known plan and character of the college. The simplicity of the device, characteristic of that age, recommends itself to the best taste of all ages.

In 1642 and 1643 many large donations of money, types, books, &c., were made by persons in England, and in the colony. Some of the money which came from abroad was taken by the General Court, and interest was allowed for it, at the rate of more than nine per cent. This was continued for many years, and then discontinued for some time; till at length, in 1713, the original sum was repaid, with interest at six per cent. from 1685.

In 1650 a charter was granted by the General Court, by which the President, five Fellows, and a Treasurer were made a "Corporation," with power of perpetual succession, and of doing many, nay almost all necessary acts "for the advancement and education of youth, in all manner of good literature, arts and sciences."

The Charter of the President and Fellows of Harvard College, under the Seal of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, and bearing date, May 31st, A. D. 1650.

Whereas, through the good hand of God, many well-devoted persons have been, and daily are, moved, and stirred up, to give and bestow, sundry gifts, legacies, lands, and revenues, for the advancement of all good literature, arts, and

sciences, in Harvard College, in Cambridge in the county of Middlesex, and to the maintenance of the President and Fellows, and for all accommodations of buildings, and all other necessary provisions, that may conduce to the education of the English and Indian youth of this country, in knowledge and godliness.

It is therefore ordered and enacted by this Court, and the authority thereof, that for the furthering of so good a work, and for the purposes aforesaid, from henceforth, that the said College, in Cambridge in Middlesex, in New England, shall be a Corporation, consisting of seven persons, to wit: a President, five Fellows, and a Treasurer or Bursar; and that Henry Dunster shall be the first President; Samuel Mather, Samuel Danforth, Masters of Art, Jonathan Mitchell, Comfort Starr, and Samuel Eaton, Bachelors of Art, shall be the five Fellows; and Thomas Danforth to be present Treasurer, all of them being inhabitants in the Bay, and shall be the first seven persons of which the said Corporation shall consist; and that the said seven persons, or the greater number of them, procuring the presence of the Overseers of the College, and by their counsel and consent, shall have power, and are hereby authorized, at any time, or times, to elect a new President, Fellows, or Treasurer, so oft, and from time to time, as any of the said persons shall die, or be removed; which said President and Fellows, for the time being, shall for ever hereafter, in name and fact, be one body politic and corporate in law, to all intents and purposes; and shall have perpetual succession; and shall be called by the name of President and Fellows of Harvard College, and shall, from time to time, be eligible as aforesaid, and by that name they, and their successors, shall and may purchase and acquire to themselves, or take and receive upon free gift and donation, any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, within this jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, not exceeding five hundred pounds per annum, and any goods and sums of money whatsoever, to the use and behoof of the said President, Fellows, and scholars of the said College; and also may sue and plead, or be sued and impleaded by the name aforesaid, in all Courts and places of judicature, within the jurisdiction aforesaid.

And that the said President, with any three of the Fellows, shall have power, and are hereby authorized, when they shall think fit, to make and appoint a common seal for the use of the said Corporation. And the President and Fellows, or major part of them, from time to time, may meet and choose such officers and servants for the College, and make such allowance to them, and them also to remove, and after death, or removal, to choose such others, and to make, from time to time, such orders and by-laws, for the better ordering, and carrying on the work of the College, as they shall think fit; provided, the said orders be allowed by the Overseers. And also, that the President and Fellows, or major part of them with the Treasurer, shall have power to make conclusive bargains for lands and tenements, to be purchased by the said Corporation, for valuable consideration.

And for the better ordering of the government of the said College and Corporation, Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the President, and three more of the Fellows, shall and may, from time to time, upon due warning or notice given by the President to the rest, hold a meeting, for the debating and concluding of affairs concerning the profits and revenues of any lands, and disposing of their goods (provided that all the said disposings be according to the will of the donors); and for direction in all emergent occasions; execution of all orders and by-laws; and for the procuring of a general meeting of all the Overseers and Society, in great and difficult cases: and in case of non-agreement; in all which cases aforesaid, the conclusion shall be made by the major part, the said President having a casting voice, the Overseers consenting thereunto; and that all the aforesaid transactions shall tend to and for the use and behoof of the President, Fellows, scholars, and officers of the said College, and for all accommodations of buildings, books, and all other necessary provisions and furnitures, as may be for the advancement and education of youth, in all manner of good literature, arts, and sciences. And further, be it ordered by this Court, and the authority thereof, that all the lands, tenements, and hereditaments, houses, or revenues, within this jurisdiction, to the aforesaid President or College appertaining, not exceeding the value of five hundred pounds per annum, shall, from henceforth, be freed from all civil impositions, taxes, and rates; all goods to the said Corporation, or to any scholars thereof appertaining, shall be exempted from all manner of toll, customs, and exercise whatsoever. And that the said President, Fellows, and scholars, together with the servants, and other necessary officers to the said President, or

College appertaining, not exceeding ten, viz., three to the President, and seven to the College belonging, shall be exempted from all personal civil offices, military exercises, or services, watchings, and wardings; and such of their estates, not exceeding one hundred pounds a man, shall be free from all country taxes or rates whatsoever, and no other.

In witness whereof, the Court hath caused the seal of the colony to be hereunto affixed. Dated the one and thirtieth day of the third month, called May, anno 1650.

[L. S.]

THOMAS DUDLEY, Governor.*

1654—1672.

After the resignation of President Dunster, John Amos Comenius, of Moravia, received, through the younger Winthrop, overtures to accept the office,† but he was induced to bestow his educational labors in Sweden and Transylvania.

On the 2d of November, 1654, the Rev. Charles Chauncy, then on his way from Scituate, in Plymouth County, where he had been a minister for twelve years, to England, with a view of being reinstated in his former parish of Ware, was chosen President. He was born in Hertfordshire in 1589. Was educated at Westminster School and in Trinity College, Cambridge, in which he was afterwards Professor of Hebrew and of Greek, until he was settled over a parish in Ware. Here he became involved in the ecclesiastical troubles "*for opposing the making of a rail about the communion table*," for which he was finally silenced and suspended by Archbishop Laud, and in consequence betook himself to the colony of Plymouth in 1638. He was sixty-four years old when he took charge of the college, and his presidency was prolonged till death, February 19, 1672, in his eighty-second year. He was an indefatigable student, rising every morning at four o'clock the year round. It was his practice to devote between three and four hours every day to private devotion, and sometimes he spent whole nights in prayer. The church at Cambridge, of which

* A copy of the original, engrossed on parchment, under the signature of Governor Dudley, with the colony seal appendant, is in the custody of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

† Dr. Cotton Mather, in "*Magnalia*," folio. London, 1702, Book IV., p. 128, after stating Dunster's resignation, says:—

"That brave Old Man, *Johannes Amos COMENIUS*, the Fame of whose Worth hath been Trumpetted as far as more than three Languages (whereof every one is Endeighted unto his *Janus*) could carry it was indeed agreed withall, by our Mr. *Winthrop* in his *Travels* through the *Low Countries*, to come over into *New-England*, and illuminate this Collidge and Country, in the Quality of a *President*: But the Solicitations of the *Swedish Ambassador*, diverting him another way, that Incomparable *Moravian* became not an American."

Comenius was invited to visit England in 1641, to organize a system of public instruction for the Commonwealth. He visited London in that year, but the disturbances in Ireland so hindered his plans, that he abandoned that field and accepted a similar task in Sweden, where he had the countenance of Chancellor Oxenstiern and the aid of the Swedish Government. Had Comenius made either Old or New England his permanent residence, it is not too much to suppose that his publications and earnest personal efforts would have introduced the same educational reform which he inaugurated in Germany. See Memoir in Barnard's "*American Journal of Education*," Vol. V., p. 257-298.

he was pastor, after he had been with them a year or two, kept an entire day of *thanksgiving* to God for the mercy of enjoying such a preacher. Dr. Cotton Mather states: "The Fellows of the college once leading this venerable old man to preach a sermon on a winter day, they, out of affection to him, to discourage him from so difficult an undertaking, told him, 'Sir, you'll certainly die in the pulpit;' but he, laying hold on what they said, as if they had offered the greatest encouragement in the world, pressed the more vigorously through the snow-drift, and said, 'How glad should I be, if what you say might prove true.'"

During the term of office of "this venerable old man" the only Indian, who ever passed through the four years of college life, took his degree. Several were induced to attempt the civilizing process of a learned education; and at one time, the "Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England and the Parts Adjacent," erected a hall for their accommodation, at a cost of between £300 and £400. The effort was soon given up, however, as the Indian constitution was found incompatible with those habits which are requisite for literary attainments. Even Caleb Cheeshahteumuck, as this solitary Indian graduate was euphoniously called, soon died of consumption. The building erected for the special accommodation of the natives was, therefore, appropriated to other purposes, and for some time was used as a printing office, which gained great renown in its day.

About one half of the graduates under President Chauncy became ministers of the gospel, and several others held posts of distinction in civil life. Two were Chief Justices of the Colony; one was afterwards Chief Justice of the colony of New York, and successively Governor of Massachusetts and of New Hampshire; and three became presidents of colleges, viz: two of Harvard, and one of Yale.

The donations to the college, at this period, were numerous and interesting;* indicating, in various ways, the state of the colony in respect to its resources, the affectionate regard of the community, and the liberality of many persons in England, as well as here, toward this school in the wilderness. Two of the most considerable, which have remained available to the present day, are the bequest of Edward Hopkins, of £500,† and the annuity of William Pennoyer, which, at the time, was £34 per annum, and is now about £50. Both of these were for the benefit of the indigent; the former to be used for educating boys at the grammar school of the town of Cambridge, as well as young men at the college, and the latter for this purpose only.

* See APPENDIX—Donations, 1654 to 1772.

† See Barnard's "*American Journal of Education*," Vol. IV. 669.

During the latter part of President Chauncy's administration, both the College and the Colony were involved in pecuniary embarrassments. The buildings of the seminary were "ruinous and almost irreparable," and "the number of scholars short of what they had been in former days." All its efficient funds did not amount to one thousand pounds, and without a new building its situation was desperate. The General Court could, or would do nothing. In this emergency, the town of Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, in an address to the General Court in 1669, after expressing their thankfulness for the protection extended to them by Massachusetts, and saying, "that, although they had articted with them for exemption from taxes, yet they had never articted with God and their own consciences for exemption from gratitude," which "while they were studying how to demonstrate, the loud groans of the sinking college came to their ears; and hoping that their example might provoke the rest of the country to an holy emulation in so good a work, and the General Court itself vigorously to act, for the diverting the omen of calamity, which its destruction would be to New England," declare, that a voluntary collection had been made among their inhabitants, which authorized the town to pledge the payment of "sixty pounds sterling a year for seven years ensuing; to be improved by the Overseers of the College for the advancement of good literature there."

This noble example was not lost on Massachusetts. Efficient measures were immediately adopted for raising subscriptions in the Colony, and an agent was despatched to England to solicit aid from its friends there, with letters and an urgent address to them from the overseers. These exertions produced, in the course of the ensuing year, subscriptions for more than two thousand six hundred pounds. Under this encouragement, in 1672, authority was given for the commencement of a new edifice. Subscriptions, however, were more easily made, than collected. Great delays and delinquencies occurred. The General Court were compelled to interfere; and, after efforts for five or six years, first by urging, then by threatening, and at last, by actually authorizing the delinquent subscriptions to be collected by distress, they finally succeeded in completing the erection of a new college, in 1682, ten years after it had been commenced.

1672—1684.

President Chauncy was succeeded in office by Leonard Hoar, who belonged to the medical as well as to the clerical profession. He was educated at Harvard, but returned to England to become minister at Wanstead, in Essex. He was inducted into the presidency in July,

1672, and resigned in March, 1675, after a troubled administration—both with the corporation and the students—the latter, according to Cotton Mather, used to “turn cudweeds and travestic whatever he did and said, with a design to make him odious,” a design in which they succeeded much to the discredit of the Puritan youths. The General Court became early mixed up “in the motions and debates,” and a second year had not passed, before the General Court summoned into their presence the corporation, overseers, president, and students; and, after a full hearing, notwithstanding that Dr. Hoar, in consideration of the poverty of the students, voluntarily relinquished fifty pounds of his annual salary, the Court passed this most extraordinary vote; “That, if the college be found in the same languishing condition at the next session, the president is concluded to be dismissed without further hearing.” After this decisive encouragement to malcontents, it was not difficult to anticipate the result. The college continued to languish, and Dr. Hoar resigned his office in the March ensuing.

The Rev. Urian Oakes, the minister of Cambridge, was his successor, as president *pro tempore*, retaining his position as pastor of the church. He, too, was born in England, but, coming over in childhood, he was educated at Harvard College, and then went to England, where he was regularly settled; and, having returned to this country, with so many others of the non-conformists, he became, in the first place, minister of Cambridge, and then president of the college. He officiated, for five years, as a merely temporary occupant of the chair, and was not formally installed till February, 1680. He is believed to have countenanced those who expressed their dissatisfaction with his predecessor; and he certainly resigned his seat in the Corporation within a year after Hoar's appointment. The most reasonable, as well as the most charitable, construction of his conduct is, that the complaints against the late president were not without some just foundation; for Oakes has left behind him the reputation of having been “a man of bright parts, extensive learning, and exalted piety”—a reputation clearly inconsistent with any factious conduct, or personal jealousy. He died in July, 1681, and was succeeded by his classmate, John Rogers, a graduate of 1649.

This gentleman was the son of the Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, of Ipswich; and had applied himself first to the study of theology, and afterwards to that of medicine. He continued in office for two years only, highly esteemed for his abilities and acquisitions, and greatly loved for the amiableness of his temper. He was the first layman who held the office of president of the college.

(To be continued.) •

LAWS, RULES, AND SCHOLASTIC FORMS.

ESTABLISHED BY PRESIDENT DUNSTER.

Statuta, Leges, Privilegia, et Ordinationes, per Inspectores et Præsident Collegii Harvardini constituta An. Chr. 1642, 1643, 1644, 1645, 1646, et promulgata ad scholarium salutem et disciplinam perpetuo conservandam.

1. Cuicumque fuerit peritia legendi Ciceronem aut quemvis alium ejusmodi classicum autorem ex tempore, et congruè loquendi ac scribendi Latinè facultas oratione tam solutâ quam ligatâ, suo, ut aiunt, Marte, et ad unguem inflectendi Græcorum nominum verborumque paradigmata; hic admissionem in Collegium jure potest expectare. Quicumque verò destitutus fuerit hac peritiâ, admissionem sibi nequitiam vendicat.
2. Considerato unusquisque ultimum finem vitæ ac studiorum, cognitionem nimirum Dei et Jesu Christi, quæ est vita æterna. Joh. xvii. 3.
3. Cum Deus sapientiæ sit largitor, privatis precibus sapientiam ab eo singuli ardentè petunt. Prov. ii. 2, 3, &c.
4. In Sacris Scripturis legendis bis quotidie unusquisque se exerceto; quo paratus ac peritus sit rationem reddendi suorum profectuum, tam in theoreticis philologicis observationibus, quam in spiritualibus practicis documentis, quemadmodum tutores requirunt pro suo cujusque captu, quum "aditus verbi illuminat." Psal. cxix. 130.
5. In publico sanctorum cœtu omnes gestus, qui contemptam aut neglectum præ se ferunt sacrarum institutionum, studiosè cavento, atque ad rationem tutoribus reddendam quid profecerint parati sunt; omnibusque legitimis sibi scientiam reponendi mediis utuntur, prout à suo quisque tutore institutus fuerit.
6. Omnem profanationem Sacrosancti Dei nominis, attributorum, verbi, institutionum ac temporum cultûs, evitant; Deum autem et ejus veritatem in notitiâ retinere, summâ cum reverentiâ et timore, studento.
7. Honore prosequuntur, ut parentes, ita magistratus, presbyteros, tutores, suosque omnes seniores, prout ratio postulat; eorum illis tacentes nisi interrogati, nec quicumque contradicentes, eis exhibentes honoris et reverentiæ indicia quæcumque laudabili usu recepta sunt, incurvato nimirum corpore salutantes, aperto capite adstantes, &c.
8. Ad loquendum tardi sunt; evitent non solum juramenta, mendacia, et incertos rumores, sed et stultiloquium, scurrilitatem, futilitatem, lasciviam, omnesque gestus molestos.
9. Nequis se intrudat vel rebus alienis immisceat.
10. Dum hic egerint, tempus studiosè redimunt, tam communes omnium scholarium horas, quam suis prælectionibus destinatas, observando; prælectionibus autem diligenter attendunt, nec voce nec gestu molesti. Siquid dubitent, sodales suos, aut (nondum exempto scrupulo) tutores modestè consulunt.
11. Nequis sub quovis prætextu hominum, quorum perditii sunt ac disincti mores, consuetudine seu familiaritate utitor. Neque licet ulli, nisi potestate ab Inspectoribus Collegii factâ, bellicis lustrationibus interesse. Nemo in pupillari statu degens, nisi concessâ prius à tutore veniâ, ex oppido exeat; nec quisquam, cujuscumque gradûs aut ordinis fuerit, forum frequentet, vel diutius in aliquâ oppidi plateâ moretur, aut tabernas, cauponas, vel diversoria ad commessandum aut bibendum accedat, nisi ad parentes, curatores, nutricios, vel hujusmodi, accersitus fuerit.
12. Nullus scholaris quicumque, quod sex denarios valeat, nullo parentum, tutorum, aut tutorum approbante, emitto, vendito, aut commutato. Quum autem secus fecerit, à Præside pro delicti ratione multabitur.
13. Scholares vernaculâ linguâ intra Collegii limites nullo prætextu utuntur, nisi ad orationem aut aliud aliquod exercitium publicum Anglicè habendum evocati fuerint.
14. Siquis scholarium à precibus aut prælectionibus abfuerit, nisi necessitate coactus aut tutoris nactus veniam, admonitioni aut aliusmodi pro Præsidis prudentiæ penne, si plus quam semel in hebdomade præcaverit, erit obnoxius.
15. Scholarium quisque donec primo gradu ornatur, ni sit communis, aut nobilis alicujus filius, aut militis primogenitus, suo tantum cognomine vocatur.

16. Nullus scholaris quâvis de causâ (nisi præmonstratâ et approbatâ Præsidi vel tutori suo) à suis studiis stativæ exercitiis abesto, exceptâ horâ jentaculo, semihorâ merendæ, prandio verò sesquihorâ, pariter et cœnæ concessâ.

17. Siquis scholarium ullam Dei et hujus Collegii legem, sive animo perverso, seu ex supinâ negligentia, violârit, postquam feurit bis admonitus, si non adultus, virgis cœreatur, sin adultus, ad Inspectores Collegii deferendus erit, ut publicè in eum pro meritis animadversio fiat; in atrocioribus autem delictis, ut adeò gradatim procedatur, nemo expectet, nec ut admonitio iterata super eâdem lege necessario fiat.

18. Quicumque scholaris, probatione habitâ, poterit sacras utriusque instrumenti Scripturas de textu originali Latine interpretari et logicè resolvere, fueritque naturalis et moralis philosophiæ principiis imbutus, vitæque ac moribus inculpatus, et publicis quibusvis comitiis ab Inspectoribus et Præside Collegii approbatus, primo suo gradu possit ornari.

19. Quicumque scholaris scriptam synopsis vel compendium logicæ, naturalis ac moralis philosophiæ, arithmeticæ, geometriæ, et astronomiæ exhibuerit, fueritque ad theses suas defendendas paratus, nec non originalium ut supra dictum est linguarum peritus, quem etiamnum morum integritas ac studiorum diligentia cōonestaverint, publicis quibusvis comitiis probatione factâ, secundi gradûs, magisterii nimirum, capax erit.

The Laws, Liberties, and Orders of Harvard College, confirmed by the Overseers and President of the College in the years 1642, 1643, 1644, 1645, and 1646, and published to the Scholars for the perpetual preservation of their welfare and government.

1. When any scholar is able to read Tully, or such like classical Latin author *extempore*, and make and speak true Latin in verse and prose *suo* (ut aiunt) *Marte*, and decline perfectly the paradigms of nouns and verbs in the Greek tongue, then may he be admitted into the College, nor shall any claim admission before such qualifications.

2. Every one shall consider the main end of his life and studies, to know God and Jesus Christ, which is eternal life. John xvii. 3.

3. Seeing the Lord giveth wisdom, every one shall seriously, by prayer in secret, seek wisdom of Him. Proverbs ii. 2, 3, &c.

4. Every one shall so exercise himself in reading the Scriptures twice a day, that they be ready to give an account of their proficiency therein, both in theoretical observations of language and logic, and in practical and spiritual truths, as their Tutor shall require, according to their several abilities respectively, seeing the entrance of the word giveth light, &c. Psalm cxix. 130.

5. In the public church assembly, they shall carefully shun all gestures that show any contempt or neglect of God's ordinances, and be ready to give an account to their Tutors of their profiting, and to use the helps of storing themselves with knowledge, as their Tutors shall direct them. And all Sophisters and Bachelors (until themselves make common place) shall publicly repeat sermons in the Hall, whenever they are called forth.

6. They shall eschew all profanation of God's holy name, attributes, word, ordinances, and times of worship; and study, with reverence and love, carefully to retain God and his truth in their minds.

7. They shall honor as their parents, magistrates, elders, tutors, and aged persons, by being silent in their presence (except they be called on to answer), not gainsaying; showing all those laudable expressions of honor and reverence in their presence that are in use, as bowing before them, standing uncovered, or the like.

8. They shall be slow to speak, and eschew not only oaths, lies, and uncertain rumors, but likewise all idle, foolish, bitter scoffing, frothy, wanton words, and offensive gestures.

9. None shall pragmatically intrude or intermeddle in other men's affairs.

10. During their residence they shall studiously redeem their time, observe the generally hours appointed for all the scholars, and the special hour for their own lecture, and then diligently attend the lectures, without any disturbance by word or gesture; and, if of any thing they doubt, they shall inquire of their fellows, or in case of non-resolution, modestly of their Tutors.

11. None shall, under any pretence whatsoever, frequent the company and society of such men as lead an ungirt and dissolute life. Neither shall any, without license of the Overseers of the College, be of the artillery or train-band. Nor shall any, without the license of the Overseers of the College, his Tutor's leave, or, in his absence, the call of parents or guardians, go out to another town.

12. No scholar shall buy, sell, or exchange any thing, to the value of sixpence, without the allowance of his parents, guardians, or Tutor's; and whosoever is found to have sold or bought any such things without acquainting their tutors or parents, shall forfeit the value of the commodity, or the restoring of it, according to the discretion of the President.

13. The scholars shall never use their mother tongue, except that in public exercises of oratory, or such like, they be called to make them in English.

14. If any scholar, being in health, shall be absent from prayers or lectures, except in case of urgent necessity, or by the leave of his Tutor, he shall be liable to admonition (or such punishment as the President shall think meet), if he offend above once a week.

15. Every scholar shall be called by his surname only, till he be invested with his first degree, except he be a fellow commoner, or knight's eldest son, or of superior nobility.

16. No scholar shall, under any pretence of recreation or other cause whatever (unless foreshowed and allowed by the President or his Tutor), be absent from his studies or appointed exercises, above an hour at morning bever, half an hour at afternoon bever, an hour and a half at dinner, and so long at supper.

17. If any scholar shall transgress any of the laws of God, or the House, out of perverseness, or apparent negligence, after twice admonition, he shall be liable, if not *adultus*, to correction; if *adultus*, his name shall be given up to the Overseers of the College, that he may be publicly dealt with after the desert of his fault; but in greater offences such gradual proceeding shall not be exercised.

18. Every scholar, that on proof is found able to read the original of the Old and New Testament into the Latin tongue, and to resolve them logically, withal being of honest life and conversation, and at any public act hath the approbation of the Overseers and Master of the College, may be invested with his first degree.

19. Every scholar, that giveth up in writing a synopsis or summary of Logic, Natural and Moral Philosophy, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astronomy, and is ready to defend his theses or positions, withal skilled in the originals as aforesaid, and still continues honest and studious, at any public act after trial he shall be capable of the second degree, of Master of Arts.

IN SCHOLARIBUS ADMITTENDIS.

1. Præbebis omnimodam debitam reverentiam honorandis magistratibus ac reverendis Presbyteris et Præsidi Collegii unâ cum Sociis singulis.

2. Debitam diligentiam studiis incumbendo adhibebis, studiis inquam linguarum et artium liberalium, obsequendo tutori tuo et salutaribus ejus præceptis, quamdiu in statu pupillari versatus fueris in hoc Collegio.

3. Religiosè in te suscipies curam, dum hic commoraberis, observandi singulas salutare leges, statuta, et privilegia hujus societatis quantum in te situm est; atque etiam, ut observentur ab omnibus hujus Collegii membris in singulo uniuscujusque munere, fideliter curabis.

4. Sedulo prospicies nequid detrimenti Collegium capiat, quantum in te situm est, sive in ejus sumptibus, sive in ædificio et structurâ, fundis, proventibus, cæterisque omnibus, quæ nunc ad Collegium pertinent, aut, dum hic egeris, pertinere possunt.

Quod ad nos, Præsidem et Socios scilicet, spectat, pollicemur nos tibi non defuturos quibuscunque uostrâ intererit; imo verò in studiis tuis et pietate progressum, quantum in nobis fuerit, promovebimus.

SOCIIS ADMITTENDIS.

1. Præbebis omnimodam debitam reverentiam honorandis magistratibus ac reverendis Presbyteris et Præsidi, Collegii Inspectoribus.

2. Religiosè in te suscipies curam, dum hic commoraberis, observandi singulas salutare leges, statuta, et privilegia hujus societatis, quantum in te situm est, atque etiam, ut observentur ab omnibus hujus Collegii membris in singulo uniuscujusque munere.

3. Omnes et singulos studentes, qui tutelæ tuæ committuntur aut in posterum committendi sunt, ut promoveas in omni tam divinâ quam humanâ literaturâ, pro suo cujusque capto, atque, ut moribus honestè et inculpatè se gerant, summopere curabis.

4. Sedulo prospicies, nequid detrimenti Collegium capiat, quantum in te situm est, sive in ejus sumptibus, sive in ædificio et structurâ, fundis, proventibus, cæterisque omnibus, quæ nunc ad Collegium pertinent, aut, dum hic egeris, pertinere possint.

Quod etiam ad nos (Collegii Inspectores) spectat, pollicemur nos non tibi defuturos esse, quibuscunque tuâ intererit; imo verò te confirmabimus autoritate ac potestate nostrâ in omnibus tuis legitimis administrationibus, contra quoscunque contumaces. Et pro Collegii facultatibus erogabimus tibi idonea stipendia (i. e. pro modulo nostro), quæ sufficiant ad victum et amictum et literaturam tuam promovendam.

PRÆSENTATIO BACCALAUREORUM.

Honorandi viri, vosque, reverendi Presbyteri, præsentō vobis hosce juvenes, quos scio tam doctrinâ quam moribus idoneos esse ad primum in artibus gradum suscipiendum pro more Academicarum in Angliâ.

ADMISSIO.

Admitto te ad primum gradum in artibus, scil. ad respondendum questionī pro more Academicarum in Angliâ, tibi que trado hunc librum unâ cum potestate publicè prælegendi (in aliquâ artium, quam proferis) quotiescunque ad hoc munus evocatus fueris.

PRÆSENTATIO MAGISTROUM.

Honorandi viri, vosque, reverendi Presbyteri, præsentō vobis hosce viros, quos scio tam doctrinâ quam moribus esse idoneos ad incipiendum in artibus pro more Academicarum in Angliâ.

ADMISSIO INCEPTORUM.

Admitto te ad secundum gradum in artibus pro more Academicarum in Angliâ; tibi quoque trado hunc librum unâ cum potestate publicè profiteri, ubicunque ad hoc munus publicè evocatus fueris.

FORMULA PUBLICÆ CONFESSIÖNIS.

Ego, S. W., qui à cultu divino in aulâ Collegii tam matutino quam vespertino toties per aliquot menses abfui (in quâ absentâ monitis et aliis in me animadversionum gradibus non obstantibus hactenus perstiti), nunc culpam meam agnosco, et publicæ agnitionis hoc testimonio me reum profiteor, et majorem in his exercitiis pietatis diligentiam in posterum (Deo volente), dum hîc egero, polliceor.

CERTIFICATE FOR AN UNDERGRADUATE.

Per integrum biennium quo apud nos pupillari statu commoratus est A. B., Collegii Harvardini Cantabrigiæ in Nov-Angliâ alumnus, publicas lectiones tam philologicas quam philosophicas audivit, necnon declamationibus, disputationibus, cæterisque exercitiis, pro sui temporis ratione ad eum incubuit, ut nobis certam spem fecerit illum suis cœtaneis etiam in aliis collegiis (si admissus fuerit) non disparum fore. Quapropter hoc de illo testimonium omnibus, quorum interesse possit, perhibemus nos, quorum nomina subscripta sunt.

Datum.

CERTIFICATE FOR A BACHELOR OF ARTS.

Per integrum illud tempus quo apud nos commoratus est C. D. Collegii Harvardini Cantabrigiæ in Nov-Angliâ alumnus, et in artibus liberalibus Baccalaureus, bonarum literarum studiis vitæ probitatem adjunxit; adeo ut nobis spem amplam fecerit se in Ecclesiæ et Reipublicæ commodum victurum. Quapropter hoc de illo testimonium omnibus, quorum interesse possit, perhibemus nos, quorum nomina subscripta sunt.

Datum.

CERTIFICATE FOR A MASTER OF ARTS.

Per integrum illud tempus quo apud nos commoratus est E. F., Collegii Harvardini Cantabrigiæ in Nov-Angliâ alumnus, et in artibus liberalibus Magister, bonarum literarum studiis sedulo incubuit, sinceram veræ fidei professionem inculpatæ suæ vitæ moribus exornavit, adeo ut nobis certam et amplam spem fecerit se in Ecclesiæ et Reipublicæ commodum victurum. Quapropter hoc de illo testimonium omnibus, quorum interesse possit, perhibemus nos, quorum nomina subscripta sunt.

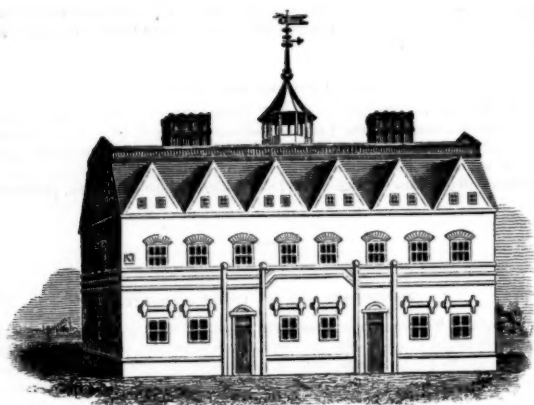
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BACCALAUREORUM PRESENTATIO.

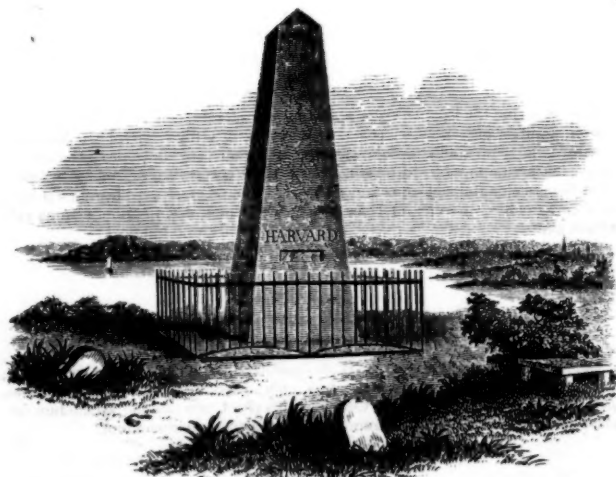
Supplicat Reverentiis vestris A. B., ut quadriennium ab admissione completum, quo ordinarias lectiones audivit unâ cum disputationibus, declamationibus, cæterisque exercitiis per statuta Col. requisitis (licet non omnino secundum formam statuti), sufficiat ei ad primum gradum in artibus suscipiendum.

MAS. PRESENTATIO IN ANGL.

Supplicat Reverentiis vestris N. N., ut novem termini completi post finalem ejus determinationem, in quibus ordinarias lectiones audivit (licet non omnino secundum formam statuti) unâ cum omnibus oppositionibus, responsionibus, declamationibus, cæterisque exercitiis per statuta regia requisitis, sufficiant ei ad incipiendum in artibus.



FIRST HARVARD HALL.



MONUMENT TO HARVARD, ON BURIAL HILL, IN CHARLESTOWN

THE HOPKINS FOUNDATION.

THE HOPKINS SCHOOL AT HADLEY.

[By Sylvester Judd.]

INTRODUCTION.

By his will, made in London, where he died in March, 1657, Gov. Edward Hopkins of Hartford, Connecticut, gave a portion of his estate in New England to Theophilus Eaton, Esq., and Mr. John Davenport of New Haven, and Mr. John Cullick and Mr. William Goodwin of Hartford, to be disposed of by them "to give some encouragement in those foreign plantations for the breeding up of hopeful youths in a way of learning, both at the Grammar School and College, for the public service of the country in future times." He also ordered that £500 more should be made over into the hands of the trustees in six months after the death of his wife.*

Rev. John Davenport of New Haven and Mr. William Goodwin of Hadley, the only surviving trustees, made a distribution of Mr. Hopkins's donation in April, 1664. They gave £400 to the town of Hartford, for a Grammar School; and all the rest was to be equally divided between the towns of New Haven and Hadley, to be improved in maintaining a Grammar School in each; but they provided that £100 of that half which Hadley had should be given to Harvard College. When the money was received, New Haven had £412, Hartford £400, Hadley £308, and Harvard College £103—in all, £1,220. Mrs. Hopkins lived until 1699, and the gift of £500 was obtained, not by the schools of New Haven and Hadley, to which it belonged, but by Harvard College and Cambridge Grammar School, in 1710.

On the 14th of January, 1667, the town made the following grant of land, and on the 14th of March, appointed a committee to let it.

"The town have granted to and for the use of a Grammar School in this town of Hadley, and to be and remain perpetually to and for the use of the said school, the two little meadows, next beyond the brook commonly called the mill brook, and as much upland to be laid to the same as the committee chosen by the town shall in their discretion see meet and needful; provided withal, that it be left to the judgment of said committee that so much of the second meadow shall be excepted from the said grant, as that there may be a feasible and convenient passage for cattle to their feed." Committee chosen: Mr. Clarke, Lt. Smith, Wm. Allis, Nathaniel Dickinson, Sr., and Andrew Warner.—Note on the margin by Peter Tilton: "These two meadows are on the round neck of land; and [the other] the little long meadow that was reserved by the Indians in the first sale and afterwards purchased by itself."

These two School Meadows adjoin the Connecticut, and are separated by high upland which becomes narrow in the northern part. On this elevated ridge, the Indians had a fort and burying-place. One meadow is east of the ridge; the other is west of it in a bend of the river, and is greatly enlarged by the encroachment of the river upon Hatfield. Both were estimated at 60 acres in 1682. They now (1847) contain, with the upland, more than 140 acres.

GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

On the 30th of March, 1669, Mr. Goodwin proposed to the town, that he would choose three persons, and the town should choose "two more able and

* For biography of Gov. Hopkins, and the proceedings of the Trustees to get possession of the property, see Barnard's Report as Superintendent of Common Schools of Connecticut for 1888, and the *American Journal of Education*, Vol. iv. 669, where also will be found the Will, and the agreement of Rev. John Davenport and Mr. Goodwin about disbursing the legacy.

pious men;" and that these five, with himself as long as he lived, should have the full dispose and management of the estate given by the trustees of Mr. Hopkins, and of all other estate given by any donor, or that may be given, to the town of Hadley for the promotion of literature and learning; the five persons to remain in the work till death or the Providence of God remove any of them, and then the survivors shall choose others in their place. Mr. Goodwin desired that the school might be called the Hopkins School. On the 20th of March, he informed the town that he had chosen Mr. John Russell, Jr., Lieut. Samuel Smith, and Aaron Cooke; and the town voted as follows:

The town voted their approbation of Mr. Goodwin's choice. The town also voted Nathaniel Dickinson, Sr., and Peter Tilton to join with the three persons before mentioned, as a joint Committee who, together with Mr. Goodwin while he lives, and after his death, shall jointly and together have the ordering and full dispose of the estate or estates given by Mr. Davenport and Mr. Goodwin (as trustees as aforesaid to Mr. Edward Hopkins) to this town of Hadley, or any other estate or estates that are or may be given either by the town itself or any other donor or donors, for the use, benefit, maintenance, and promoting of a Grammar School to and for the use and in this town of Hadley; as also jointly and together to act, do, conclude, execute, and finish anything respecting the premises faithfully and according to their best discretion.

Voted also by the town that as to the five persons before expressed, if any decease or be otherwise disabled through the Providence of God, the rest surviving shall have the sole choice of any other in the room and place of those surceasing, to the full number of five persons, provided they be known, discreet, pious, faithful persons.

Mr. Goodwin, with the consent of the other trustees, built from the Hopkins donation, a grist-mill upon Mill River, a little south of the school lands. No record is found of the year in which the mill was built, nor of any grant by the town of the use of the stream. A house lot for the miller was granted Oct. 16, 1671. Perhaps the mill was built that year. It was burnt by the Indians in September, 1677, with the miller's house, the farm barn, fences, and other property. The trustees of the school declined to rebuild, not having sufficient means, and apprehending danger from the Indians. The town needed a mill, and as Robert Boltwood was not afraid of Indians, a majority of the trustees were induced to dispose of the right belonging to the school to the town for £10; and the town, to encourage Boltwood to build a mill, granted to him the mill-place and the remains of the dam, Nov. 6, 1677, and they granted four acres as a house lot for the miller, June 3, 1678. The mill was rebuilt by Boltwood in 1678 or 1679.

Mr. Russell, always solicitous for the prosperity of the Grammar School, did not consent to the sale of the mill-place and dam; and on the 30th of March, 1680, he presented to the County Court at Northampton, the state of the school, and what had been done by the other trustees, the town, and Boltwood. The Court decided that the sale by the trustees was illegal. "We may not allow so great a wrong." They judged that Goodman Boltwood should be repaid what he had expended, and that the mill should belong to the school.

At the September Court, 1683, the committee of the Hopkins School rendered an account of the school estate. Mr. Goodwin, before his death, received from the Hopkins donation £308, from Thomas Coleman £5, Mr. Westwood £13, and Widow Barnard £3, making £329. He and others expended £173 14s. 4d. for a house for the miller, a barn for the farm, fencing the farm or meadows before and after the war, loss on a house bought by Mr. G., paying a debt of Mr. Hopkins, &c., and the remainder of the £329 was expended in building the mill and dam, repairing, maintaining the school-master, &c.

The school estate that remained consisted of the school meadows, given by the town, estimated at 60 acres; 12 or 14 acres of meadow (5 acres of it in

Northampton meadow), and his dwelling-house and one acre and a half from his home lot, given by Nathaniel Ward; 12 acres of meadow given by John Barnard; and 11½ acres of meadow given by Henry Clarke.

The Boltwoods, father and son, were resolute men, and tenacious of their rights, but they did not like contention, and on the 8th of August, 1683, Robert Boltwood agreed to surrender the mill and appurtenances to the school committee, and they were to pay him £138 in grain and pork. They took possession about Nov. 1, 1683. In the year 1684 they found that the town challenged some right to the stream and land, and there were other difficulties, and they refused to consummate the bargain. The committee and Samuel Boltwood (his father Robert died in April, 1694), referred the matter to John Pyncheon and John Allis, and in consequence of their decision, March 30, 1685, the mill was delivered up to Samuel Boltwood about May 1, 1685.

Attempts to Limit the Hopkins School to English Studies.

Serious troubles to Mr. Russell and the promoters of the Grammar School next arose from another quarter. As the donation of Mr. Hopkins was almost all dissipated, and the mill was in the hands of Boltwood, and the estate that remained was nearly all given by Hadley and by individuals of that town, the people concluded that the estate might as well be managed by the town for the use of an English School. Some of the most influential men were in favor of this course, especially Peter Tilton, who had resigned his office as trustee, and Samuel Partrigg, who still remained a trustee, and on the 23d of August, 1686, the following votes were adopted by the town:

"Voted by the town that all that estate of houses and lands bequeathed and given by any donor or donors in their last wills and testaments to this town of Hadley, or to a school in said town, or to the promoting and furtherance of learning in said town, as the legacy of Nathaniel Ward, John Barnard, Henry Clarke, gent., they look on said estate and donations to belong nextly to the town to be improved according to the will of the testators; and therefore take it into their hands to manage, order, and dispose to the use of a school in this town of Hadley.—This had a full vote in the affirmative.

"Voted by the town that Ens. Nash, Francis Barnard, Neb. Dickinson, Thos. Hovey, and Samuel Barnard are a committee from the town to make demand of the school committee of all the produce, increase and rents of lands and estates abovesaid, and accruing thereto, which are at present in their hands undisposed."

After these votes of the town, four of the school committee, viz., Mr. John Russell, Aaron Cooke, Joseph Kellogg, and Samuel Porter, presented to the County Court at Springfield, Sept. 23, 1686, the declining state of the Grammar School, and complained of some persons in Hadley who obstructed the management of the school. The Court ordered that the lands given by Hadley, and the donations of Hopkins, Ward, Barnard, and Clarke, should be improved for the Grammar School, and not for an English School separate from the Grammar School. Mr. Pyncheon sent a copy of the order to Mr. Russell, and wrote to him a letter, dated Oct. 2, 1686, in which he mentioned the difficulties he had to encounter in getting the order passed. The Court was composed of himself, William Clark of Northampton, and Peter Tilton. Mr. Partrigg was present and spoke in favor of Hadley.

"I am heartily sorry, says Mr. Pyncheon, that Mr. Partrigg is so cross in the business of the school; nothing will be done as it ought to be till he be removed, which I suppose the President and Council may do. It is too hard for the County Court to do anything. Mr. Tilton, fully falling in with him, is as full and strong in all his notions as Mr. Partrigg himself, and it is wonderful that anything passed. Mr. Clark, though a friend in the business, yet wanted courage.* Mr. Tilton said it would kindle such a flame as would not be quenched. But if to do right, and secure the public welfare, kindle a flame,

* Mr. Clark was in favor of the Grammar School, and at the same time, a friend of Tilton and Partrigg.

the will of the Lord be done.* To get the order passed, I was forced to declare that if Mr. Clark did not assent, I would [give leave to record it myself]. But he concurred, the order being a little mollified. If Mr. Partrigg will obstruct, it is necessary that he be removed by the President and Council, who must do this business; we are too weak in the county court. I am full for it to leave all with the President,† and glad it is like to be in the hands of them who will powerfully order. I pray God the school may stand upon its right basis, and all may run in the old channel."

After the decision of the Court, Sept. 28, 1686, a paper was signed by those in Hadley who adhered to Mr. Russell and the Grammar School, and accepted the order of the Court. The signers were Samuel Gardner, John Ingram, Chileab Smith, John Preston, Joseph Kellogg, Samuel ———, Samuel Porter, Sr., Aaron Cooke, William Marcum, Hezekiah Porter, and widow Mary Goodman. These, with Mr. Russell, made 12 persons in the minority. All the rest seem to have gone for the English School.

Mr. Russell wrote to President Dudley, and he gave his opinion decidedly in favor of the Grammar School. Mr. Pyncheon received an order from the President and Council, dated Oct. 21, 1686, requiring him to examine the school affairs at Hadley and report. Mr. Pyncheon came to Hadley, Nov. 18, and sent to Northampton for Capt. Aaron Cooke and Mr. Joseph Hawley. He desired a town meeting the next morning, that the town might depute some persons to give an account of the school affairs. A town meeting was ordered at sun a quarter of an hour high the next morning.‡ Capt. Cooke and Mr. Hawley came over. Mr. Tilton, Mr. Partrigg, and others came as a committee from the town meeting, and were willing to discourse as friends, but not in obedience to the Council's order. The school committee were present and gave their reasons,§ and the town's committee¶ read two or three long papers in reply. These things and many more are stated in a letter to the President and Council, dated at Hadley, Nov. 20, 1686, and signed by Pyncheon, Cooke, and Hawley. They request that some speedy course may be taken by the Council "for quieting the hot and raised spirit of the people of Hadley."

Grammar School Confirmed.

The letter of Pyncheon, Cooke and Hawley to the President and Council had the effect intended, and the following order was issued:

"By the Honorable, the President and Council of his Majesty's Territory and Dominion of New England, in America:

"Upon perusal of the return made by Major Pyncheon and the committee for the affair of the Hadley school, the President and Council do order that the committee for Hopkins School be and remain the feofees of the Grammar School in the said town, and that Mr. Partrigg be and is hereby dismissed from any further service in that matter. And that the said committee make report of the present estate of said Mr. Hopkins and other donations to the school (which having been orderly annexed to the Grammar School, are hereby continued to that service), unto the next county court of Hampshire, who are hereby empowered to supply the place of Mr. Partrigg with some other meet person in Hadley. And that the said court do find out and order some method for the payment of Boltwood's expenses upon the mill, that the

* T 1 is a noble sentiment of Pyncheon; nearly equivalent to the old Latin, *sal, justitia, vult ceterum*.

† This seems to be the meaning, but it is difficult to read this part of the letter.

‡ The despotic government of President Dudley (soon followed by that of Andros) was de-fected by most people in this part of the colony, yet some were willing to make use of it, to accomplish what they considered to be a good object. Doubtless the decision of the old Court of Assistants would have been similar to that of the President and Council.

§ It must have been a lively time in Hadley, when a town meeting was held at sun a quarter of an hour high in the morning.

¶ The reasons why this estate should remain to support the Grammar School, are preserved. They were drawn up by Mr. Russell, with many Scripture references and quotations.

‡ The town's committee were Mr. Tilton, Mr. Partrigg, Ena. Timothy Nash, Nehemiah Dickinson, Daniel Marsh, and Thomas Hovey.

mill, farm, and other lands given to the school may return to that public use; the President and Council hereby declaring it to be beyond the power of the town of Hadley or any other whatsoever to divert any of the lands or estate or the said mill stream, and the privileges thereof (which are legally determined to the said Grammar School), to any other use whatsoever. The President and Council judging the particular gifts in the town a good foundation for a Grammar School both for themselves and the whole country, and that the Grammar School can be no otherwise interrupted, but to be a school holden by a master capable to instruct children and fit them for the university.

“By order, ED. RANDOLPH, *Secretary*.
“COUNCIL HOUSE, Boston, December the 8th, 1686.”

At a new County Court, appointed by Andros, and held at Northampton, June 7, 1687, the order of the President and Council was read, and a petition and statement from the trustees of the school. Samuel Boltwood was summoned to appear and show cause why he detained the mill. He presented a paper giving a regular account of his father's building and selling the mill and of the award of Pyncheon and Allis, which put the mill into his (Samuel Boltwood's) hands. Referring to the award, he says, “it seems rational, especially for those who profess religion, to stand by what was done” or make good their bond. “What is my just right I plead for, and no other.”

The next day, June 8, the Court, after referring to the order of the President and Council,—Ordered those persons in Hadley who had taken the school estate into their hands for an English School, to return it speedily to the former committee, the feoffees of the Grammar School, viz., Mr. John Russell, Aaron Cooke, Joseph Kellogg, and Samuel Porter, to whom they added Chiles Smith, in the room of Samuel Partrigg, removed. They also ordered that Samuel Boltwood should deliver up the school mill and appurtenances to the same feoffees, for the maintenance of the school. If the feoffees and Boltwood could not agree as to what had been expended on the mill by him and his father, the toll being considered, then Mr. John Allis and a man chosen by the feoffees and another chosen by Boltwood were to give in their award and determine what Boltwood should have for the mill.

The town yielded, so far as to pass the following vote, Aug. 29, 1687, which did not please the Court:

“Voted by the town that the lands seized and taken into their own hands with reference to an English School by their vote Aug. 23, 1686, wanting that formality in the seizure as might have been—the town do now let fall the said seizure, leaving said lands in the hands of the Committee called the School Committee as formerly, withal reserving a liberty to themselves and successors to make claim and plea according to law at any time for the future, for what may appear to be their right in the premises.”

The Court of Sessions sent the following letter to the Selectmen of Hadley, March 7, 1688, to be communicated to the town. The members of the court were John Pyncheon, John Holyoke, Joseph Hawley, Capt. Aaron Cooke of Hadley, Lieut. John Allis:

Honored Friends—Having had a sight of the vote of the town of Hadley of August 29, 1687, in way of compliance (as we suppose) with the advice of the Court of Sessions, held at Northampton, June 7, 1687, we judge meet to let you understand our sense of it, that it is far short of what we expected and advised to, being at best lean in itself, if not a justifying of yourselves in your former precipitant, illegal entering upon the school estate, rather than a delivering it up to the committee as you were directed actually to do, and forthwith to declare it under the hands of those that had acted in entering thereon; and presuming upon your readiness so to do it, we proposed it to the committee or feoffees, if they saw cause, to allow one-half of the £16 that was engaged toward a schoolmaster. But what you have done being so short of that directed to, and so worded as speaks your unsubmission to authority, especially in conjunction with your other actings, we must declare it no ways convenient the committee should allow any part of the said £16, and that you are accountable for your perverseness towards the school affairs, and for your slighting of such who have had more regard to your own good and interest than yourselves. Such a spirit we see breathing forth from you as will necessarily call for some further animadverting thereon, if you do not retract some of your actings, which we earnestly desire you to overlook and rectify. We

would not particularize, and yet in way of caution to amendment, might mention your unkindness and crossness in not granting the use of a house that stands empty, and your illegal rating of the school estate, contrary to the declared direction in all our books, of colleges, schools, hospitals, &c., are not to be taxed, which we do particularly insist on, for your speedy rectification of what you have disorderly done (that we may not have occasion to lay it before his excellency). Several other things are before our consideration, which we do not mention, hoping and expecting you will revise your own actings and amend, which is the [scope] of these lines to prevent anything that may prove uncomfortable to yourselves, being assured that a sense of your own crossness, perverseness, unsubmission to order, and repentance for what is done amiss, will but become yourselves, and is the plainest path to your own comfort, which we pray God to direct you in, and are YOUR ASSURED FRIENDS.

We let you know and hereby declare that we forbid the constables and all officers from levying or collecting any particular tax toward any town affair, upon the school estate.

By order of this Session, JAMES CORNISH.
 SPRINGFIELD, March 7, 1687-8. [Cornish was Clerk under Andros.]

The selectmen of Hadley replied to this letter, and in June, 1688, the Court sent another to Hadley, "enjoining them to seek their own peace."

Samuel Boltwood gave up the mill to the trustees of the school in 1687, and arbitrators decided April 26, 1688, that he should be allowed £71 10s. for what his father and he had expended about the mill, of which sum he had received all but £9.

Historical Data.

The Hopkins school was the only public school in the old parish of Hadley from 1666 to 1705, except an occasional "Dame School" kept by the school ma'am in her own room, where girls were instructed to read and sew, and the small boys were taught to read. The first recorded vote on the subject was in 1665 (April 25), six years after the first settlement by families from Hartford and Wethersfield, in 1659. The town voted "to give £30 per annum for three years towards the maintenance of a schoolmaster, to teach the children, and to be a help to Mr. Russell, as occasion may require." The first master was Caleb Watson, a graduate of Harvard College in 1661.

In 1676 (Dec. 21) the town voted to give the schoolmaster £30 per annum, a part from the school estate, and the rest from the scholars and town. There being great failure in sending children to school, the selectmen were ordered to take a list of all children from 6 to 13 years old; all of these were to attend the school, and if any did not go, they were to pay the same as those that went, except some poor men's children. January 10, 1678, they voted to give Mr. Younglove £30 for another year, to be paid by the school estate, scholars, and town; and he was to have the use of the house and homestead belonging to the school, and of twelve acres of land. Male children from 6 to 13 were to pay 10s. a year if they went, and 5s. if they did not go. February 7, 1681, a committee was appointed to get a schoolmaster to teach Latin and English; to give him £30 a year. Latin scholars to pay 20s. a year, and English scholars 16s. Those from 6 to 13 that did not go, were to pay 8s. a year.

This school was far from being a free school, and the votes indicate that the girls and some of the boys did not attend. On the first of March, 1697, "the town voted that there should be a constant school in Hadley; the teacher to be paid wholly by the school committee and the town rate." This was a free school, but it did not continue. Men who had no children to send were dissatisfied, and the town voted, March 30, 1699, that one-half of what the school estate did not pay, should be paid by scholars. This was to stand 30 years.

The first school was kept in a building given by Nathaniel Ward (who died in 1664) with a piece of his home-lot on the Main street. After 1688, a room was hired for the school. In 1710, the Ward house was said to be "ready to fall down," and in 1712, the school committee, having obtained leave from the

Court, leased the school home-lot of one acre and a half, with the buildings, to Dr. John Barnard, for 97 years, at 18s. a year.

The town voted, July 13, 1696, to build a school-house, 25 by 18 feet, and 7 feet between joints, to be set in the "middle of the town." This was the first school-house built in Hadley. It stood in the broad street.

[Mr. Judd closes his account of the Hopkins School with a list of the teachers down to 1725.]

Teachers of Hadley Grammar School from 1696 to 1725.

A few of the teachers are not known.

About 1666 to 1673. Caleb Watson, a graduate of Harvard College, in 1661. A native of Roxbury. He removed from Hadley to Hartford, where he was many years a distinguished teacher. Salary not known.

About 1674 to 1680. John Younglove, from Ipswich; was a preacher first at Quabang, and after he left Hadley, at Suffield. Salary, £30 and use of house and land.

1683 and 1683. Samuel Russell, H. C. 1681. Son of Rev. John Russell. Was minister at Branford, Conn.

1685. Samuel Partrigg of Hadley. 3 months.

1686-7. Warham Mather, H. C. 1685. Son of Rev. Eleazar Mather of Northampton. Was Judge of Probate at New Haven.

1688-9. John Younglove again. 6 months.

1689-90. Thomas Swan, H. C. 1689. From Roxbury. He was Register of Probate in Middlesex. 6 months.

1693-4. John Morse, H. C. 1692. From Dedham. Was minister at Newtown, L. I. He kept school near a year.

1694-5. Salmon Treat, H. C. 1694. Son of James T. of Wethersfield. Was minister at Preston, Conn. Kept a year. Wages, £39.

1695-6. Joseph Smith, H. C. 1695. Son of Lieut. Philip S. of Hadley. Was minister at Upper Middletown. Kept 3 quarters, at rate of £38.

1696-7. John Hubbard, H. C. 1695. Son of John H. of Boston. Was minister of Jamaica, L. I. Kept one year at £30 as money.

1698-9. Joseph Smith, again. A year or more.

1701-1. Samuel Melyen, H. C. 1696. Son of Jacob M. of Boston. Was minister at Elizabethtown, N. J. Kept 1 year. £38.

1701-2. Mr. Woodbridge. Either Ephraim or Samuel. Both graduated at Harvard College, 1701. Both were ministers. 1 year. £38.

1702-3. Nathaniel Chauncey, Yale College, 1702. Son of Rev. Nathaniel C. of Hatfield. Minister at Durham, Conn. 3 months.

1703-4. Samuel Ruggles, H. C. 1702. From Roxbury. Was minister at Billerica. Kept 8 months, at rate of £40.

1705-6. Samuel Mighill, H. C. 1704. Son of Rev. Thomas M. of Scituate. A teacher in Mass. and Conn. Died in South Hadley, 1709. 1½ year, at £40.

1706-7. Jonathan Marsh, H. C. 1705. Son of Jonathan M. of Hadley. Was minister at Windsor, Conn. 1 year. £30 as money.

1707-8. John Partridge, H. C. 1705. Son of Col. Samuel P. of Hatfield. Died 1717. 1 year. £40.

1708-9. Aaron Porter, H. C. 1708. Son of Samuel Porter, Esq., of Hadley. Was minister at Medford. Kept 6 months, at the rate of £40.

1709-10. Daniel Boardman, Y. C. 1709. Son of Daniel Boardman of Wethersfield. Was minister at New Milford, Conn. Kept 8 months, at the rate of £26 as money.

1710-11. John James. A native of England. Honorary degree at H. C. 1710. He had previously been minister at Derby, Conn. 6 months, at the rate of £36 as money.

1711-12. Elisha Williams, H. C. 1711. Son of Rev. Wm. W. of Hatfield. Was President of Yale College. 11 months, at the rate of £26 as money.

1712-13. Thomas Berry, H. C. 1712. Was a physician. Lived at Ipswich. 7 months, at the rate of £30 in money.

1713-14. Stephen Williams, H. C. 1713. Son of Rev. John W. of Deerfield. Was minister at Longmeadow. 1½ year, at the rate of £34 in money.

1714-15. Ebenezer Gay, H. C. 1714. From Dedham. Was minister at Hingham. 9 months, at the rate of £23.

1715-16. Nathaniel Mather, Y. C. 1715. Son of Rev. Samuel M. of Windsor, Conn. Minister at ——. Kept 4 months.

1716-18. "Mr. Chauncey's son." If he was son of Rev. Isaac C. of Hadley, he was only 16 to 18 years old. 1-3-3 year, at the rate of £36.

1718-19. Stephen Steel, Y. C. 1718. Son of James Steel of Hartford. Was minister of Tolland, Conn. 1 year. £40.

1719-20. Solomon Williams, H. C. 1719. Son of Rev. Wm. W. of Hatfield. Was minister at Lebanon, Conn. 1 year. £40.

1720-21. Hezekiah Kilburn, Y. C. 1720. He was born at Wethersfield and resided there. 1 year. £40.

1721-23. Daniel Dwight, Y. C. 1721. Son of Nathaniel D. of Northampton. Episcopal minister at Charleston, S. C. 1½ year, at £40 a year.

1723-24. Benjamin Dickinson, H. C. 1723. Son of Nathaniel D. of Hatfield. A preacher many years. Lived in Hadley. 1 year. £40.

1724-25. Israel Chauncey, H. C. 1724. Son of Rev. Isaac C. of Hadley. He was an able preacher, but became deranged, and was burnt to death in a small building, near his father's, November, 1786. Kept three-quarters of a year, at the rate of £40.

In March, 1743, Josiah Pierce, H. C. 1735, a native of Woburn, began to keep the Grammar School. He was to instruct in reading, writing, arithmetic, Latin and Greek. He kept 12 years to 1755, and again 6 years from 1760 to 1766. His pay was £27 in N. E. currency, or \$91, and he had the use of 25 acres of meadow land.

These teachers were almost all educated at college, and they generally began to teach soon after they graduated. Their year or less time in the school, commonly included a part of two years. Their yearly salary to 1709 was from £38 to £40, payable in produce at the usual prices, or £30 at money prices. After 1709, their wages were paid in province bills, commencing with £26 per annum, and increasing to £40, after the bills depreciated. Out of this salary or wages, they paid for their board, which was 4s. 8d. to 5s. per week when the salary was about £40, and 3s. 6d. to 3s. 9d. when the salary was £30 or less. After deducting the board, these young men received only £18 to £21, or \$60 to \$70, per annum, in anything equivalent to dollars at six shillings. Northampton gave to her Grammar School-masters, who were all educated men, only \$80 dollars a year and board, down to the Revolution. Almost all were single men in both towns. Mr. Pierce's compensation was greater.

In 1682, Mr. Samuel Russell taught the school six months for £15. About fifty scholars attended and paid 4s. each, except a few who paid 6s. He received from the scholars £10 14s., and from the committee £4 6s. The rent of the lands belonging to the school varied from 4s. to 6s. per acre, and the total income from £6 to £8. This sum was paid to the teacher, and the balance of his salary came from the payment of the scholars.

If half the accounts of the tyranny and cruelty of English school-masters, given by English writers, are to be believed, they were an entirely different class of men from the school-masters of New England. Records and traditions furnish no evidence of the cruelty or profligacy of any of the old school-masters on Connecticut river. Where can more worthy men be found than those composing the list of Hadley school-masters?

The Hopkins School was a favorite object with Mr. Russell, and it is probable that he looked forward to its growth and expansion into an institution of a still higher grade "for the breeding up of hopeful youths in a way of learning, for the public service of the country in future times."

The school actually maintained, corresponded to other town grammar schools made obligatory upon all towns of the Commonwealth having one hundred families—it was partly a Latin and partly an English school. The teacher was competent to teach the Latin Grammar, and fit such pupils as presented themselves for preparation for college, but nine-tenths of the school were ordinary common school scholars.

The affairs of the school were managed by the committee as originally constituted—of 'able and pious men' until 1816, when they were clothed with corporate powers, under the designation of The Trustees of Hopkins Academy.

The settlement of the town of Hadley was begun in 1659, although in 1653 the General Court had granted a petition for a plantation at Nonotuck, above Springfield, but the moving cause of the settlement was the dissensions in the churches at Hartford and Wethersfield, which was brought to a pacification in April, 1659, about the same time that a portion of the dissentients in both towns agreed to remove into the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. Of the signers were Capt. John Cullick and Mr. William Goodwin. In consequence of their joining in the movement Hadley became the recipient of a portion of the Hopkins bequest.

The first recorded vote of Hadley respecting a school was April 25, 1665, "to give £30 per annum for three years towards the maintenance of a school-master to teach the children, and be as a help to Mr. Russell." In 1676, £30 were voted "to be paid by the school estate, the scholars, and the town."

The early school books of New England were the same with those of Old England. John Locke, in his "Thoughts concerning Education," 1690, says the method of schools in England, in teaching children to read, has been to adhere to "the ordinary road of the Hornbook, Primer, Psalter, Testament, and Bible." These, he says, are the only books used "to engage the liking of children and tempt them to read." The "ordinary road" was the same in New England, and the same books were used in Hadley and other towns. Such books were sold to the people by John Pyncheon, of Springfield, from 1656 to 1679 and after, and by Joseph Hawley of Northampton to his scholars, except Hornbooks, from 1674 to 1680, and both sold many Catechisms, and paper and paper books for writers. Neither sold Spelling-books, nor does John Locke refer to a Spelling-book in his treatise. They were but little used in the 17th century. Samuel Porter, of Hadley, who died in 1722, sold Primers, Psalters, Testaments, and Bibles; also Catechisms, Psalm Books, &c. Spelling-books, chiefly Dilworth's, were gradually introduced; were not common on Connecticut River till after 1750. Arithmetic was taught, but the books were rare. Traders sold the Latin Accidence or Grammar. Hornbooks do not appear in Hampshire after 1700. They contained the alphabet, with a few rudiments, on one page, covered, as Cowper says, with "thin translucent horn," to keep them from being soiled.

A book called a Primer has been used by children in schools for centuries. Our early Primers were imported from England in 1644, 1655, &c., and were probably Puritan Primers. The New England Primer seems to have been published after the Restoration in 1660, and to have been fitted for a child's school-book. It has undergone many changes. The Catechism was formerly published by itself.

In the towns upon Connecticut River and elsewhere, schools were commonly supported partly by the parents of the scholars and partly by the town. Schools were not maintained wholly by towns till after much discussion and agitation. Those in moderate circumstances, with large families, desired free schools. Some of the wealthy and of those with no children to send, were opposed to them. Few towns were willing to vote for schools entirely free to the scholars, till after 1700, and it was many years after 1700 before free schools became general in Massachusetts.

Females were not excluded by formal vote, but it is abundantly evident that girls did not attend the public schools generally in the 17th and most of the 18th century. They were instructed to read and sew in schools kept by "dames." Not one woman in a dozen could write her name 150 years ago. A few girls attended the district schools in Northampton and Hatfield before 1680, but the practice ceased, and was not formally authorized in the former place till 1802, and not in Ipswich till 1769, and Boston till 1790.

THE HOPKINS ACADEMY.

The Committee, as constituted by the town in 1664, generally known as the Donation Committee, continued to administer the funds for the uses designated by the donors by employing teachers of collegiate education, and maintaining a school of the grade known as a Grammar School, to which young persons resorted from Hadley and the neighboring towns until 1816. In that year the Legislature, in pursuance of an application from the Committee, with the concurrence of the town (by vote in legal town meeting held January 1, 1816), passed "an act to incorporate the Trustees of Hopkins Academy," by which it is provided that "there shall be established an Academy in the town of Hadley upon the foundation of Hopkins Donation School, and that the Committee of the town be incorporated into a body politic, by the name of the Trustees of Hopkins Academy; and that all the lands and moneys heretofore given or subscribed to the committee for the use of the school, or which shall be hereafter given, granted, and assigned to the trustees for the use of the Academy, shall be confirmed to the trustees for the use of the Academy, shall be confirmed to the trustees and their successors in that trust forever, for the uses designated by the donors, and that they shall be further capable of taking and holding estate, real and personal, provided the annual income of the same shall not exceed \$5,000, and the rent and profits shall be applied in such manner as that the designs of the donors may be most effectually promoted."

The Trustees, as successors of the Donation Committee, continued to maintain a school of the grade known as a Grammar School, "in which Latin, Greek, Astronomy, ancient and modern History, Logic, ancient and modern Geography, natural, moral, and intellectual Philosophy, Rhetoric, Geometry, Chemistry, Arithmetic, Composition, Reading, Declamation, and such other studies as are taught in academies," and to a course of instruction so extensive as this some of the inhabitants of the town of Hadley objected, as beyond their wants, especially as to obtain such instruction as their children needed they were obliged to pay tuition, the same as was demanded of persons not resident in the town, and who had the advantages of the higher studies. The inhabitants thus disaffected, in the year 1832-3, applied by bill in equity to the Supreme Judicial Court for relief, by enjoining such trustees from appropriating the annual avails of the property of the Hopkins School for the use and benefit of others not inhabitants of the town, and in exclusion of the children, provided they are not receiving the advanced studies of an academy. The trustees, in due form, admitted that they had to the best of their means and ability maintained a school of the grade known as a Grammar School, or an Academy, "and that to this school every person in Hadley, of proper age and qualifications to receive benefit from the school, could be admitted, and none such have ever been refused, that the trustees have supposed it to be their duty to have, at all times, a master capable to instruct children and fit them for our university or some of our colleges; that the expense of such instruction has at all times more than exhausted the whole annual income of the funds in the hands of the trustees, and the balance of the expenses has been assessed on the scholars as tuition fees; that it is true the school has been resorted to by youth from other towns, but this has not only in no way been detrimental, but, on the contrary, has been highly beneficial, inasmuch as the excess of expenses of instruction over the income of these funds, instead of being assessed wholly upon the scholars who are inhabitants of Hadley, has been apportioned among all the scholars, while the opportunities for instruction have been in no degree lessened."

The case was ably argued on both sides, and in Pickering's "Reports of cases argued and determined in the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts,"

(Vol. xiv. p. 241-267), the decision of the Court in the September term, 1833, in the case of the Inhabitants of Hadley *versus* The Trustees of Hopkins Academy, is given. The Court held "that the legal estate in the property given by Hopkins, did not, by his will and the instrument made by his trustees in 1664, vest in the town of Hadley; that the devise was not made for the purpose of founding a common town school for the exclusive benefit of the inhabitants of that town, but was designed for the encouragement of all persons in that (then) newly settled part of the country, who should desire to avail themselves of the benefit of a Grammar School adapted to instruct and qualify pupils for the university; that a long continued usage of admitting pupils from other towns than Hadley, to participate in the benefits of the Hopkins School, was of weight in establishing such construction of the devise; and that all the other donations above mentioned were to be held upon the same trusts and be appropriated to the same purposes, as the principal one from Hopkins.

Extracts from Decisions of Chief Justice Shaw.

It is a rule in equity, that a gift of real or personal estate, either *inter vivos* or by will, to promote education, is a charity. It is also considered as a settled rule, that such a gift to a charitable use is to receive a most liberal construction; and if the trustees pervert the fund to other uses, or even if they refuse to accept or execute the trusts, the charity itself shall not fail, nor will the property revert to the donor. But it will be competent for a court of chancery to direct, in the former case, that the trusts shall be executed, and in the latter, that new trustees shall be appointed, in whom the legal estate shall vest, to be held in trust for the purposes of the charity. It is quite clear, therefore, that even if the donation committee, prior to the act of incorporation, had met with a technical difficulty in maintaining their legal title, no forfeiture and no reversionary interest therein could have been claimed by the heirs of the donors, could they still have been traced; and therefore, as the lands and estate must still have been holden for the purposes of the trust, it would have been very immaterial, whether the legal estate should be considered as vested in the particular individuals, composing the donation committee, or not. That technical difficulty, however, was removed by the act of incorporation, passed with the consent and indeed upon the application of the committee, whereby they were made capable in law of taking and holding the legal estate in succession.

Another question which has been alluded to may be considered, for the purpose of being laid out of the case. It was stated in the argument for the plaintiffs, that the defendants, by introducing the higher branches of science into the academy, have changed the character of the institution from that of a school to that of a college, whereby the inhabitants of Hadley are deprived of the benefits intended to be conferred on them by the maintenance of a grammar school. This complaint at first seemed plausible; but we think it has no place in the present inquiry. It was not set forth in the bill, as a breach of trust; it was advanced only in argument, and that argument was founded upon a statement in the defendant's answer, of the studies pursued at the academy. But as a distinct complaint of a breach of trust, it has not been made in the bill, nor have the defendants had opportunity to answer to it. The point might have some influence as an argument upon the other question which is afterwards to be considered, if it could be shown that such a school as the present is, was not the grammar school contemplated by the donor. For instance, if it were shown *aliunde* that the school was intended exclusively for the inhabitants of Hadley, it might perhaps be argued that the inhabitants had no need of an institution of so high a character, and therefore that such an institution was not intended. But till that question is settled, the argument bears with the same force the other way. If the donors, by a grammar school, contemplated an institution of higher character than is ordinarily required for the children of a single town, then it could not be intended by the donors that the benefits of such school should be confined to the children of the inhabitants of Hadley. It can therefore have no weight as an argument upon that question.

But the real question raised and discussed in the present case is whether the funds placed under the control of the defendants for the support of a school, are so to be administered as to confine the benefit of them exclusively to the inhabitants of the town of Hadley.

By the terms of the act of incorporation, St. 1815, c. 104, §3, all lands and moneys given to the committee for the use of said school, shall be confirmed to the trustees of Hopkins Academy, and their successors in said trust forever, *for the uses designated by the donors.*

The purpose of the pious donor was, as he modestly expressed it, "to give some encouragement, in these foreign plantations, for the breeding up of hopeful youth in a way of learning, both at the grammar school and college, for the public service of the country in future times." This looks not only to great objects and useful objects, but to public objects. The establishment of the grammar school is coupled immediately with that of the college, which, although it must necessarily be established in some place, and so is local in its existence, yet is necessarily public and general in its purposes. The end contemplated was "the public service of the country in future times." It was "to breed up hopeful youth in a way of learning." These expressions seem inconsistent with the purpose of establishing a local school for teaching the humblest rudiments of education to the children of both sexes, who usually resort to such a school. If it be said that these expressions are adapted to that part of the provision which points to the encouragement to be given to the college, the answer is obvious, that both are included in precisely the same terms. It seems much more like having regard to a course of liberal education and the fitting of men with that degree of learning which might qualify them for public service as professional men, especially for the service of the church. In that view the two leading objects are perfectly consistent, and calculated to advance each other; supposing a grammar school designed to fit young men for college, and the college to enable them to complete a liberal education, preparatory to public or professional life. He afterwards with much solemnity and earnestness speaks of the aforesaid *public ends*. This looks little like a design to found a local school, confined in its benefits to the children of a single settlement. And we are of opinion that the original trustees of Mr. Hopkins, who were specially charged with the execution of the liberal and beneficent designs of the donor, understood it in the same way, by the instrument which they executed.

In regard to the other donations set forth in the bill, it appears to us that they clearly follow the principal one, derived from Hopkins.

In looking at the evidence adduced as to the usage and practice of the trustees, or donation committee, the records do not show whether they did, or did not, confine the benefits of this grammar school to children of the inhabitants of Hadley. The evidence therefore must rest upon living memory, which extends back fifty or sixty years; and by this it appears most satisfactorily, that in point of fact, although practically it has enured principally to the use of the inhabitants, yet it has not been confined to them, but many boys from other towns have been fitted for college there; and those who have been longest conversant with the actual management of the school as trustees, testify that they have always considered it as a school, the benefits of which have not been confined, and of right were not to be confined, exclusively to children of the inhabitants of Hadley.

Upon the whole matter we are of opinion that the inhabitants of the town of Hadley are not exclusively entitled to the benefits of these ancient donations, that the defendants in their mode of administering them, and extending the benefit of them to children of other towns, have not been guilty of the breach of trust charged in the bill, and therefore that the suit must be dismissed.

Since the date of this decision no formal attempt has been made to localize the benefits of the Hopkins Academy—but from information received from one of the trustees in 1776, we judge the institution is practically merged in a Town High School. The Academy owns no building of its own, but since 1865 occupies the upper room of a building rented by the town of Hadley for the accommodation of the Town School required by statute. The trustees pay no rent, but furnish free instruction to pupils from the town who can enter on examination. The income of the fund (\$2,631 from a capital in 1876 of \$34,400) is sufficient to employ a principal at a salary of \$1,000, and a female assistant at \$500. The pupils—74 during the last year—are distributed in classes formed in reference to a course of three years, embracing a classical department preparatory for college, and an English department equivalent to the studies of an English High School.

ALFONSO X., KING OF CASTILE AND LEON—1252-1284.

ALFONSO, Tenth of that name, who wore the crown of Castile and Leon from 1252 to 1284, and by his devotion to literature and science, won a higher distinction of *The Wise* (*El Sabio*) among men, than the canonization conferred by Clement VII., in 1672, on his father, Ferdinand III., for his efforts to expel the Moors from Spain, and extirpate heresy from the church, was born in 1221. His mother was Beatrice, daughter of Philip I., Duke of Suabia and Emperor of Germany, in whose right he claimed the Duchy which was not allowed, and aspired to the dignity of the Imperial Throne of Germany, but his claims were set aside in favor of Rodolph of Hapsburg in 1257. While engaged in these fruitless efforts to extend his dominion abroad, his own nobles conspired to nullify his authority at home, and the Moors regained for a time their ascendancy in provinces where they had been subdued by his father. But he was for a time successful over both—treating his rebellious nobility with a leniency which they subsequently abused, but extending the rule of Castile over Murcia and part of Algarvia. But the chronic turbulence of the nobles revived at a later period, and under the lead of his own son, successfully deprived him of his crown in 1284, the year of his death.

The personal history of this monarch is full of poetic interest; and without being able to form any clear conception of his character, as drawn by different historians, we can not but sympathize with his determination to possess the estate of his mother, the Lady Beatrice of Suabia, and his aspirations to become the Emperor of Germany, after the example of his wife's father Francis of Suabia, although his efforts to secure the first, and realize the last, cost him his crown. And when his rebellious nobles and unnatural son conspire to expel him from his throne, we are touched by the letter addressed in 1282 to one of the Guzmans, who was then in great favor at the court of the King of Fez, whose aid he invoked:—

Cousin Don Alonso Perez de Guzman: My affliction is great, because it has fallen from such a height that it will be seen afar; and as it has fallen on me, who am the friend of all the world, so in all the world will men know this my misfortune, and its sharpness, which I suffer unjustly from my son, assisted by my friends and by my prelates, who, instead of setting peace between us, have put mischief, not under secret pretences or covertly, but with bold openness. And thus I find no protection in mine own land, neither defender nor champion: and yet have I not deserved it at their hands, unless it were for the good I have done them. And now, since in mine own land they deceive, who should have served and assisted me, needful is it that I should seek abroad those who will kindly care for me; and since they of Castile have been false to me, none can think it ill that I ask help among those of Benamarin. For if my sons are mine enemies, it will not then be wrong that I take mine enemies to be my

sons; enemies according to the law, but not of free choice. And such is the good king, Aben Jusaf; for I love and value him much, and he will not despise me or fail me; for we are at truce. I know also how much you are his, and how much he loves you, and with good cause, and how much he will do through your good counsel. Therefore look not at the things past, but at the things present. Consider of what lineage you are come, and that at some time hereafter I may do you good; and if I do it not, that your own good deed shall be its own good reward. Therefore, my cousin, Alonzo Perez de Guzman, do so much for me with my lord and your friend, that, on pledge of the most precious crown that I have, and the jewels thereof, he should lend me so much as he may hold to be just. And if you can obtain his aid, let it not be hindered of coming quickly; but rather think how the good friendship that may come to me from your lord will be through your hands. And so may God's friendship be with you. Done in Seville, my only loyal city, in the thirtieth year of my reign, and in the first of these my troubles. Signed, THE KING.

The Guzman, to whom this letter was addressed, went over to Africa in 1276, with many knights, to serve Aben Jusaf against his rebellious subjects. In which service they were successful. Alfonso survived the date of this letter only two years, and died in 1284—his son Sancho at that time being in possession of the throne.

Alfonso was the most learned prince of his time, and is credited by Mr. Ticknor, in his history of Spanish Literature, with having improved the Castilian language by his own compositions in prose and verse, and advanced the science of astronomy.

To Alfonso X. belongs the credit of establishing a uniform system of legislation for all the provinces and cities of his dominions, to which he gave the name of 'El Setenario,' but known as '*Las Siete Partidas*,' or the Seven Parts, from the seven divisions of the work itself. It was begun in 1256 and finished in 1263. Although assisted by others in the work of compilation out of the Decretals, and the Digest and Code of Justinian, and out of the *Forum Judicum*, a collection of the Visigoths laws made in 1241 by his father Ferdinand II.—Alfonso is generally credited with its authorship on account of its resemblance, in style and literary execution, to his known productions. It is by far the most important legislative monument of its age, and for its recognition and provision of public schools, places its author amongst the earliest and most liberal educators of Europe.

The *Partidas* did not come at once into operation. Its provisions were obstructed and defied by the great nobles, and cities with their special privileges; and it was not till 1348, sixty years after the death of their author, that the great code of Alfonso was established as of binding authority in all the territories held by the kings of Castile and Leon. Since that date it became the common law of the whole country, and the basis of Spanish jurisprudence in all Spanish colonies—and recognized as such in this country in acts relating to Florida and Louisiana in their colonial state.

Partidas or Code of 1256-1563.

The *Partidas* of Alfonso is not so much a code after the style of Justinian or Napoleon, as a digest of the opinions and reading of the learned monarch on legislation, morals, and religion, divided into Parts, Titles, and Laws—imperative ordinances justified with arguments, and reflections on the manners and opinions of the age, and the relative duties of a king and his subjects, and the whole field of civil and ecclesiastical life in the thirteenth century.

As a specimen of the style of the *Partidas*, Mr. Ticknor cites the following passages from a law entitled—

'What constitutes a Tyrant, and how he useth his power in a Kingdom when he hath obtained it.'

A tyrant doth signify a cruel lord, who by force, or by craft, or by treachery, hath obtained power over any realm or country; and such men be of such nature, that, when once they have grown strong in the land, they love rather to work their own profit, though it be in harm of the land, than the common profit of all, for they always live in an ill fear of losing it. And that they may be able to fulfill this their purpose unencumbered, the wise of old have said that they use their power against the people in three manners. The first is, that they strive that those under their mastery be ever ignorant and timorous, because, when they be such, they may not be bold to rise against them nor to resist their wills; and the second is, that they be not kindly and united among themselves, in such wise that they trust not one another, for, while they live in disagreement, they shall not dare to make any discourse against their lord, for fear faith and secrecy should not be kept among themselves; and the third way is, that they strive to make them poor, and to put them upon great undertakings, which they can never finish, whereby they may have so much harm, that it may never come into their hearts to devise any thing against their ruler. And above all this, have tyrants always striven to make spoil of the strong and to destroy the wise; and have forbidden fellowship and assemblies of men in their land, and striven always to know what men said or did; and do trust their counsel and the guard of their person rather to foreigners, who will serve at their will, than to them of the land, who serve from oppression. And, moreover, we say, that, though any man may have gained mastery of a kingdom by any of the lawful means whereof we have spoken in the laws going before this, yet, if he use his power ill, in the ways whereof we speak in this law, him may the people still call tyrant; for he turneth his mastery which was rightful into wrongful, as Aristotle hath said in the book which treateth of the rule and government of kingdoms.

PART II., TITLE V., § 16.—*How the King should be most zealous in learning to Read, and concerning the Knowledge he ought to possess.*

Most diligent should the king be in gaining knowledge, for by it he shall understand the affairs of State, and know better how to conduct them. Moreover, by knowing how to read, he shall know better how to guard his secrets, and be master of them; which he can not otherwise so well do. Since for lack of knowing these things, he would have, perforce, to associate another with himself who would know them, and thus it would happen to him, as King Solomon said: 'Whoso putteth his secret into the power of another makes himself his servant; and he who knows how to keep it, is master of his own heart,' (*Prov. xxv. 9*), which is most fit for a king. And besides all this, from reading the Scripture he shall better understand the faith, and know more perfectly how to pray to God. Also by reading can he himself learn the illustrious deeds which have passed, whence he may gain many good habits and examples. And not only did the wise ancients consider it good that kings should know

how to read, but also that they should acquire all knowledge, in order to make use of it. And in this connection King David said, counseling kings to be learned and wise, since they have to judge the earth (*Psalms* ii. 10). And King Solomon, his son, said: 'That kings should learn wisdom, and not forget it, for by it they would have to judge and maintain the nations.' And Boethius, who was a very wise knight, said: 'It was not so fitting to any man as to a king to possess sound knowledge, since thus his wisdom is most useful to his people, as by it they have to be governed with justice.' For without doubt no such weighty affairs as this [the government or State] could any man accomplish without good understanding and great wisdom. Hence the king who would despise learning, would also despise God, from whom cometh all things, according to the saying of King Solomon; 'All wisdom comes from the Lord, and is with him forever.' And he would even hold himself in low esteem, inasmuch as by wisdom God seeks to distinguish the understanding of men from that of the brutes, for the less knowledge a man may possess, so much the less difference will there be between him and mere animals. And to the king who should do this, there will happen what King David said: 'Man who does not comprehend his high position, is but a beast.'

TITLE VII, X.—*What things ought to be taught to the sons of kings when they approach manhood.*

As it is right to increase the clothing of children while they are growing, so ought they also to be made to learn the things suiting the time of life, which they are entering. And to this end we say, that besides those things, which it is said in previous laws (that the king and queen ought to teach their sons, while they are young), that there are other things which they ought to learn. And that is, to read, and to write, which brings great profits to him who understands it, in order to acquire more easily things they may desire to know, and in order to be better able to keep their own counsel. And besides, they ought to show them how to control their desires of things beyond their reach, because when they fall into a habit of covetousness, and do not have, they put all their thought and care upon that which they covet, and they fail, in the end, in their good sense, and in the other things which they have to do. They should teach them rather how to desire those things which are good and useful in themselves; and which give joy in moderation, and at suitable times. And they ought to accustom them to be moderately joyful, and keep them from sadness as much as possible, which is a thing which ought not to increase in young men, if they wish them to be well; and when they have entered the age of young men, they ought to give them some one who may accustom and teach them how to recognize men as they are, from what places, and how they have to accost, and speak with them, each according to his rank. Besides, they ought to be taught to ride, to hunt, to play all manner of games, and to use all manner of weapons, as befitting the sons of kings. And besides, we say that they ought not to be led into those things to which nature may incline them, such as immoderate eating and drinking, and licentiousness. And when the sons of kings are thus kept and habituated, they will be good and noble in themselves, and will not do against others, things which are hurtful. And the teachers will have accomplished the things which they were set to accomplish in educating them. And if in this manner they be not kept from the evil which may come to them from their parents and from themselves, there will come to them evil from others, who might be urged by jealousy to corrupt them through bad habits which they might contract from their servants.

TITLE VII, § 11.—*Governesses of Kings' Daughters.*

They are to endeavor, as much as may be, that the King's daughters be moderate and seemly in eating and in drinking, and also in their carriage and dress, and of good manners in all things, and especially that they be not given to anger; for, besides the wickedness that lieth in it, it is the thing in the world that most easily leadeth women to do ill. And they ought to teach them to be handy in performing those works that belong to noble ladies; for this is a matter that becometh them much, since they obtain it by cheerfulness and a quiet spirit; and, besides, it taketh away bad thoughts, which it is not convenient they should have.

Mr. Ticknor, in his *History of Spanish Literature*, characterizes the Partidas as greatly in advance of their age, not only as to style and language, but in the opinions expressed of the relative duties of ruler and subjects, and the entire legislation and police, ecclesiastical, civil, and moral, to which Spain should be subjected. The laws about the Estudios Generales,—the name then given to what we now call Universities,—filling the thirty-first Titulo of the second Partida, are remarkable for their wisdom,—except in Ley 11, which relates to the sale of books,—and recognize some of the arrangements that still obtain in many of the Universities of the Continent. There was, however, at that period, no such establishment in Spain, except one which had existed, in a very rude state, at Salamanca, for some time, and to which Alfonso X. gave the first proper endowment in 1254. (*Historia del Colegio viejo de S. Bartolomé, mayor de la celebre Universidad de Salamanca por Fr. Ruiz de Vergara y Alava, corregida ec. por el Marques de Alventos, Madrid, 1766, folio, tom. i. p. 17.*)

We give below the sections of the Title relating to Universities in the Partidas, from a copy in the Boston Public Library, which belonged to Mr. Ticknor, and bequeathed by him with his other Spanish books to the Library.

PART II., TITLE XXXI.—*Concerning Universities and City Schools in which wisdom is acquired—their masters and scholars.*

We have already shown at length in previous laws how the king and the people should cherish and guard the land in which they live, peopling it and protecting it from enemies. And because men, nations, and kingdoms, make use of wise men to protect and govern themselves by their counsel, we seek, at the end of this Partida, to speak of schools, and of the masters and scholars who may labor to impart and to acquire knowledge. And we will first define what schools are, their kinds, and by whom established; then the masters who give instruction; and the places where they should be established; and the privileges and honors which should be accorded to the masters who lecture, and the scholars who learn. And finally we will speak of stationers, who keep books, and all other men and things relating to the *Studium generale*.

LAW I.—*What schools are, how many kinds there are, and by whose authority they ought to be established.*

Schools are the corporation or society of teachers and students, made in any place, with the desire and intention of acquiring knowledge. There are two kinds; 1st, what is called a *studium generale*, or university, in which there are Masters of Arts, [Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astrology], and also Masters of Decrees and Laws. This kind of school should be established by the order of the Pope, Emperor, or King. The second kind, or what is called a special schools (which I desire much to speak about), is where any master teaches in any city a few pupils privately. And such as this can be established by the council of any town.

LAW II.—*Concerning the location of a University, and the protection of masters and scholars.*

The seat of a University should possess good air and healthy and pleasant surroundings generally, to the end that masters and students may attend to

their duties without interruption or sickness, and easily get recreation when they rise wearied from study. There should be abundance of bread and wine and good lodgings at moderate expense. Moreover, the inhabitants of a University town ought strenuously to protect and to honor both masters and students and their affairs. Let no man seize or hinder the messengers who come to them from their homes, on account of any debt, which their fathers, or others from their native places, may have contracted. And we also enjoin that no man do any student dishonor, wrong, or violence, on account of any enmity or ill-will which he may have against them or their fathers. Hence we decree that masters and students, their messengers and all their affairs, shall be safe and sacred in coming to the school, remaining therein, and returning thence to their homes. And we extend this, our protection, to them throughout all places in our dominion. And whoever shall act contrary to this decree, either seizing them by force, robbing them of their possessions, shall pay a fine of eight [pieces], and if he should cause them either dishonor or injury, he shall be severely punished, as a man who transgressed our peace and safe conduct. But if by chance the judge before whom such case may be brought, should be negligent in doing justice, as is above enjoined, said judge shall be fined to the tenth of his possessions, and be dismissed from office. And if he should act with malice against the students, not seeking to do justice against those who dishonor, and injure or harm them, then such officer shall be punished according to the pleasure of the king.

LAW III.—Masters and their salaries.

That the University may be complete, there should be as many masters as there are studies, so that each study may have at least one master. But if every science can not have a master, there must be at least one each for Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, Laws, and Decrees. The amount to be paid to the several masters should be established, and the law should define precisely how much each is to receive according to the dignity of the science he teaches, and his proficiency therein. And the salary which each is to receive should be paid in three installments. The first should be given them as soon as the term begins; the second at Easter; and the third at the festival of St. John, the Baptist.

LAW IV.—Concerning the manner in which masters should instruct students and be paid.

The masters should explain their subjects faithfully, reading the books and making their students comprehend to the best of their ability. And they should continue the subject begun, until they have finished the books which they have commenced. And if they should be sick, they must not allow others to read in their stead, unless in case of either master, who volunteer to do this service out of compliment to an associate. But if a master should become sick, after the school has commenced, and the sickness should be so severe and so long that he can not lecture in any way, then we command that he be paid his salary the same as if he taught to the end of the year.

LAW V.—In what places the schools either of masters or scholars should be arranged.

The schools of the University ought to be in places separate from the city, near each other, in order that scholars who have a desire for learning may attend two lectures or more, if they desire; and that in things which they need explanation, they may easily question one another. But the schools should be so far separated from each other that no master may be incommoded by hearing what another is reading. Precaution should be taken that no one hires a lodging or house while another is in possession and desirous of remaining therein. But should a scholar learn that a lodger does not wish to retain his room until the day of payment, then if he ascertain the fact of his wish to give it up, then he may locate and possess it, but not otherwise.

LAW VI.—How masters and scholars may associate and cooperate to choose one to preside over them and administer discipline.

The conjunction and association of many individuals was allowed by the ancients, if they were not made in cities nor in kingdoms, because there they

might do more harm than good. But we hold it just that masters and scholars may unite in a *Studium Generale* (University) since they unite in a common purpose for good, and are strangers and are from different places. On this account it is fitting that they should all act together, to obtain justice, and to secure those things which may be for the profit of their schools, and for the protection of themselves and their property. Moreover, they can place over themselves a master, who is called in Latin, the Rector of the University, whom they obey in all things suitable, useful, and just. And the Rector should administer discipline and urge the students not to raise factions and quarrels with the men of the place where they may be, nor among themselves; and that they keep themselves in all respects from doing dishonor and wrong to any one; and he is to forbid their going out by night, [and to instruct them] rather that they remain quietly in their lodgings, and that they apply [themselves] to their books and to their lectures, and live an honest and good life. For Universities were established for this end, and not for walking by night and arming by day, and seeking quarrels, and doing other folly or evil to their own hurt and to the detriment of the places in which they live. And if they should do contrary to this, then must our Rector maintain discipline, and address them in such a manner that they eschew evil and do right.

LAW VII.—Concerning University jurisdiction.

The masters who teach in the schools can judge their pupils in all complaints which arise among themselves, and in those which citizens may make against them, provided it be not upon the complaint of blood[shed]; and they shall not be summoned or brought to justice before [any] other judge without the consent of the masters. But if they are summoned before their masters, it is in their choice to reply to it, either before the Bishop of the place, or before the judge of the court, which ever they most prefer. But if the pupil should have a claim against another who is not a pupil, then he ought to demand justice before that [one] who can plead for the defendant. Moreover, we say that if the student be summoned before the judge of the court, and does not maintain his privilege by saying that he ought not to respond unless before his master or the Bishop, as aforesaid, if he responds fully to the complaint then he forfeits the privilege which he had, in so far as those things upon which he responds; and he must go through the complaint, until it is finished, by that judge before whom it commenced. But if by chance the student should seek to avail himself of his privileges before he replied to the summons, saying that he did not wish and ought not to reply, unless before his master or the bishop, and [his opponent] should compel and make him reply to the demand, then the complainant ought to lose all the right which he may have had in the affair which he claimed. And the judge who may have urged this ought, on this account, to be punished at the pleasure of the King; unless the complaint be of justice or blood[shed] which ought to be decided against the lay student.

LAW VIII.—What especial honors should be bestowed upon Masters [teachers] of laws.

The science of law is like a fountain of justice, and all the world makes use of it more than of any other science. And on this account the Emperors who make laws grant privileges to the teachers of the schools in four ways. (1.) That as soon as they are teachers they are to have the name of masters and regents, and they call them Lords [Señores] of laws. (2.) That each time that the Master of Laws comes before any judge in court, the judge must rise before him, and salute him, and invite him to [sit] with himself; and if the judge do contrary to this, the law affixes as penalty that he must pay three pounds of gold. (3.) That the ushers of Emperors, Kings, and Princes, are not to keep them at the door, nor hinder them from entering their presence when there is need. Except at times when they are occupied with great secrets, and even then the ushers ought to announce that such and such Masters are at the door, and inquire whether they are to enter or not. (4.) In order that they may be subtle, well instructed, and that they may know how to explain this science, and be good logicians, and of good manners, after they have given instruction in law for twenty years, they are to have the honor of Counts. And since the

laws and Emperors seek to honor them so much, it is expedient that Kings should maintain them in the same honor. And on this account we hold it good that the aforesaid masters may have in all our dominions the honors which we have described as theirs, even as the ancient law commands. Moreover, we say that the aforesaid Masters and others who may teach in the schools in any province of our dominion are to be exempt from taxes, and can not be compelled to serve in the army, nor on forays, nor to discharge the duties of office without they please.

LAW IX.—*How they ought to examine a student who desires to become a Master before granting him the license.*

The pupil who wishes to become a Master must first be a scholar. And not till he has been well instructed should he present himself before the principals of the schools, who have power to grant licenses for this purpose. It is their duty first by personal inquiry to satisfy themselves that the applicant is a man of good report and manners. Moreover, they should require him to read from the books of that science which he seeks to profess. If he has good understanding of the text and commentaries of that science, and has a good and fluent manner of expression, and replies accurately and fully to the questions and inquiries which they put, then they may announce publicly the honor of his being Master; requiring of him an oath that he will teach his science well and faithfully; and all this should be without his giving or promising to give any thing either to those who grant the license, or to others for them, because they have granted him the certificate of being Master.

LAW X.—*The University Beadle and his duties.*

The University messenger, is called in Latin *Fidelius*. And the office of the Beadle is to go through the schools announcing the holidays, by order of the Rector of the school; and if any wish to sell or to buy books, they ought to inform him. And then ought he to go about inquiring, and saying that whoever may wish such and such books, must go to such and such a bookstand, where they are placed; and because he knows both those who wish to sell them and those who wish to buy, he ought to transact the traffic between them faithfully. Moreover, this Beadle ought to give notice of meetings of the students, either for investigating and regulating any matter for their common welfare, or for the purpose of examining such students as wish to become Masters.

LAW XI.—*The University booksellers.*

Every University, in order to be complete, ought to have some booksellers, who keep in their store good books, legible and true in text and commentary; that they may loan these to the students, either for the purpose of making new copies, or for the correction of those which they have written. And no one ought to keep such a store or shop without the license of the Rector of the school. And the Rector, before granting this license, ought firstly to examine the books of him who is to keep the shop, in order to know whether they are good, legible, and true. And if he does not have such books, then the Rector should not consent to his being bookseller, nor permit him to supply the students with books, unless they be first well corrected. Moreover, the Rector and Faculty of the school ought to fix the amount which the bookseller is to receive for each package of paper which he supplies to the students, either for writing or for correcting their books. Moreover, he should furnish good security, that he will guard well and faithfully all the books which are given to him to sell, and that no one shall in any way injure the same.

[Students of the present day can not well conceive the scarcity there was six centuries ago of suitable books of reference in the best equipped university, and for purchase, loan, or copying in the best supplied University town, and the necessity there was, for the sake of the students, many of whom were poor, and few of them competent even, if favorably situated, to compare the copy offered for sale, with the standard edition—of placing the bookseller under stringent regulations not to abuse his privilege of trading in manuscripts.]

THE CONSTITUTIONS RESPECTING INSTRUCTION—1538*.

INTRODUCTION.

Since the object at which the Society directly aims is to aid their own souls and those of their fellow-creatures in attaining that ultimate end for which they were created; and since learning and the method of propounding it, as well as the example of life are necessary to this object; as soon as a good foundation of self-denial, and the needful advancement in virtue has been laid in those admitted to probation; the next care will be the edifice of literature, and the manner of employing it, by which they may promote the better knowledge and the better service of God our Creator and Lord.

For this the Society comprehends Colleges, and also Universities, or general studies; in which those who have given satisfactory evidence of themselves in the Houses of probation, but have entered without adequate instruction in the learning indispensable for our Institute, may be taught that and other things which conduce to the salvation of souls. First, then, let the discourse turn on those things which pertain to Colleges; afterwards of what relates to General Studies, with that favor which the divine Wisdom shall vouchsafe to grant us to His own greater honor and glory.

I. COMMEMORATION OF FOUNDERS AND BENEFACTORS.

1. Since it appears most agreeable to reason that a due return be made, as far as in us lies, to the piety and beneficence of those whom the divine bounty has used as instruments for the foundation and endowment of our Colleges; first, in every College of our Society let Masses be celebrated once a week forever for its founder and benefactors, whether alive or dead.

2. At the beginning of every month all the priests who are in the College ought to offer the same sacrifice for them forever. On that day, moreover, in every year, on which possession of each College was given to the Society, let it be solemnized with a Mass for the founder and benefactors; and whatever Priests are present in the College at that time, let them all celebrate their sacrifices there.

3. On that day let a wax candle be offered to the founder, or to one nearest allied to him in family, or to him whom the founder himself appoints, in which candle there shall be the arms of the founder, or the emblems of devotion. In that shall the Society testify the gratitude which it owes to its founder in the Lord.

4. As soon as the Society shall come into possession of any College, let the General see that it be communicated to the whole Society, that every Priest may thrice say Mass for the living founder of the College and its benefactors; that the Lord may guide them with His benignity in all things, and enrich them ever with His gifts. Again, when they shall have departed this life, the General will take care, as soon as he hears of it, that throughout the Society every Priest say three Masses for their souls. And as often as it is said, Masses are to be solemnized by the Priests; all the rest who live in Colleges, and are not Priests, ought to pray to the same purpose; since they are all bound in the Lord to the same gratitude.

5. The founders, moreover, and the benefactors of Colleges are made partakers of all the good works which are done, by the grace of God, not only in the Colleges, but in the whole Society.

6. In general, however, the Society should understand that it is peculiarly bound in charity, as well to founders as to their connections, as long as they live, and after their decease, to do them every service which can be rendered by us according to our humble profession to the glory of God.

II. ADMISSION AND RELINQUISHMENT OF INSTITUTIONS.

1. The General shall have full power, in the name of the whole Society to admit those Colleges which are freely offered to the Society, to use them in full accordance with its Constitutions.

2. If the founder should exact any conditions at all contrary to the order and manner of proceeding usual with the Society, it may be left to the consideration of the General (after hearing the opinions of those whom he shall think most capable of judging in such matters) whether it will be useful to the Society, all things being considered, with a view to God's service, which it has proposed to itself, to admit this College, or not. But if in the course of time the Society finds itself burdened with the load, it may propose and determine,

* This translation of PART FOUR of the *Constitutiones Societatis Jesu* was made from a copy printed by the College of the Society in Rome, in 1538.

in a general Congregation, that such Colleges be relinquished; or see that the burden be lightened, or at least that ampler means be provided to bear it. This is meant however, if before a Congregation of this sort, the General have not remedied the evil, as is proper in the Lord.

3. In conjunction with the whole Society, the General shall have the power of relinquishing or alienating Colleges or Houses already admitted. But as this is as it were to remove a limb from the body, and is altogether a matter of perpetual and serious moment, it is better that the whole be consulted.

4. Within the Colleges of the Society, let no care of souls, nor obligations to say Mass nor other things of this sort be allowed which are very apt to divert their inmates from their studies, and interfere with the benefits which are sought from them to the service of God; in the same way also, they shall not be allowed in the other Houses, nor the Churches of the Professed Society, which, as far as possible, ought to be left at liberty to undertake the missions of the Apostolic Chair, and other works of piety to the service of God, and the salvation of souls.

5. The Society shall take possession of the Colleges with the temporal property which belongs to them, and shall appoint rectors duly qualified for the office, who shall undertake the care of maintaining and managing their temporal concerns, and provide for the wants as well of the building, as of the scholars (who reside in the Colleges) and of those who are under probation for admission, and those also who without the Colleges conduct their affairs. The conduct of the entire administration shall remain in the rectors: so as to enable them to render an account, whenever and to whom the General shall appoint; and since the General can neither convert the temporal goods of the Colleges to his own use, nor that of his relations, nor of the Professed Society; he may therefore conduct himself the more completely above all suspicion in their superintendence, to the greater glory and service of God.

6. In those Colleges which, besides preceptors, can maintain twelve scholars out of their own incomes, for the greater edification of the people alms should neither be required, nor received, nor any other gifts. If the revenues are less than sufficient to maintain this number, alms may be received but not solicited; unless the College be laboring under so great poverty that it be necessary to ask, at least from some. Then indeed (keeping ever before their eyes the service of God and the general good) not only may alms be solicited, but they may beg from door to door for a season, whenever necessity requires it.

III. SCHOLARS DESTINED FOR MEMBERS—CONDITIONS OF ADMISSIONS.

1. As regards the scholars, for whose instruction the Colleges are appointed, it will first be necessary to consider in the Lord what kind of persons they ought to be who are sent, or admitted to them.

2. First of all, no one shall be placed in any College of the Society amongst the Scholars with any of the five impediments mentioned in the second part.* And besides the coadjutors necessary to the service or assistance of the College, the rest ought to be such that it may reasonably be hoped they will prove useful in the vineyard of the Lord Christ after our example, and in the cultivation of learning.

These, the more intellectual they are, and the more adorned with good morals, and the more healthy to sustain the labor of study, the more proper will they be, and the sooner they may be sent, to be admitted into our Colleges.

3. In addition to this, they only shall be admitted among the approved scholars, who have been under probation in our Houses and Colleges, and at the end of two years spent in various trials and proofs, and after taking the vows, with a promise to enter the Society, they shall be admitted to spend their lives within it forever to the glory of God.

4. Besides these, some may be admitted to study, who, before the two years, and the probation above-mentioned, are sent to the Colleges from the Houses (because such a course seems expedient in the Lord) or are admitted into them; but they shall not be deemed approved scholars, until at the expiration of the two years, and after their vows and promise have been made, they are placed among the number of the approved.

IV. SUPERINTENDENCE OF SCHOLARS.

1. Let that suffice, which is set forth in the third part, of the superintendence of temporal and external affairs of the Colleges, in all that relates to the

* The impediments specified in Part Second of the Constitutions are (1) incontinency in any depraved affections or vices; (2) individual traits injurious or prejudicial to the place and good estate of the society; (3) incapacity of adaptation to a life of obedience and self-negation; (4) discovery of relations concealed upon first examinations.

body. This however must be noted with peculiar care, that the Scholars study not at seasons unfavorable to bodily health; that they devote sufficient time to sleep, and observe moderation in their mental labors. So will it come to pass that they will be able longer to persevere both in the acquisition of learning and in employing it to the glory of God.

2. In what relates to spirituals; the ordering of those who are admitted into the Colleges, and of those admitted into the Houses will be the same, so long as they are under probation. After probation, when they are at leisure to acquire learning, as on the one hand care must be taken lest in the eagerness of study the love of the solid virtues and a religious life grow cold; so, on the other, too much time must not be given to mortifications, prayers, and lengthened meditations. Since to labor in learning which is acquired with the sincere purpose of serving God, and in a certain sense requires the whole man, will not be less pleasing to God, and our Lord, but even more so, than to be occupied in religious exercises during the time of study.

3. Therefore, besides the Sacraments of Confession and Communion (in which they must participate once a week) and the Mass which they must hear daily, let them employ one hour in reciting the Office of the most blessed Virgin Mary, and in examining their consciences twice a day, with other prayers according to their particular devotion to fill up the hour, if not already occupied. All which they shall do at the appointment and judgment of their superiors to whom *as in the place of Christ* they owe obedience.

4. Others, such as those coadjutors who have not learned to read, besides Mass, may spend an hour also in reciting their Rosary, or Crown of the most blessed Virgin Mary, with a double examination daily, or other prayers, according to their particular devotion, as was set forth for the scholars.

5. As an increase of devotion, and to raise the sense of obligation with which they are bound to God, and for a greater confirmation of the students in their calling, it will be expedient to *renew* twice a year, viz., at the feasts of the Resurrection and the Nativity, the *simple vows* which they have taken according to the formulary in the Fifth Part, Chapter IV. And let him who did not take them at the conclusion of the two years, as is set forth in the Examen, take them now.*

6. In their way to the public schools (and let them go nowhere else without permission of the Superiors) let them go and return together with that exterior and interior modesty which is suitable to the edification of themselves and others; and let their conversation with the exterior scholars be limited to literature or spiritual advancement; as shall be thought more profitable to all to the greater glory of God.

V. STUDIES.

1. As the object of the learning to be acquired in this Society is by the divine favor to benefit their own and their neighbors' souls; this will be the measure in general and in particular cases, by which it shall be determined to what studies our scholars should apply, and how far they should proceed in them. And since, generally speaking, the acquisition of divers languages, Logic, Natural and Moral Philosophy, Metaphysics, and Theology, as well Scholastic, as that which is termed Positive, and the Sacred Scriptures assist that object; they who are sent to our Colleges shall give their attention to the study of these faculties; and they shall bestow greater diligence upon those which the supreme moderator of the studies shall consider most expedient in the Lord to the aforesaid end, the circumstances of time, place, and person being considered.

2. Descending to particular persons; what each individual shall study must be left to the prudence of the Superiors. But the services of any one endowed with good natural abilities will be useful in proportion to his attainment of solid learning in the faculties above-mentioned.

3. The rector shall consider and determine of the time to be spent on any of these sciences, and when to proceed to more useful things, after a fitting examination.

4. Let them follow in each faculty the safer and more approved doctrine, and those authors who teach it; the care of this shall belong to the rector, who shall follow that which is established throughout the society to the greater glory of God.

VI. AIDS TO INSTRUCTION.

1. That the scholars may make the greater proficiency in learning, let them in the first place labor to watch over the purity of their souls, and to maintain

* The vow binds the proposed to unqualified obedience to the General and Vice-General of the Society, and special obedience to the Pope and Missions, as well as to perpetual poverty, chastity, and obedience.

the proper object of their studies, aiming at nothing else in their literary pursuits than the divine glory and the advantage of souls; and in their prayers let them often beg for grace, that they may improve in learning to this end.

2. Let them besides seriously and constantly resolve to apply their thoughts to study, and assure themselves that they can do nothing more acceptable to God in the Colleges, than if with the intention above expressed, they give themselves diligently to learning. And even though they never call into exercise what they have learned, let them persuade themselves that to have undertaken the labors of study, as is fitting, out of mere obedience and charity, is a work of great merit in the sight of the divine and supreme Majesty.

3. Let all impediments which distract the thoughts from study be removed, whether of devotion, and mortification, which are undertaken exorbitantly, or without due order, or of cares and occupations which arise at home from domestic duties, or abroad in conferences, confessions, and other duties towards our neighbors; so far at least as they may be declined in the Lord. For it is praiseworthy that these employments be deferred, however pious, until their studies be completed, that hereby they may afterwards render themselves more useful to others with that learning which they may have acquired. And let all these things be done with greater zeal for God's service and glory.

4. Order must be observed in study, that they lay a solid foundation in the Latin language sooner than in the liberal arts; and in these before they attend to scholastic theology; and in this, before positive theology. The Sacred Scriptures may be taken in hand either at the same time, or afterwards.

5. Those languages in which they were either written or translated may be learned sooner or later as the superior in the variety of concurring causes and the difference of persons may think best. So the order of time will be left to his prudence. But if our scholars apply to the study of languages, among other objects to which their attention may be directed, let this be one, namely, to defend the version sanctioned by the Church.

6. Let all the scholars attend the lectures of the public professors at the pleasure of the Rector of the College; which professors, whether they belong to the society or not, it is to be wished, should be learned, diligent, assiduous, and anxious for the improvement of the students as well in the lectures as in their other literary employments.

7. Let there be a common library in the colleges, if possible; of which a key should be given to those who in the Rector's judgment ought to have it. Besides these, however, every one shall have such other books as are necessary.

8. Let the scholars be assiduous in attending lectures, and diligent in preparing for them; and when they have heard them, in repeating them; in places which they have not understood, making inquiry; in others, where needful, taking notes, to provide for any future defect of memory.

9. It shall be the duty of the Rector of the College to see whether masters and scholars do their duty in the Lord, or not.

10. Since the habit of debating is useful, especially to the students of Arts and Scholastic Theology, let our scholars attend the ordinary disputations of the schools to which they belong (though they be not under the control of the society), and see that they afford a distinct specimen of their learning, but with all modesty. It is proper also that on every Sunday, or on some other day of the week, some one in our College appointed by the Rector from any class of students, of arts or theology, after dinner should undertake some positions to be maintained (if no impediment intervene from any peculiar cause), to be affixed to the school doors the previous evening, where all who please may assemble to dispute or listen; which being briefly stated by him who is to reply, it shall be permitted to all to debate whether within or without our College; but some one should preside to moderate the debaters, and elicit and demonstrate to the benefit of the audience the doctrine which ought to be held; and also to give the signal to those who dispute to conclude, and so to divide the time that an opportunity of speaking be allowed to all as far as possible.

11. Besides these two sorts of disputations above mentioned, let a time be set on each day for debating in the colleges, a moderator being appointed, as we have said; so that, by these means, their talents may be exercised, and the difficulties which occur in these faculties may be the better elucidated to the glory of God.

12. Those who are studying polite literature shall have their appointed times also for conferring and disputing on what pertains to those studies, before some one who shall direct them; and on Sundays, or other appointed days after dinner, they shall alternately either maintain positions in their own studies, or exercise themselves in writing verse or prose; whether it be done

extempore, the subject being then proposed to discover their readiness; or whether they read in public what they have composed in private on a theme previously given them.

13. Let all speak Latin commonly, but especially the students in humanity, and commit to memory whatever shall be set by their masters, and diligently cultivate their style in composition; and let some one take the trouble to correct them. It shall also be allowed to some, at the Rector's pleasure, to read certain other authors in private, besides those which are publicly studied; and every week on an appointed day, after dinner, let one of the more advanced pronounce a Latin or Greek oration on a subject tending to the edification of the inmates, by which they may be animated to greater perfection in the Lord.

14. Moreover, the students of arts and theology especially, and all the others should have their private quiet study, where they may learn better and more exactly what has been treated of.

15. As the over earnestness of some in their studies ought to be repressed, so others who require it ought to be stimulated, incited, and animated to their duties; and that the Rector may more effectually do this, he should ascertain himself, from personal observation and by means of another to whom he shall have entrusted the office of Syndic or Visitor of Studies, in what way the scholars do their duty. And if he shall perceive that any one during his studies wastes his time, that he is unwilling or unable to make progress in literature; it will be proper to remove him, and put some one in his place, who shall make more proficiency in the object appointed in the Colleges for God's service.

16. The study of any faculty being completed, it will be well to go over it again in private, reading one or more authors than before; at the Rector's discretion. He may moreover reduce to writing, if the Rector thinks proper, more briefly, distinctly, and accurately, whatever in that same faculty he had previously written during the course of lectures when he had less skill than now at the conclusion of the course.

17. At the appointed times let them prepare themselves for the public examinations and responses; and they who after diligent scrutiny may be found worthy shall be advanced to the usual degrees. Let them not however assume any particular places, although such as are generally assigned in the University wherein they take their degree, that they may avoid every appearance of ambition and other inordinate passions; but let them all arrange themselves together without precedence, and incur no expense unbecoming paupers in these degrees, to which they should be advanced without detriment to their humility, and with no other motive than to render themselves more useful to their neighbors to the glory of God.

18. Whether it may be better for their own benefit or that of others for those who have accomplished the course of their studies, to read privately or publicly, shall be left to the judgment of the superior, who shall determine whatever he may think most expedient in the Lord.

VII. SCHOOLS FOR PERSONS NOT DESIGNING TO BECOME MEMBERS.

1. Regard being had not only to the progress of our own scholars in literature, but to the progress also of those not of our society in literature and morals, whom we have admitted into our Colleges to be instructed, let public schools be opened, wherever it may conveniently be done, at least for polite learning. In the more important studies, they may be opened with reference to the circumstances of the places where our Colleges exist, always keeping before our eyes what shall be most pleasing to God.

2. In these schools let that method be pursued by which the external scholars may be well instructed in all that relates to Christian learning; and let care be taken, as far as possible, they may attend the Sacrament of Confession once a month, frequently hear the word of God, and in short imitate, together with learning, morals becoming Christians. And because, in particular subjects, there must needs be much variety, according to the difference of places and persons, we shall not here insist upon them severally; but this may be declared that rules should be established in every College which shall embrace all necessary points. And we may in this place recommend that the correction which the external scholars require shall never be withheld; only let it be administered by some one who is not of our society.

3. As it is peculiar to our profession to receive no temporal remuneration for spiritual services, in which according to our Institute we are engaged for the service of our fellow-creatures; it is not expedient to receive any endowment of a College, by which the society shall be bound to maintain a preacher, or confessor, or lecturer in Theology. For although a regard to equity, and gratitude should stir us to attend with increased diligence to the said ministra-

tions which belong to our Institute; yet in our Colleges which have been founded with greater liberality and devotion, no obligations or conditions shall be admitted, which may derogate from the sincerity of our manner of proceeding, namely, to give freely what we have freely received; still, for the support of those who labor or study for the common good of the College, *that endowment may be accepted* which the charity of the founders assigns to the glory of God.

VIII. ADAPTATION OF INSTRUCTION TO FUTURE WORK.

1. Looking to the object to which the studies of our society are directed, it will contribute to that end, that they begin to habituate themselves to wield their spiritual weapons for the benefit of their neighbors. For although this should be done in our Houses more properly and continuously, it should yet be commenced in our Colleges.

2. First of all, those who in the judgment of the superior are to be admitted to sacred orders, should be instructed in the method of saying Mass, so that besides intelligence and internal devotion, they may exhibit a becoming external manner to the edification of the hearers; and that all the society, as far as possible, may use the same ceremonies; in which so far as the variety of countries shall allow, it shall follow the Roman practice as being more general, and that which the Apostolic See has adopted in a more peculiar manner.

3. Let them accustom themselves also in setting forth their sermons and sacred lectures to the way best adapted for the edification of the people, which differs from the scholastic method; and to discharge this duty let them labor to acquire the vernacular tongue of the country thoroughly. There are other things which they should have studied, and have at their fingers' ends, which will be useful to this duty: and in short, they should *employ all means* which may assist them to discharge this office the better, and with greater spiritual profit to others.

4. Let them be accustomed also to the ministration of the Sacraments of Confession and Communion, and endeavor to comprehend and discharge that duty not only as relates to themselves but also to the penitents and communicants, that they may understand and receive the same duly and usefully to the glory of God.

5. Let them accustom themselves to communicate their spiritual exercises to others, when each has experienced them in himself; and let all be diligent not only to give an explanation of them, but also to acquire a readiness in wielding this kind of spiritual arms which by the grace of God is felt to contribute so largely to His service.

6. Let due diligence be employed in acquiring the proper method of teaching the Catechism, accommodated to the intelligence of children and ignorant persons.

7. As in the foregoing, our neighbors are helped forward in living well; so care must be taken that they be instructed in whatever is available towards dying well; and let it be understood what method ought to be observed at that hour which is so momentous to the ultimate attainment or loss of everlasting happiness.

Generally speaking, they should be taught what method should be pursued by the laborers of this society, (who must be engaged in such various quarters of the world, and with such different classes of men), in preventing the inconveniences which may arise, and in *securing the emoluments which contribute to the greater glory of God, by employing all the means which can, possibly be employed.* And although *that unction of the Holy Ghost, and that wisdom which God is wont to communicate* to those who confide in His divine Majesty, can only teach this; *a way may still be opened* in some measure by those lessons which tend and dispose to the furtherance of divine Grace.

IX. REMOVAL OF SCHOLARS.

1. Some are removed from the Colleges for the reasons set forth in the Second Part, and in the manner there explained; that others may succeed them who shall make more progress to the service of God. The method is the same both for Houses and Colleges.

2. Sometimes individuals shall be removed, because to be sent elsewhere tends to their greater improvement in religion or learning, or to the general advantage of the society; as it might happen, if one who had already passed through the course of arts, in a certain College should repeat it elsewhere, before the study of theology be commenced. And the same may be said, if they are to be occupied in any other thing to the greater service and glory of God.

3. The ordinary method of removing scholars from any College where all the aforesaid sciences are taught, shall be, when each shall have accomplished his studies, his course of arts being completed, and four years spent in the study of theology. And towards the conclusion of this period the Rector shall understand that it is his duty to inform the General or Provincial, and represent what proficiency they have made; and then he shall follow whatever instructions he may receive to the glory of God.

X. GOVERNMENT OF THE COLLEGES.

1. The Professed Society shall have the supreme care or superintendence of the Colleges according to the letters of the Apostolic See. For since the professed cannot apply any portion of those revenues to their private advantage or their own use; it is most consonant to reason that they will proceed with greater purity and religion more constantly and perseveringly in those things which are necessary to the good government of the Colleges to the greater service of God and our Lord.

2. *Except what relates to the Constitutions, and the dissolution or alienation of our Colleges, the whole power and administration, and (generally speaking) the execution of this superintendence shall belong to the General, who keeping before his eyes the object towards which the Colleges and the Society at large are directed, shall best perceive what is beneficial for them.*

3. The General himself therefore, or some one empowered by him for this duty, shall appoint one of the Coadjutors of the Society to preside over each College; who shall give an account of the duty assigned to him to the Provincial, or whomsoever the General shall nominate. And the General also may remove the Rector, and relieve him from his responsibility, as shall appear to him most desirable in the Lord.

4. Care should be taken that he who undertakes the office of Rector should be most exemplary, of great edification, and strict mortification in all depraved inclinations, and tried especially in obedience, and in humility; one endowed with discretion, skilled in government, versed in business, and experienced in spiritual concerns; knowing how to interchange severity with mildness in due time and place, anxious, laborious, learned; in short one in whom the Superiors may confide, and to whom they may safely communicate their power; since, the ampler this authority, the more effectually the Colleges will be directed to the greater glory of God.

5. It will be the Rector's duty, in the first place, to sustain, as it were upon his shoulders, the whole College by prayer and holy desires; in the next, to see that the Constitutions be observed, to watch over all the Collegians with all solicitude; to defend them from all that may hurt them at home and abroad, as well by prevention, as by applying a remedy when mischief occurs; according both to the general interest and also that of the individual; by seeing that they improve in virtue and learning; securing their health, and likewise the property of the College as well moveable as immoveable; prudently appointing those who hold domestic employments, and observing how they discharge their duty; and as he shall judge most expedient in the Lord, keeping them in their places, or removing them; and generally speaking, he shall see that that which has been set forth in the previous chapters relating to the Colleges, be observed. Let him be mindful also of the subordination to be entirely maintained in obedience, not only to the General, but to the Provincial also, informing him of all things needful to be communicated, and referring to him everything of moment; obeying all his injunctions (seeing he also has a superior); as it is just that matters be referred to him, and obedience be yielded by those who live in the College; who should greatly revere and venerate their Rector, as one who holds the place of Christ our Lord, leaving to him the free disposition of themselves and their concerns with unfeigned obedience; keeping nothing concealed from him, not even their consciences, which they should disclose to him, as is set forth in the Examen, at the appointed seasons, and oftener if any cause require it; not opposing, not contradicting, not showing an opinion in any case opposed to his opinion, so that by the union of the same sentiment and will, and by due submission, they may the better be maintained and forwarded in the service of God.

6. Let the Rector provide not only the necessary number of officers for the good management of the House, but let him see that they are competent, as far as possible, to their employments; to every one let him give his regulations, containing all that relates to their several duties, and see that no one intermeddle with another's department. Moreover, as whenever it is necessary, he should provide assistance for them, so whenever they have time to spare, he should see that they spend it profitably to the service of God.

7. Among the officers necessary for the Rector, in the first place, a proper person must be selected to be Sub-rector, or Major Domus, and to see to all things which appertain to the general good. There should be a Syndic also to superintend external concerns; one to see to spiritual affairs, and two or more besides, in whose probity and prudence the Rector has great reliance; and with whom he may consult on the more difficult occasions, and such as seem to involve the greater glory of God. Others also are needful for particular duties.

8. Let the Rector see that the Collegians pay to every man in the discharge of his duty an entire obedience; that the other officers obey the Sub-rector, and himself also, just as he commands them.

It may be well to state this in general, that those who have to exact obedience from others should set them an example of that obedience which they should pay to their superiors in the place of Christ.

9. The maintenance of regularity as to time in studies, prayers, masses, lectures, food, sleep, and other things will be useful in all respects; and a signal should be given at stated hours; at the sound of which, let all forthwith betake themselves to that whereto they are summoned, not stopping to complete even a single letter. It will, however, pertain to the Rector, or to him who superintends, to see when these hours are to be changed according to the seasons or other sufficient causes; and let what he determines be observed.

10. The Rector should himself read or teach the Catechism forty days. Let him see also which of the Collegians, especially towards the conclusion of their studies, and to what extent at home and abroad, should impart instruction to others in conferences, in setting spiritual exercises, in hearing confessions, in sermons, lectures, or explanations of the Catechism, partly for their own improvement, partly for the benefit of others as well within as without; and all things duly considered, let him provide for whatever he shall perceive most pleasing to the divine and supreme Goodness, and His greater service and glory.

XI. ADMISSION OF UNIVERSITIES.

1. The same reason in charity, for which Colleges are admitted, and public schools maintained in them not only for the edification of our own scholars, in learning and morals but still more of those that are without, may be extended to the undertaking of the care of Universities; that in them this benefit may be enlarged, and be wider spread as well in the sciences which are taught as in the men who frequent them, and the degrees to which they attain; so that in other places they may teach with authority, what they have in these thoroughly learned to the glory of God.

2. On what conditions and obligations, and in what places these Universities shall be admitted, is left to the judgment of the General of the Society; who having heard the opinions of his assistants, and of others whom he may choose to consult, shall determine within himself whether they shall be admitted. But when they have been once admitted he shall have no power to dissolve them without the concurrence of a General Congregation.

3. Since religious peace and spiritual occupations allow not that distraction of mind nor other annoyances to the Society which attend the duty of judging in civil or criminal proceedings, no jurisdiction of this kind shall be permitted which the society might exercise either of itself, or by others depending on it; although it is proper in all that peculiarly relates to the welfare of the University that the ministers of ordinary justice whether secular or ecclesiastical should fulfil the pleasure of the Rector of the University as signified to them touching the punishment of its scholars, and generally promote the interests of learning, especially when recommended to them by the Rector.

XII. SCIENCES IN THE UNIVERSITIES.

1. As the object of the society and its studies is to assist their neighbors in the knowledge and love of God and the salvation of their own souls; and as to this end the most proper means is the study of theology, the Universities of the society shall chiefly labor therein, and diligently teach by sufficient masters whatever relates to the Scholastic doctrine and the Holy Scriptures, and so much of the positive as contributes to this our appointed end, without entering upon the portion of the Canons which ministers to contentious courts of law.

2. And since both the study of theology and its practice demand, especially in these times, a knowledge of humanity, and the Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages, competent professors of these shall be appointed in adequate numbers. Professors also may be appointed for other languages, as Chaldaic, Arabic, and Indian, wherever they shall appear necessary or useful to the aforesaid end, regard being paid to the various regions, and the motives which lead to their study.

3. And since the arts or natural sciences dispose the mind to theology, and contribute to its perfect study and practice, and of themselves assist in the same object, let them be taught by learned preceptors, and with proper diligence, sincerely seeking the honor and glory of God in all things.

4. The study of medicine and of the law shall not be engaged in within the Universities of our society; or at least, the society shall not take that duty upon itself, as being remote from our institute.

XIII. ARRANGEMENT AND ORDER OF STUDIES.

1. A proper arrangement and order of study must be observed both morning and evening for the subordinate faculties and theology.

2. And though some variety may occur in this arrangement, and in the hours assigned to study in different countries and seasons, let all at least agree in this that everywhere that only be done which shall be deemed most expedient to the greatest progress in learning.

3. The lectures which are read in public, and the various professors shall be appointed with reference to the intelligence and number of the audience; they shall particularly inspect the progress of every one of their scholars, and demand an account of the lectures; see that they are repeated, and that the students in humanity cultivate their conversational powers, speaking Latin and improving their style by writing; enjoining frequent disputations, and especially on the superior students, for which certain days and hours shall be appointed, when they shall debate, not only with their equals, but the inferior with the more advanced on subjects of their own selection; which also in turn the more advanced shall do with the less forward, descending (in their turn) to the studies in which these are engaged, and the preceptors with one another, due moderation being maintained, and a president appointed, to break off the debate, and to declare what doctrine should be elicited from the discussion.

4. It will be the duty of the Rector either by himself or the Chancellor ever to see that the new-comers be examined, and placed in those classes, and under those preceptors which are most fitting; and it shall be left to his discretion, after hearing the opinion of the persons appointed to that duty, whether they should remain longer in the same class, or be advanced to a higher. He also shall decide respecting the study of languages, except Latin, whether they should be engaged in before or after arts and theology, and how long each student should apply to them. So in any of the higher sciences, he shall settle with due regard to the inequality of talents and age, when each should commence and how long occupy himself in them; although it will be best that they who are in the vigor of life and intellect should endeavor to advance in all, and become conspicuous to the glory of God.

5. As assiduity in literary pursuits is necessary, so is some relaxation also. Although it shall be left to the Rector to consider what this should be, and at what periods, the circumstances of persons and places being attended to.

XIV. TEXT BOOKS.

1. In general, as was observed in treating of the Colleges, those books shall be read which are esteemed of more solid and safe doctrine in any faculty. Nor shall those be entered on whose doctrine or authors are suspected. In every University they shall be particularly specified; in theology, the Old and New Testament shall be read, and the Scholastic Divinity of St. Thomas, and in that branch of divinity called positive, those authors shall be selected which appear best adapted to our object.

2. As touching Latin and Greek books of humanity, both in our Universities and Colleges, as far as possible, those shall not be used which contain anything prejudicial to good morals; except they have been previously purified of improper things or words.

3. In Logic and Natural and Moral Philosophy and Metaphysics, the doctrine of Aristotle should be professed; and in other liberal arts, and in commentaries as well of these authors as of humanity, a choice being made of them, let those be selected which the scholars ought to see, and the teachers chiefly to follow in the doctrine which they deliver. But in all his determinations, let the Rector proceed in the way which he shall judge most conducive in the whole society to the glory of God.

XV. TERMS AND DEGREES.

1. In humanity and the languages the period for the completion of the course cannot be determined, by reason of the difference of talent and information of the students, and many other causes, which admit of no other lim-

itation of time than that which shall appear suitable in every case at the pleasure of the discreet Rector or Chancellor.

2. In the study of arts the terms shall be arranged, in which the natural sciences shall be read, and for which not less than three years will be sufficient; besides these a further period of six months shall be reserved for repetitions, and keeping the acts of the schools, and taking the Master's degree, by those who shall take it. There will elapse a period therefore of three years and a half before any advancement to the Master's degree. And in every year one such course shall be commenced, and another by God's help accomplished.

3. The course of theology shall comprise six years. In the first four all that is necessary shall be read; in the other two, besides the repetition, the usual acts for the Doctor's degree shall be kept by those who are to be raised to it. Every fourth year the course shall ordinarily be commenced, the books to be read being so arranged that a student may begin on any one of the four years; and through the remainder of the four years commenced and of so much of the four years to follow, down to the period corresponding to the term when he began, he may complete a course of theology in four years.

4. In the degrees as well of Masters of Arts as of Doctors of Divinity, let three things be observed: First, let no one be advanced until he be diligently and publicly examined by persons appointed, who shall carefully perform this duty, and he shall be found qualified for that science, whether he belong to the society or not; Secondly, That the door may be closed against ambition, no fixed places shall be assigned to those who are raised to degrees, but let them rather study in honor to prefer one another, without observing any difference of places; Thirdly, As the society instructs gratuitously, so let it raise to degrees gratuitously; and to those without the society, let very little expense, although voluntary, be permitted, lest custom at length obtain the force of law; and in this point in the course of time they exceed moderation. Let the Rector take care also not to permit the masters, or any others of the society, to receive, for themselves or the College, money, or any gift from any one for anything done for his service; since the Lord Christ alone is to be our reward, our exceeding great reward, according to our Institute.

XVI. MORAL TRAINING—THE CORRECTOR.

1. Let diligence be used that they who come to the Universities of the society to study literature, acquire also good morals worthy of Christians; to which it will greatly assist if all go to the sacrament of Confession at least once a month, and hear Mass every day, and a sermon every holy-day, when one is preached. And each of the preceptors will take care that this be done by his pupils.

2. The Catechism shall be rehearsed in College on a certain day of every week, and care shall be taken that boys shall learn and repeat it, and that all of more advanced age, if possible, may know it.

3. Every week also there shall be a declamation, (as was said in treating of the Colleges,) by one of the students on subjects tending to the edification of the hearers, and inciting them to increase in all purity and virtue; that thus their style may not only be exercised, but their morals improved. And all those who understand Latin shall attend these declamations.

4. Neither oaths nor injuries by word or deed shall be permitted in the schools, nor anything indecorous or dissolute in such persons not belonging to the society as frequent them. Let the special attention of preceptors be turned to this, as well in the lessons, when occasion offers, as at other times, to incite their pupils to the service and love of God and of all virtues, by which they may please Him, and to refer all their studies to this object. To keep this in mind, at the commencement of every lesson, let some one pronounce a short prayer to this effect, which the preceptor and all the students shall listen to uncovered.

5. Let a Corrector be appointed, who shall not be of the society, for those who offend as well in what concerns diligence in their studies, as against good morals, and for whom kind words alone, and exhortation are not sufficient, and let him keep the boys in fear, and chastise those who need it, and are capable of this sort of correction. And when neither words nor the office of the Corrector shall suffice, and amendment in any individual is quite hopeless, whilst he seems to be injurious to others, it is better to remove him from the schools, than to retain him where he does no good to himself, and only harm to others.

But this decision shall be left to the Rector of the University, that all things may proceed, as is meet, to the glory and service of God.

XVII. RECTOR, CHANCELLOR, AND OTHER OFFICIALS.

1. The whole care or superintendence and government of the University shall be in the Rector, who may also be head of the leading College of the Society, and endowed with such gifts of God, of which mention has been made, that he may satisfy the whole University in the fulfilment of the duty committed to him in learning and morals. His election shall belong to the General, or him to whom he shall depute it, as the Provincial or Visitor; but the confirmation shall always rest with the General. The Rector shall have four counsellors, or assistants, to help him in whatever relates to his duty, and with whom he may regulate things of moment.

2. There shall be a Chancellor also, a man well versed in literature, abounding with right zeal and judgment in what is committed to him; whose office shall be to be the general instrument of the Rector in the due arrangement of studies, and in conducting the debates in public acts, and in ascertaining that the learning of those who are to be admitted to acts and degrees (which he shall himself confer) be sufficient.

3. Let there be a Secretary of the society, who shall keep a book in which the names of all the students diligently attending the schools shall be written; and who shall receive their engagements of obedience to be paid to the Rector, and of submission to the constitutions; and who shall keep the seal of the Rector and of the University; all which shall be done without any expense to the students.

4. There shall be a Notary also to give public assurance of degrees taken and other occurrences. Let there be also two or three Beadles, one appointed for the faculty of languages, another of arts, the third of theology.

5. The University shall be divided into these three faculties; and in each of them let there be appointed a Dean, and two more selected from among those most learned in that faculty; who, being summoned by the Rector, may declare what they think most expedient to the good of their faculty; and if anything of this sort occur to them whilst engaged together in these affairs, they shall communicate it to the Rector, even without any summons from him.

6. In matters which concern one faculty only, the Rector shall summon not only the Chancellor and his assistants, but the Dean also and his assistants of that faculty; in matters which relate to all, the Deans and assistants of all shall be summoned. And if the Rector should think proper to summon others to the Convocation whether belonging to the society or not, he may do so; that when he has heard all their opinions, he may better determine what is most expedient.

7. There shall be one general Syndic, to advise the Rector and Provincial and General as well concerning persons as things, as he shall see fit; which Syndic should be a man of great fidelity and judgment. Besides him, the Rector shall have his special Syndics, to bring before him occurrences requiring his inspection in every class. And as he shall write once a year to the General, and twice to the Provincial (who shall inform the General when necessary), respecting all the Preceptors, and others of the society; so also his College, and Syndic, and Counsellors shall write respecting him and others; so that in all things they may proceed with greater circumspection and diligence each in his own peculiar duty.

8. It shall be left to the consideration of the General when any University is admitted, whether the Rector, Chancellor, Beadles, Doctors, and Masters should wear any distinctions by which they may be recognized in the University, or in the Public Acts, or not; and if they wear them, what they shall be. And he shall appoint, either by himself or another, whatever he shall judge, after duly weighing all the circumstances, to be most conducive to the greater glory and service of God and the general good, which is our only aim in this and all our other doings.

Note by the Editor.—The words italicised in the early sections of this article were copied inadvertently from the edition, followed by the compositor, of 'The Constitution' of 1538 printed by Rivington, and which were there so marked for a special purpose. The provisions of these Constitutions of Loyola, although generally followed in the original establishment of institutions, were essentially modified in the detail of organization, studies, and methods, by the commission appointed in 1581 by Acquaviva, and which reported in 1589, the *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum*—the rule and methods of the Schools of the Order to this day.

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JOHN FREDERICK OBERLIN.

NATURE AND FIELD OF HIS LIFE WORK.

JOHN FREDERICK OBERLIN, whose work as pastor of a poor secluded parish in one of the almost inaccessible cantons among the Vosges in the province of Alsace—called by the French the *Ban de la Roche*, from the Castle of La Roche around which the Ban or district extends, and by the Germans the *Steinthal*, or *Stony Valley*, from the rocky and sterile appearance of its surface—entitles him to the distinction of the

MODEL POPULAR EDUCATOR AND SOCIAL REFORMER,

was born in Strasbourg on the 31st of August, 1740, at that time the chief town of the province, and after 1792, the capital of the department of the Upper Rhine, to which Waldbach, the immediate residence of Oberlin for sixty-five years, belonged. Both the father, who was a respectable teacher, of German descent, and the mother, who was French, gave much personal attention to the education of their children, and particularly to the formation of their moral and industrial habits. In those directions young Frederick (as he seems to have been called) was early and preëminently distinguished. Various anecdotes are related of his self-denial in parting with all his savings, when a school-boy, in acts of charity. One day, observing that a poor market-woman was in great distress in consequence of two boys having rudely overturned her basket of eggs, he ran home for his small box of savings, and poured the whole contents into her lap. On another occasion, observing that a poor old woman was unable, for want of two sous, to buy an article of dress which she seemed desirous of possessing, he privately slipped two sous into the hand of the dealer, who forthwith made the woman happy in her purchase. Neither on this nor on any similar occasion did he stop to receive any tokens of gratitude. The delight he experienced in doing good, and what was pleasing in the sight of God, was the only reward at which he aimed. Besides this benevolence and piety of disposition, he entertained a horror of injustice, and possessed the courage to defend and succor the oppressed, at the risk of injury to his own person. For these

and other excellent qualities, young Oberlin was greatly indebted to the considerate training of his parents; but particularly to the admonitions and guidance of his mother, a woman whose sole happiness lay in forming the minds and habits of her children.

Lively in temperament, and reared amidst a military people, Oberlin inclined at first to the profession of a soldier; but from this he was dissuaded by his father, and willingly addicted himself to a course of study suitable for a more peaceful pursuit. French, his vernacular tongue, he learned to write with great force and elegance; and besides the German language, he acquired a proficiency in Latin and Greek, with a competent knowledge of general science, and various other accomplishments. Partly from the wishes of his parents, who were of the Reformed or Lutheran Church, and partly from his own inclinations, he resolved on devoting himself to the duties of a clergyman. For this purpose he attended a course of theological study at the university of Strasbourg, and in 1760 was ordained to the sacred ministry.

Being still young, and possessing little experience of the world, Oberlin did not feel warranted in immediately assuming the pastoral office; for the space of seven years he devoted himself to private teaching, and for some time acted as tutor in the family of a distinguished surgeon, where he obtained that knowledge of medicine and surgery which proved so valuable to him in after life. While thus occupied he was offered the chaplainship of a regiment, and this he was about to accept, as likely to place him in a sphere of considerable usefulness, when a new field of operation was laid before him by his friend M. Stouber, who was *curé*, or pastor, in Waldbach, the principal village in the Ban de la Roche.

The village was placed on the acclivity of the Haut Champ, an isolated group of mountains, rising 3,600 feet above the level of the sea, and separated by a deep longitudinal valley from the eastern side of the chain of Vosges. The whole canton contained between 8,000 and 9,000 acres, of which nearly one-half was covered with wood, 2,000 was occupied as pasture, and only 1,600 was under cultivation, producing rye, oats, and potatoes, which were consumed on the premises. The inhabitants were poor and ignorant, and without ambition to better their condition, at the time (1750) M. Stouber labored with them as the pastor of the Lutheran congregation. His first inquiry was for the school. He was shown a miserable hut, crowded with children, without books, and apparently having no instructor.

'Where is the master?' he asked.

'There he is,' said one of the pupils, pointing to an old man lying on a bed in the corner of the cottage.

'What do you teach the children, my good man?' asked Stouber.

'Nothing, sir.'

'Nothing!—How is that?'

'Because I know nothing myself,' answered the old man.

'Why, then, have you been appointed schoolmaster?'

'Why, you see, sir, I was the pig-keeper* of Waldbach for many years, and when I was too old and infirm for that employment, I was sent here to take care of the children.'

Such was the chief educational establishment in the Ban de la Roche, and the others were little better, for they were schools kept by shepherds, and open only at certain seasons of the year.

To remedy this lamentable state of affairs, Stouber set about the institution of proper schoolmasters; but this was attended with great difficulty; for so low had the profession of the teacher sunk in public estimation, that no one would undertake the office. He at length, by an ingenious device, proposed to abolish the name of schoolmaster, and institute that of *régent* in its stead; which was readily assented to, and *Messieurs les régents* were forthwith named. He then drew up a set of alphabet and spelling books for the use of the pupils; but never having seen such works before, the peasantry imagined they concealed some species of heresy or divination. That which chiefly puzzled and alarmed them were the rows of unconnected syllables, which meant no sort of language; and on this account they long opposed the introduction of the lessons. When they began to perceive that, by conquering the syllables, the children were able to read whole and connected words, their jealousy of the strange lesson-books gradually gave way; and finally, when they saw that the children could read any book fluently, they not only abandoned all opposition, but begged to be taught to read also.

Under M. Stouber's intelligent and active pastorate, extending over ten years, various changes in the social and industrial condition of the district were begun; but the death of his wife, who was an active copartner in his plans of amelioration, made him feel inadequate to the further prosecution of this work, and he turned to Oberlin, as the man to continue and perfect his plans.

On arriving in Strasbourg, M. Stouber hastened to call on his

* In this and other German villages the pigs, as well as the geese, and other domestic animals, are all kept together during the day, under a keeper, and driven home to their respective owners at night.

young friend, whom he found in an humble lodging, which contained a small bed, with brown-paper curtains, and a little iron pan, with which Oberlin cooked his supper of brown bread, with a little water and a sprinkling of salt—the whole furniture being such as might be expected in the apartment of a student who preferred independence with narrowness of circumstances, to finery with dependence on others. Stouber observed at a glance that Oberlin was precisely the person he expected to find, and frankly communicated his wishes. Oberlin was charmed with the proposition. He would have declined accepting any rich and easy benefice. A parish in which all the inhabitants were poor and ignorant, was quite the thing he had been waiting for. His hour of usefulness had come. In a short time he was installed in the cure of the Ban de la Roche, and, like a primitive apostle setting out for the wilderness, went to assume the trust committed to his charge.

Oberlin arrived at Waldbach, where he was to reside, on the 30th of May, 1767, being at the time in his twenty-seventh year. His parsonage-house was a plain building of two stories, standing on the face of a woody bank near the church, with a garden adjoining; and all around were lofty hills, partly covered with pines, with here and there pieces of pasture and patches of cultivated land. It was a wild rural scene, with a stillness only broken at intervals by the faint sound of the sheep or cow bells, sweet by the breezes along the rugged sides of the mountains.

PLAN OF OPERATIONS AS SOCIAL REFORMER.

Oberlin's idea of the clerical character was not alone that of a minister of the gospel. Suiting himself to the necessities of his position, he perceived that it was his sacred duty to unite, in his own person, the character of religious pastor with that of secular instructor and adviser, physician, and husbandman. To an earnest inculcation of the doctrines and precepts of Christianity, he added the principles of philosophy, and the resources of a mind skilled in practical science. One of his earliest schemes required him to combine the functions of a civil engineer with those of a day-laborer. The account given of his enterprise on this occasion marks the sagacity of his mind and the humility of his disposition.

Road and Bridge Building.

Looking around on the general condition of the canton, he observed that one of its chief defects was the want of roads communicating with the lower and more improved parts of the country.

The only existing thoroughfares were absolutely impassable during six or eight months of the year; and even in summer they were in so wretched a state, that they were never used except when urgent necessity compelled the natives to repair to the neighboring towns. So long as this state of things lasted, it was evident that there could be no solid improvements or prosperity in the district. Assured of this fact, Oberlin called together his parishioners, and proposed that they should themselves open a road a mile and a half in length, and build a bridge over the river Bruche, so that they might no longer be imprisoned in their villages three-fourths of the year. The boldness of the proposal filled the assembly with astonishment—the thing appeared to them impossible—and every one found an excuse in his private concerns for not engaging in the undertaking. Some hinted that the roads were well enough as they were; for there is nothing too absurd for the discontented to say on such occasions. Not discouraged, Oberlin pointed out to the meeting the advantage which all would derive from having an outlet for the produce of their fields, and the facility with which they would then be able to procure a multitude of comforts and conveniences of which they were still destitute. He concluded his address by taking up a pickax, exclaiming: ‘All those who feel the importance of my proposal, come and work with me.’ At these words his parishioners, ashamed of their pretenses, and electrified by his action, hastened to get their tools and to follow him. Oberlin had already, like a good engineer, traced the plan; and, when he arrived at the ground, nothing remained but to commence operations. This was done in a style of lively enthusiasm. Each man occupying his assigned post, set to work in earnest, at each stroke making a sensible effect on the soil. The scene of labor attracted all idlers to the spot; and every one, not to be behind in the good work, lent it a helping hand. There was a moral grandeur in the spectacle of so much well-directed industry. It was no small holiday work that was undertaken. To form the required thoroughfare, there was not alone much digging; it was necessary to blast the rocks; to convey down enormous masses, in order to construct a wall to support the road along the banks of the Bruche; to build a bridge in another canton; and to defray all expenses. Nothing was deemed impossible by Oberlin and his heroic band of improvers. The pastor, who on the Sunday exhorted his auditors never to weary in well-doing, and reminded them of the rest that remaineth for the people of God, was seen on the Monday with a pickax on his shoulder, marching at the head of

two hundred of his flock, with an energy that braved danger and despised fatigue. Reversing the ordinary maxim of *enjoying ease with dignity*, he had a firm faith in that more glorious, because more truthful precept, that *labor is in itself worship*. Nor did he alone work with the hands: his head was as constantly scheming ways and means. There were expenses to be met; but he interested his friends in Strasbourg and elsewhere, and he did not appeal to them in vain. There are many people who will assist in a good work when their feelings can be interested in its execution. Oberlin, therefore, had the satisfaction of finding many to sympathize in his benevolent projects; and funds were provided. In spite of weather and every obstacle, in two years the work was completed. A good road was made, and a substantial bridge built, affording an easy communication with Strasbourg. Roads were then made to connect together the several villages, which had previously been entirely separated from each other during the heavy snows. Walls also were built to prevent the soil on the steep declivities from being washed down by the mountain torrents; and channels were formed to receive or carry off the waters which, after great rains, rushed down with destructive violence.

Improvements in Seeds and Agricultural Implements.

Roads being now made, the peasantry of the Ban de la Roche might send their produce to market; but what produce had they worth sending? A little corn and some bad potatoes. Oberlin's work was only beginning. The bad potatoes were a sore grievance, even as respected home consumption. Before the introduction of the plant, the inhabitants of the canton had subsisted to a great extent on wild apples and pears, and many were afraid they should have to return to this primitive kind of food. In the course of years the potato had so far degenerated, that fields which had formerly yielded from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty bushels, now furnished only between thirty and fifty bushels; these were, besides, of a very bad quality. Oberlin, attributing this circumstance to its true cause, procured some fresh seeds from Germany, Switzerland, and Lorraine, to renew the species. The plan was successful: in a few years the inhabitants reared the finest potatoes that could be grown, and found in Strasbourg an advantageous sale for all they could produce.

Along with the introduction of a better variety of potatoes, he considerably improved the means of cultivation. The district was greatly in want of agricultural implements. Oberlin witnessed with

great pain the distress of his poor flock when they had the misfortune to break any of their utensils. They were without ready money to purchase them, and they were obliged to lose much time in going to a distance to obtain them. To put an end to this evil, he opened a store of various utensils; sold every article at prime cost; and gave the purchasers credit till their payments came round.

Diversified Industries—Home Trades.

Considering what next should be done, Oberlin perceived that the introduction of trades into the canton would contribute essentially to the progress of civilization. There were no wheelwrights, masons, or blacksmiths in the district, nor within a considerable distance of it. He therefore selected a certain number of lads, of suitable talents, put upon them decent apparel, and apprenticed them in the adjacent towns: this scheme also was successful. In a few years good workmen were prepared in the above-mentioned trades, as well as joiners, and glaziers; and these came and set up establishments in the Ban de la Roche. The consequence was, that the inhabitants got every piece of work done at home, instead of being put to the trouble and expense of having it executed at a distance. Carts, plows, and other articles used in husbandry were made and mended, and many comforts introduced which were formerly all but unknown.

Improved Dwellings.

Thus prepared with artisans, Oberlin's next solicitude extended to the houses of his poorer parishioners. They were generally cavernous, damp dwellings, partially sunk in the sides of the mountains, and without cellars sufficiently deep to preserve potatoes, the staple winter food of the inhabitants, from the frost. It was evident that the people could neither be cleanly nor healthful, nor even be in a fit frame of mind, religiously speaking, while daily exposed to the humidity and the discomforts of such dens. There can be no expectation of moral improvement while the human being is treated, or treats himself, like a brute. The sagacity of Oberlin detected this important fact in social economics ere he had been long in the Ban de la Roche—a fact only now beginning to dawn on the more intrepid minds of Britain and other countries high in civilization. To render the dwellings more airy, light, dry, and cheerful, and consequently more healthful both to body and mind, was now Oberlin's self-imposed duty. As in every other effort, there was some degree of opposition; but it all disappeared before the kindly influence of the good pastor. In a short time, neat cottages with

glazed windows, chimneys, and dry flooring, were substituted for the old dismal huts; each provided with closets, to contain earthenware and other useful articles; and having a frost-proof cellar, in which potatoes could be safely stored. The improved health and appearance of the people soon justified all his benevolent anticipations of this important measure.

Improved Horticulture—Fruits and Flowers.

Having improved the houses of his parishioners, his next step was to make those homes pleasant, and the tables more bountiful and healthy. His attention was particularly directed to the planting of fruit-trees, the improvement of the breed of cattle, the management and the increase of manure, the growth of natural and artificial grasses, and the more extensive culture of potatoes, and likewise of flax—the two productions most suitable to the sandy soil of the district.

Little as the people were now inclined to question the propriety of Oberlin's projects, they could not readily enter into his ideas of improving on the growth of fruit-trees; that being a subject on which he, a native of a town, could not be expected to know so much as themselves. As practical proof seemed therefore necessary, he commenced operations on two gardens belonging to his own residence, and so close to a public pathway that all could observe his labors. With the assistance of a favorite and intelligent servant, he dug trenches, four or five feet in depth, and surrounded the young trees that he planted in them with the species of soil which he considered best adapted to promote their growth. He likewise procured slips of apple, pear, plum, cherry, and walnut trees, and made a large nursery-ground of one of his gardens, which he prepared for the purpose.

The expectations of the reverend horticulturist were not disappointed. The trees planted with so much care, grew and flourished in a manner never before seen in the canton; and the peasantry, who had frequent occasion to pass the spot, could not help being surprised at the contrast between the scanty supply of their own and the rich produce of their pastor's grounds. Guided by a desire to have equally fine crops of fruit, they now inquired how they should proceed; and Oberlin, with great willingness, not only explained the process for them to adopt in laying out their gardens and in planting them, but gave them young trees and grafts from his nursery. Thus the taste for planting fruit-trees was happily diffused and became a favorite employment in the canton. The change for

the better was very remarkable. Cottages which had been hitherto bare and desolate in their aspect, were surrounded with little orchards and gardens; and in place of indigence and misery, the villages and hamlets gradually assumed an air of rural elegance and felicity.

To stock the gardens with vegetables more suitable to the soil and climate than what had hitherto been cultivated, was also a wish of Oberlin; and he did not rest till he had introduced a variety of herbs serviceable for food, or of value in the arts. The method of obtaining oil from beech-nuts was also one of the useful practices which he at this time extended throughout the district. Both for the sake of rotation in cropping, and for winter fodder for cattle, he introduced the growing of clover from seed imported from Holland; and to give materials for clothing, he encouraged the growth as well as the dressing of flax.

Land Agricultural Society—Lectures.

Having by his various plans considerably meliorated the prejudices and enlightened the minds of his parishioners, he now formed an agricultural society, composed of the more intelligent farmers: this association he connected with a society at Strasbourg, which, by way of encouragement, placed at his disposal the sum of 2,500 francs, to be distributed among the peasants as prizes in horticultural operations. The beneficial effect of this measure induced Oberlin to institute a prize, to be awarded to those who should rear the finest ox; and he likewise took measures to induce the farmers to convert the least productive grass-lands into arable fields, and by means of the clover, already noticed, to feed the beasts in their stalls. By this last-mentioned practice, he hoped to increase the amount of available manure, for the sake of the arable land; nor were his hopes disappointed. Attention to manures he knew to be one of the primary principles in agriculture, and on this subject he spared no pains to enlighten the people. He induced the practice of gathering together all vegetable refuse, such as the leaves of trees, the stalks of rushes, moss, and fir-cones—all which, when fermented in heaps, might be converted into a useful compost. Acting on his favorite maxim, that nothing should be lost, he also, to increase the compost heaps, instructed the children to tear old woollen rags into shreds, and to cut up old shoes; for all which he paid them sixteen sous, or eightpence, for a bushel, and one sou for the smallest quantity they could collect. A short time afterward, in order to induce the rising generation to persevere in the course of improvement which had been begun in the district, he commenced the plan of

lecturing, for two hours every Thursday morning, on agriculture, vegetable physiology, and other useful branches of science.

Church and School Ministrations.

The improvements thus far noticed in the outward life of the village were not inaugurated and perfected at once, but were interspersed through a series of years, and were not secured at the sacrifice of his pastoral duties. Unlike some social reformers, who act with great zeal for a time, and then, when they have either satisfied a whim, or gained some paltry meed of applause, relax, if not altogether cease, their efforts, Oberlin was animated by an unwearying and ever buoyant spirit of social melioration. Nor, while giving so much time and anxiety to the temporal welfare of his flock, did he neglect the more weighty matter of religious instruction. The earnestness of his clerical ministrations was almost unexampled; and this, coupled with the amiableness of his character and his boundless benevolence, gained for him from his parishioners the title of *Papa Oberlin*, or *Cher Papa* (Dear Papa), by which he became universally known.

Hitherto, we have said nothing of Papa Oberlin's benevolent and judicious schemes for training the young; these, however, early engaged his attention. He was most solicitous of erecting a school-house in Waldbach, which might answer as a model for one in the other four villages; but the raising of the requisite funds for this undertaking was a matter of some difficulty among a poor population; from his own income, which was never above 1,000 francs (£40) annually, and already burdened with many claims, he could also derive little assistance. There were no landed gentry to whom he could apply; but, as in former cases of urgent necessity, friends at a distance extended a helping hand; and the school-house was at length erected and furnished. Not only so, but in the course of a few years a similar school-house was erected in each of the other villages; and such was the progress of improved sentiment among the inhabitants, that they came voluntarily forward to second the efforts of their pastor, and to take on themselves the trouble and expense of supporting the establishment. To complete his scheme of education, he instituted arrangements for preparing young men as teachers: thus providing not only for the present, but the prospective conducting of these useful seminaries.

Infant Schools—Kindergarten.

The schools for children over seven years answered every expectation; but something else was desirable. He observed with regret,

that while parents were engaged in their daily labors, and the elder children at school, the infants were either neglected, or left in the charge of old women, incompetent, from their infirmities and their ignorance, to pay them the attention and give them the instruction they required. Education, as he justly considered, begins in the nursery, and children may be taught right from wrong—to be meek or passionate, cleanly or the reverse, before they are out of the cradle. To see an evil, was with Oberlin only preliminary to providing a remedy. He resolved to institute in his parish a number of *salles d'asile*, or *infant schools*, under properly qualified *conductrices*.

In commencing operations, he received the assistance of his wife, who sought out and instructed women of mature age and of a kindly disposition to act as schoolmistresses. Having hired an apartment in each of the five villages and three hamlets in the canton, Oberlin placed in each one of these a woman, whom he termed *conductrice*. At first, the schools were opened only one day in the week, as the *conductrices* were obliged to labor during the other days for their subsistence; but afterward means were found for more frequent instruction. Having been previously initiated in the branches of knowledge best adapted to the purpose, the *conductrice* taught the children by turns whatever appeared most suited to their infant capacities. In the instructions, there was a happy blending of labor with intellectual exertion. Children naturally love to finger or work at something, and, as is observed, if not provided with some kind of trivial but harmless employment, they will almost inevitably work mischief. To amuse their minds—to keep them from meddling with each other—and, in some instances, to keep them from falling asleep, as well as to accustom them to industrious habits, the elder boys were taught to pick or card wool and cotton, and the girls to spin, sew, and knit. Those who were too young for this species of labor, were placed in positions to see the work going on; for, next to working themselves, all children are fond of looking at others at work. While so employed, their *conductrice* related and explained little stories from the Bible, or from other sources; also pleasing anecdotes in natural history—the whole of a kind likely to suppress the animal propensities, and cultivate in the minds of the pupils a love of justice, mercy, and peace; likewise to show the wise and superintending care of Providence, and the beauty and harmony which reign throughout creation. She also taught them to sing and repeat hymns; instructed them in some of the leading facts in

geography and botany; and trained them to be cleanly in person, and respectful and polite in their general behavior. Another point in the juvenile education was, the inculcating of a love of what was beautiful in nature. A taste for flowers was in particular cultivated, tending greatly to modify the dispositions, and improve the artistic abilities of the young.

The germs of much useful knowledge and moral excellence were in this manner planted in the minds of the pupils, and proved of incalculable advantage to them as they grew up. So far from being weary of these meetings, the children were delighted to attend, and their parents were equally pleased with their progress. Having been thus prepared by early discipline, they were at the age of seven years, admitted into the higher schools, where they were carried forward through a sound elementary education. Among other benefits originating in this course of instruction, was a marked improvement in the language of the people. Formerly, the language spoken was a *patois* or jargon, scarcely understood by strangers, and a great impediment to general intercourse. The conductresses in the infant schools, by never allowing a single word of *patois*, and teaching the pupils to speak pure French, almost entirely banished this unintelligible jargon, and introduced the common language of the country, which is now spoken in the canton.

Supervision—Examinations and Exhibitions.

Oberlin did not set all this mechanism of education in motion, and then leave it to itself: he kept a watchful superintendence over the whole, and reserved for himself, almost exclusively, the appropriate function of religious instructor. He collected all the children who were not mere infants once a week at Waldbach, for general examination in their studies; and every Sunday the children of each village, in rotation, assembled at the church to sing the hymns and recite the lessons of piety they had learned, and to receive fresh religious instruction and admonitions. These assemblages were not, as may be imagined, meetings of gloom and fear, as the method of communicating religious knowledge too often unfortunately is. So universally was Oberlin beloved, so mild, persuasive, and indulgent were his exhortations, that the children were happy in being permitted to attend, and doubly happy when they were rewarded with a smile from the Cher Papa.

School and Binerating Libraries—Almanacs.

With the assistance of benevolent friends in Strasbourg, Oberlin was enabled to establish a library for the use of the children in the

different schools, and also to furnish an electrical machine and other philosophical instruments. Oberlin likewise has the credit of having at this time struck out an original idea, which has since been perfected in Scotland. This was the establishment of small itinerating libraries. A neat and handy collection of books being put into a case, was left at a village for three months, for the use of the inhabitants. At the end of this time it was removed to another village, and another collection of books, different from the former, took its place. Thus collections of books, some of which were printed at Oberlin's own expense, were made to circulate through the canton, and a continual fund of amusement and instruction kept up.*

The arrangements for the intellectual cultivation of his people were not yet terminated. A crowning point to his labors in the department of literature was the composing and publishing of an almanac for the use of his parishioners. This interesting annual was divested of all the falsehoods and superstitions with which almanacs are usually filled; and, like that of 'Poor Richard,' was replete with useful advices, and hints on many subjects of interest.

Evils of too great Prosperity obviated.

At the time of Oberlin's settlement, the parish contained from eighty to a hundred families; now, it comprised five or six hundred, numbering altogether a population of about three thousand. Here was a perplexing problem. Oberlin felt that the very improvements he had instituted had probably hastened the arrival of the period when the land could support no more inhabitants with a reasonable share of comfort. From whatever cause, the fact of over-population was becoming evident. Every little bit of land was occupied by its family; and the family patches were in the course of subdivision. There was as yet no actual want, because all less or more assisted each other, and the economical habits of the people led them to make the most of the small means at their disposal. Potatoes being their chief fare, the only immediate danger to be apprehended was a failure in the crops of that vegetable. In 1812, the calamity of a greatly deficient harvest fell upon France; corn rose to an exorbitant price; and in some parts of the country potatoes were sold for a sou apiece. The Ban de la Roche suffered in common with other districts, but to a less extent, in consequence of Oberlin having introduced a vigorous variety of the potato. From

* An account of the plan of Itinerating Libraries, pursued in some parts of Scotland, will be found in *Chamber's Encyclopedia*, article 'Itinerating Libraries;' also in *Barnard's Journal of E. I. Institute of Instruction*.

this cause alone the people did not die of famine, as they must otherwise have done.

While thankful for the narrow escape which his parishioners had made on this occasion, the good pastor was the more alarmed for the continued welfare of his flock; and as they did not seem inclined to emigrate, he set about contriving means for introducing employment from without. The plaiting of straw, knitting, and dyeing with the plants of the country, were accordingly introduced. A more successful branch of industry which followed was the spinning of cotton by the hand, for the manufactories of Alsace. In having women and girls taught the art of spinning, Oberlin was indefatigable; and such was his earnestness, that he gave prizes to the best spinners in addition to their ordinary wages. He had the gratification of seeing his plan succeed. In a short time the spinners became so expert, that in a single year the wages paid by a manufacturer for spinning cotton in the Ban de la Roche amounted to 32,000 francs (£1,280). Weaving by the hand was next introduced, and promised to be equally remunerative, when a stop was put to the whole of this prosperity by the introduction of machinery at Schirmeck. Hand-labor could wage no effectual war with this cheaply wrought and powerful enginery, and the inhabitants sank to their former state of privation.

While still smarting under the bereavement of their labor, the Ban de la Roche had the good fortune to be visited by a M. Legrand, a ribbon manufacturer, from Basel in Switzerland; and so charmed was he with the character of the Cher Papa Oberlin, and the orderly habits of the people, that he forthwith induced his two sons, to whom he relinquished his business, to remove their manufactory to the Steintal.* This proved to be a more permanent and suitable undertaking than that of cotton-spinning. Ribbons are woven by hand-loom, and these being dispersed amongst the cottages of the

* In a Report to the Royal and Central Society of Agriculture in France, the President, Baron de Gerando, introduces a letter from M. Legrand, from which the following is an extract:

'Conducted by Providence into this remote valley, I was the more struck with the sterility of its soil, its straw-thatched cottages, the apparent poverty of its inhabitants, and the simplicity of their fare, from the contrast which these external appearances formed to the cultivated conversation which I enjoyed with every individual I met whilst visiting its five villages, and the frankness and *sauvreté* of the children, who extended to me their little hands. I had often heard of the good pastor Oberlin, and eagerly sought his acquaintance. He gave me the most hospitable reception. . . . It is now four years since I retired here with my family; and the pleasure of residing in the midst of a people whose manners are softened and whose minds are enlightened by the instructions which they receive from their earliest infancy, more than reconciles us to the privations which we must necessarily experience in a valley separated from the rest of the world by a chain of surrounding mountains.'

peasantry, in which also the winding of the silk weft for the weavers is conducted, employment was found for some hundreds of people, old and young, in their own dwellings—a plan every way more advantageous than that of working in large factories. As in some of the Swiss cantons, the Ban de la Roche now exhibited a happy mixture of agricultural and horticultural labors with mechanical pursuits. From many of the cottages on the hill-sides were heard the sounds of the swift-flying shuttle; and when these were hushed at an early hour in the evening, the weaver might be seen trimming his garden or digging in the patch of arable land connected with his establishment.

Blessed are the Peace-makers.

One of the public services performed by the Cher Papa for the Ban de la Roche was the settling of a long and ruinous lawsuit which was carrying on between the peasantry and the *seigneurs* of the territory. A seigneur, according to the old French usages, was the feudal lord or superior of a tract of land, from the resident proprietors or cultivators of which he exacted certain annual dues and services; in requital, he gave them legal protection and some other privileges, such as the right of cutting timber from the forests, or fishing in the rivers. At the Revolution, the seigneuries were generally abolished; without, however, as it would appear, quashing any legal disputes which had previously been unsettled between the seigneurs and their vassals. The litigation, in the present instance, was with regard to the forests which covered a large part of the mountains, and, with varying fortune, the suit had lasted upward of three-quarters of a century, and through all varieties of tribunals. In 1813, the quarrel, handed down from father to son, still raged, and promised to rage for many years longer. Attempts had been made by the seigneurs to compromise the matter, but without avail. This perplexing law-plea had been the plague of Oberlin's life: it was the standing grievance of the canton: now sinking into silence, now reviving, it kept every tongue in exercise.

With some useful advice from his friend, the prefect of the department, Oberlin undertook to convince his parishioners how much more advantageous it would be for them to make certain sacrifices, with a view to settle the dispute, than to protract it even with the ultimate chance of being victorious. He showed them the amount of expenses they had already lost, and which they might still lose; what were the vexations to which they had been exposed; and what pleasures they would have in being no longer subjected to such a

torment. Besides offering these reasons, he urged the religious view of the subject, insisting on the duty of living at peace and in friendship with all mankind. The moral power of the good pastor was, perhaps, in nothing so remarkable as his conquest on this occasion. Melting the obstinacy of his auditors by his arguments and eloquence, they agreed to the terms of a mutual compromise, and the litigation was brought to a close. A few smooth words effected what years of wrangling and battling had failed to accomplish. The day on which the mayors attended to receive the signature of the late belligerents, was one of rejoicing in the Ban de la Roche; and at the suggestion of the prefect, these magistrates presented to Oberlin the pen with which the deed had been signed, requesting him to suspend it in his study as a trophy of the victory which he had achieved over long-cherished animosities. The gift was gratefully accepted; and it was often afterward declared by Oberlin that the day on which that pen was used had been the happiest of his life.

FAMILY LIFE OF OBERLIN.

Oberlin was happy in his own domestic life—married within a year after his settlement, to Madeleine Salomé Witter, daughter of a professor in the University of Strasbourg, he found in his wife a woman of good sense and tender feelings, who entered heartily into his labors, and yet tempering his zeal with considerate prudence. During the sixteen years of their married life, she bore him three sons and four daughters,—when she died in 1784, filling his heart for a time with despair. The loss was in some degree supplied to his children, by a young woman, an orphan, named Louisa Schepler, who had been a conductrice in one of the infant schools, and finding the occupation not suitable to her health, she became a domestic—a help in his family—declining all recompense, and performing any and every service which a daughter and housekeeper could do, with the most affectionate devotion.

Death.

Oberlin died June 1, 1826, in the 86th year of his age, and the 60th of his ministry in the Ban de la Roche—and the last touching ceremonies were performed on the 5th of June in the presence of a large concourse of parishioners and strangers, of every sect and party—the Catholic population, the priests in their ecclesiastical vestments, and the various religious orders joining in the Protestant ceremonies. In his death, it may be truly said, 'mankind lost a friend, and no man got rid of an enemy.'

UNIVERSITY CHAIR OF EDUCATION—EDINBURGH.

BY S. S. LAURIE

Professor of the Theory, History, and Practice of Education.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS—MARCH, 1876.

MR. S. S. LAURIE, M.A., the newly appointed 'Professor of the Theory, History, and Practice of Education' in the University of Edinburgh, delivered his inaugural lecture on Friday, the 31st March. Sir Alexander Grant, Principal of the University, presided, and there was a large attendance of students and friends of education, including many of the professors and authorities of the College. The interest which attaches to the first professional lecture on Education delivered within the walls of a British University induces us to give Mr. Laurie's able and thoughtful address *in extenso*. Professor Laurie said—

Mr. Vice-Chancellor and Gentlemen,—The first occupant of a Chair new to the Universities of Great Britain is placed in a somewhat peculiar position. It may be fairly expected of him, not merely to correlate the new subject with the other studies of a University, but to vindicate for it a right to the promotion which it has obtained, to explain its bearing on the educational interests of the country at large, and to satisfy the skeptical as to its direct utility. Were I, however, to undertake to maintain a thesis so large, I should weary even the well disposed listener, and probably fail after all to convince or convert the unfriendly. A broad treatment of the subject would involve me in a range of argument, fact, and illustration, so wide and varied, that I think it better to assume very much on the general question. I am entitled indeed to make large assumptions, if the educational movement of the last thirty-five years has had any genuineness and honesty in it; if Education has been any thing more than a pretext for political and ecclesiastical contention. It is not improbable, moreover, that by limiting my range of observation, and confining myself to the objections taken to the foundation of this particular Chair, while at the same time giving some indication of my own point of view with respect to the question of Education, I may do more than could be accomplished by a general treatment, to reconcile the hostile and the skeptical to this new event in educational history,—But, first, a few words as to the foundation.

Dr. Andrew Bell was born in St. Andrews in 1753.* At the ancient University of that town he was distinguished in most subjects of study,

* See Memoir in *Barnard's American Journal of Education*, Vol. x., 333; ditto, 467.

but especially in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. After spending some years as a tutor in the Southern States of America, he returned to this country, took orders in the Church of England, and sailed for Madras. There he was appointed to an army chaplaincy, and undertook, along with his other duties, the superintendence of the Military Male Orphan Asylum, which was instituted after his arrival in the Presidency. It was while devoting himself with singular earnestness and assiduity to the work of Education in this hospital that he was driven, almost by the necessity of his position, to invent the system of mutual tuition with which his name will be ever associated. After Dr. Bell's return to this country, he devoted himself to the dissemination of his system, being sustained in his unceasing activity not a little by the rivalry of Joseph Lancaster.* Out of the labors of the latter grew the British and Foreign School Society, and out of the labors of the former the National Society in connection with the Church of England.

The principle of mutual instruction of boys by boys was the discovery by which Dr. Bell hoped to regenerate the world. But in truth the invention and application of this method was not his sole merit. He was a genuine teacher, having quick sympathy with the nature of boys, and great readiness of resource in the school-room. Many of our established practices were first introduced by him, and some of his improvements are only now being adopted. My impression is, that, prior to his undertaking the charge of the Madras Orphan Asylum in 1789, it was not usual strictly to classify the pupils of a primary school; and you are doubtless aware that it is only the other day that the leading schools of Scotland began to arrange their pupils in classes according to their progress, and that in some schools of high reputation (incredible as it may seem) classification on this basis has not even yet been attempted! I shall not on this occasion enter further into Dr. Bell's educational reforms, but content myself with saying that at present, and until better informed, I am disposed to regard him as the founder of the Art of Primary Education in this country, as a *conscious Art*.

Dr. Bell destined his large fortune mainly for the foundation of specific Educational Institutions, the residue to be applied to educational purposes, according to the discretion of his Trustees, enjoining on them always to have due regard to the promotion of his system. The interest of this money was for many years paid away in small grants to various schools throughout the country in connection with the Church of Scotland; but after the passing of the Education (Scotland) Act in 1872, which made universal provision for schools, the Trustees, who at present are the Earl of Leven and Melville, Lord Kirkcaldie, and Mr. John Cook, W. S., resolved to employ a portion of the funds in their keeping for the purpose of instituting Chairs of Education in Edinburgh and St. Andrews, to be called the 'Bell Chairs of the History, Theory, and Practice of Education,' imposing on the occupants the duty of expounding, in the course of their prelections, Bell's principles and system. They thereby

fulfilled in the most effectual way, under existing circumstances, the objects which Dr. Bell had in view in originally constituting the trust. Certainly no one who had read the Life of Dr. Bell will doubt that this resolution of the Trustees would have been in the highest degree pleasing to him. Almost with one voice the teaching profession have hailed the action of the Trustees as a great educational advance. It has been felt that the three gentlemen above named have conferred honor on a department of work which Dr. Bell delighted to honor. They have unquestionably done very much to promote Education in Scotland, not only by raising the work of the schoolmaster in public estimation, but also by attracting public attention to Education as being not merely a question of national machinery for the institution of schools (essential though this undoubtedly is), but a question of principles and methods—in brief, of philosophy.

It is with regret that I find myself constrained by want of time to make here only a passing allusion to the zealous efforts of the late Professor Pillans to do what the Bell Trustees have now accomplished.

Objects of the Chair.—Training Colleges.

A Chair of the Theory, History, and Practice of Education having been instituted, we have now to ask what the objects of such a Chair are. There has been much misunderstanding with regard to these. Some are at a loss to know what there is to say on Education within the walls of a University, and what the principles and history of that subject have to do with the schoolmaster's work. Others who have not to be instructed on these points dread the competition of an Education Chair with the existing Training Colleges. The latter class of objectors is the more important. They are at least aware that the necessity of training teachers in methods and in school organization is not a question to be now for the first time debated. They know that the question has been settled these thirty years by the combined intelligence of the Government of the country and of the Education Committees of the various Churches. The former class of objectors have nothing to urge against the University training of teachers in the philosophy and methods of Education, which they would not have been prepared with equal readiness and confidence to urge against the institution of the existing Training Colleges thirty years ago. Indeed, I am disposed to think that, had the general question of the desirableness of training teachers to their professional work been propounded thirty years ago for discussion on its own merits, it would not yet be settled in the affirmative. The Parliamentary-Philistine, the 'Church in danger' men, and above all (strange to say) a considerable proportion of those engaged in the work of teaching, would have been opposed to the introduction of any such novel idea in a practical form. Many as are the evils of centralization, it is to centralization and to the Committee of Privy Council that we owe the full recognition of the efforts which were being made thirty-five or forty years ago in Edinburgh and elsewhere to train teachers, and the consequent growth of the Training

College system. The work was done *through* the Churches, and accordingly called forth no Church opposition, and as money was freely offered to all who desired training, the rest of the world readily acquiesced.

The effect of this action on the part of the Privy Council has been most beneficial. Almost all now recognize that there is an art of teaching and of school keeping, and that teachers should be trained in that art. It is only among that class of teachers and professors who have never come into close contact with the existing system of training that doubts and objections survive. Quietly, and almost unnoticed, a great new Institution has established itself in the United Kingdom, and has overpowered every possible theoretical objection to its existence by the practical benefits it has conferred on the country. It is therefore too late now to discuss the general question. The practical result is before us, and the occupation of teacher has been finally raised into a profession by requiring, as the condition of entering it, a professional discipline.

Notwithstanding many defects—and I suspect that even in our University system there are defects—the Training College system has been a success. The kind of work done in these institutions, and the extent to which they have taken their place as seminaries second only to the Universities themselves, would, if inquired into, astonish the few who have hitherto ignored their existence. I am also satisfied that the improvements which have taken place even in Secondary instruction have been due largely, if not chiefly, to the indirect influence of the Training Colleges, although these exist for the training of Primary teachers alone. Every man connected with Education must be so well informed on this the most important modern movement in educational history that to dwell longer on it would be superfluous. My purpose in referring to it at all is to limit the range of any argument which might naturally be expected from me on this occasion.

Bearing of the Chair on Training Colleges.

For, the necessity of training the future teacher not only in the subjects which he is afterward to teach, but in the art which he is to profess, being once for all a settled matter, I am at liberty to confine my remarks to the narrower question of the training of aspirants to the scholastic profession, who pass through the Universities. These aspirants are either self-supporting or partly dependent on small bursaries gained in open competition, and their purpose is to prepare themselves for the higher class of Public Schools (which, in their upper departments, are in truth Secondary Schools), and for purely Secondary or Grammar Schools either in Scotland or other parts of the Empire. As it is at once evident that attending University classes instead of the classes of a Training College has no such great virtue in it as to enable University men to dispense with professional training more than their humbler fellow-teachers, it is superfluous to argue the point. It may be at once assumed that, as the schools for which they are preparing themselves, at least those in

Scotland and the Colonies, comprehend within them at once Primary and Secondary instruction, the need of professional training, in the case of University students, is peculiarly great. Where are they to get this? They might be required to combine attendance at a Training College with attendance at the University for a degree; but this, though it might serve as a provisional arrangement, would not secure the end we seek. And why would this arrangement not secure the end we seek? For the same reason, and for no other, that a specialist Training College does not answer the same purposes as a University. The broader culture, the freer air, the higher aims of the latter, give to it an educational influence which specialist colleges can never exercise.

It is impossible within my present limits to elaborate this view of the question: it is familiar to all educated men. It would appear, however, that the moment we substitute a distinct practical purpose, such as the production of engineers, officers of the army, ministers of the church, as the exclusive aim of education, and arrange the whole machinery of an Institution to attain any one of these ends exclusively, the mental life of the student becomes at once narrowed, and education in the higher sense disappears altogether. We all acknowledge this truth when it is supported by our antipathies, and we are called upon for an opinion on such seminaries as Jesuit Colleges. But the objections to be taken to these specialist seminaries are, from an educational point of view, substantially the same in kind as may be taken to colleges which have other and merely secular aims. It is desirable therefore to maintain the position of the Universities as the trainers of all those aspirants to the teaching profession who are fitted by their previous education to enter on a University curriculum. This is all that is demanded by those who desire a University training for schoolmasters. Is it an unreasonable demand? The preliminary training of all female student-teachers, and of the great majority of the other sex, make, and will continue in perpetuity to make, Training Colleges a necessity; but there are some youths whose greater local advantages or greater native energy of mind is such as to have secured for them a better early training in languages and mathematics, and to have inspired them with a higher ambition than these seminaries can satisfy. Those better trained intellects, those more ambitious natures, ought to have the University open to them.

It may be urged—it is urged by some—that the students of Training Colleges are welcome to the discipline which the University can give in classics, science, and philosophy, but that the Training Colleges themselves should furnish the purely professional instruction. But the answer to this is, that if the Training Colleges are competent to handle the question of Education as a science and art equally well with the Universities, they are also competent to teach classics, science, and philosophy equally well with the Universities. It would be quite easy to add to the staff of these institutions. Latin, I fancy, can be taught quite as well in one street of a town as another. What we want is, that the student-teacher

shall live in the University atmosphere, and enjoy all those subtle intellectual and moral advantages which belong to that serener air. If this be desirable as regards Latin and Mathematics, how much more is it desirable in the case of the Philosophy of Education! Here the student enters into the precincts of Philosophy itself: he has to find the psychological basis and relations of methods of instruction; he has to *think* about Education, and try to ascertain what Education precisely is, and what kind of public duty it is which he has before him as a teacher. He has to investigate the principles of his art, and to expand his thought by studying its history. Is it not at once apparent that whatever advantage belongs to the study of classics and science in a University belongs pre-eminently to studies which ally themselves to philosophy and history? Doubtless there are some minds whose education is so defective and whose imagination is so weak that they are unable to conceive in what respect a University curriculum should differ, as it does differ in its very essence, from a similar curriculum in a specialist college in which a practical limitation of aim vitiates, unconsciously it may be, the process of education in the proper sense of that term. To such minds I do not address myself.

Far be it from me to say one word in depreciation of Training Colleges. You will not misapprehend me. I know them too well not to respect them. I have already shown to you their importance as a part of the educational machinery of the country, their necessity as a permanent part of that machinery, and the debt the country owes to them. But they are not Universities—this is all I desire to say—any more than Sandhurst, or Woolwich, or Cooper's Hill is a University. It is true that certain picked students are now sent from the Training Colleges to certain Universities to attend two of the classes there, and thus sniff the Academic air; but this device can never supply the place of a University curriculum and of University life.

Relation of University Curriculum to the Education of Scotland.

When, further, we consider that for two hundred years all the leading teachers of the Parochial Schools of Scotland have been supplied by the Universities, and have carried with them into the most remote parishes some University culture, is it too much to ask that a system which has been so beneficial in the past shall be continued and even more fully developed under the new Statute? At this moment no man can be appointed to a Public School in Scotland—and the term Public School includes all schools, with about a dozen exceptions—who does not possess a Government certificate. A raw lad from the Hebrides is, after nine or ten months' training, and while yet barely able to write an ordinary letter, while wholly ignorant of Latin, acquainted with the merest elements of other subjects, technically qualified for any Public School, while a graduate of the Universities is disqualified until he undergoes a further examination. This seems hardly credible. I have taken opportunities

of bringing this fact before authorities in the Universities from time to time since 1872, but it is difficult to believe that they have yet fairly realized the actual state of things. All the new machinery for Education will fail to produce the effect expected of it, if this evil be not quickly remedied. The Education Department is quite entitled to hold that a University curriculum shall be incomplete, so far as the teacher is concerned, if it do not include a knowledge of the principles and practice of Education; but to go further than this is an insult to the Universities of Scotland, which these bodies, however, seem slow to feel. The Universities are being dissociated from the teaching profession. The evil might be faced—and we might reconcile ourselves to the infliction of this blow on the University system of Scotland, especially as the Universities themselves seem to accept their position with the silence which indicates acquiescence—were it not that the education of the country is imperiled, and all that has been distinctive of Scottish school life is threatened. It is to be hoped that we shall have ere long a recognized University curriculum for teachers, and that the impending danger may be thus far obviated.

Do not imagine that the education of the country can be maintained by Codes, with an array of specific subjects to be paid for at so much a head. The higher instruction has been given in the past, not for money, but for love. Teachers, having formed their standard at the Universities, carried that standard down with them into the country, and were proud of the opportunity of forming classes in Mathematics and Latin. They felt that they kept themselves up to a higher level by connecting themselves with University work, and they saw that this higher instruction told on the intelligence, and above all on the *morale*, of the whole school. It is by sending out able and ambitious men, not by the manipulation of a Code (although this too has importance), that true education is promoted. Nor is it only for those who are competent to go direct from the school to the University that a curriculum is demanded, but also for those Training College students of one or two years' standing, who desire to carry their education further, and to qualify for the higher class of Public and for Secondary Schools.

In brief, a Faculty of Education is in a certain sense already constituted in the Training Colleges of the Empire; we desire to lift this up, and to constitute such a Faculty in the Universities, because we believe that there is a national work to be done which the Universities are alone competent to do. It is true that, if the curriculum which we contemplate is carried out, a certain small proportion of Training College students will pass over the Training Colleges altogether. Is this a matter for regret or alarm? Are the Scottish Universities, which have always been institutions that maintained a close connection with the people, and endeavored to supply the wants of the various professions, to be excluded now and permanently from all connection with the profession of education, because Training Colleges will lose from 5 to 10 per cent. of

their students? The heads of the Training Colleges do not, I am satisfied, share the fear which some have expressed, and the finances of these institutions are placed far above the reach of injury by any such slight innovation. Those who imagine the Training Colleges will be materially affected, except for good, by this new movement, speak in utter ignorance of those seminaries, and the sources of their strength.

Relation of Chair to Teaching Profession.

Further, the institution of this Chair, by providing professional instruction for teachers, not only directly benefits the schools of the country, but it increases the importance of the teaching body. It gives it an academic standing. It makes it possible to institute for the first time in our Universities a Faculty of Education, just as we may be said already to have a Faculty of Law, of Engineering, and of Agriculture. It thereby raises the whole question of the Art of Education, as such, to a higher level, and may serve more than almost any other external influence to attract into the occupation of schoolmaster men who might otherwise pass it by for occupations which have hitherto ranked higher in the conventional estimate of the world. It promotes the movement, which has been steadily progressing for twenty years, for the recognition of the large body of teachers as a great national institution—an organized profession, looking, as other professions do, to the University as its source and head, and drawing strength and self-respect from that connection.

Want of Precedent.

Difficulties have been thrown in the way by a few, who are at a loss to know what the movement precisely means. Timid and distrustful, and accustomed to follow precedent as the sole safe guide, they have been groping about to find what other people are thinking. What would they say at Oxford and Cambridge? What do they do at Paris and Berlin? Now for myself I should certainly be glad to find that any educational movement here was supported by the concurrent approval of other learned centers; but I venture to affirm, and am prepared to maintain, that it is to us that other nations have to look for guidance on this question. We in Scotland have been the true pioneers in education: and do we now lag so far behind that we must be sending out scouts to see what they are doing in the front? The traditions and accumulated wisdom of three hundred years are behind us, and with all its defects our present educational system is, as a whole, still worthy of our past history. In this matter, as in others, we claim to lead Europe and America. Still, gentlemen, I must so far consider the weak brother as to tell him that in England some of the most cultivated minds of the two Universities, being met together at Winchester in the Headmasters' Conference of 1873, discussed the question of instituting Chairs of Education in Oxford and Cambridge. The mere fact that the question was seriously discussed by such a conclave, in a country whose whole training and habit of mind is alien to philosophy, is itself most significant. And although there was

no very practical issue to the Conference, opinions of weight were recorded. While desiderating, as was to be expected, arrangements for practical training, as well as for theoretical and historical instruction, the Bishop of Exeter wrote as follows:—

‘ . . . It would be well worth while to provide that men should have the opportunity of seeing something of their business, and of reflecting on what they have seen, before they begin to teach. For this purpose the ideal system would be this: to have a Professor of Education, either in London, or in Oxford, or in Cambridge, or to have one in each; to require the Professor or Professors to give certificates to such B.A. as attended their lectures and passed a good examination in them.’

Then Dr. Kennedy of Cambridge, the eminent (Emeritus) Headmaster of Shrewsbury, says:—

‘ . . . Professional lectures supported by examinations and certificates, which should be essential to the function of public school teaching, though too much must not be expected from them, seem to promise some important good. Especially this, they would give to Education the status of a faculty and profession: they would oblige every master to regard his work as professional, as work to be done on definite principles, and with high public responsibility. They would enhance the personal and social dignity of masters, and thereby promote their efficiency, their usefulness, and their happiness. Such professional lectures would, I suppose, be directed to the theory and history of Education, and also to the art and method of teaching: in all which moral and mental science, without being directly taught, would be assumed and used as a principal and regulative.’ This is well said, and I willingly adopt the words as my own programme.

Having heard all this, do you think that I push my argument too far when I maintain that the subject of Education as such demands, as of right, a place in the University curriculum, with a view to the constituting of a Faculty of Education? The philosophy of Education is, in fact, now a distinct subject, and the importance and intimate relation of it to the future welfare of the nation require that it shall be held in academic honor, and provided with academic standing room. Its relation to the Universities, moreover, as a means of bringing them, through some recognized functionary, a functionary controlled by the responsibilities of his position, into close connection with the whole scholastic machinery of the country, thereby extending their just influence, is sufficiently obvious.

University Objections to a Chair of Education.

We have, however, still other objections to the founding of an Education Chair to face, proceeding mainly from those who take what might be called an Academic view of the question. Education, they say, is an important subject, we admit, but it is too closely allied with practice to be a fit subject for University teaching. It is a subject rather for the laboratory of the schoolmaster than for the theoretical and historical pre-

lections of a Professor. Now it is to be at once admitted that this is a fair subject for debate; but I am entitled to insist that it shall be discussed as part of a larger question—this question, namely, Is a University to train for professions at all? My answer to this is, that the business of a University is to train for the professions, and that there ought to be within a University as many Faculties as there are recognized professions. It is not because of the claims which the Theory and History of Education can make to be regarded as a subject of general University discipline (though not a little might be said on this aspect of the question, beginning from Plato), that it seeks admission to a University curriculum. It is as a complement to the Faculty of Arts, as completing the preparation of the teachers of the country for their profession, that it rests its claim. That future Educators who are receiving their general instruction in a University should there also study the subject of Education, is to my mind of the nature of a truism. Nor does it seem possible for any to hold another view without including in their condemnation all University studies which have a direct bearing on special professional preparation for active life.

That a University should close its doors to all save theoretical studies, or at least to all save those which have to do with the cultivation of a man without regard to his future occupation,—is an intelligible and perhaps tenable opinion; but in these days it is unnecessary to discuss it. One has naturally much sympathy with that conception of a University, according to which it is constituted of a body of learned men, whose sole business is to pursue science and abstract studies generally, while admitting to their workshop only the select few who desire to spend their lives far from the vulgar crowd. But such an institution requires only the collegiate life to make it a secular monastery. All monasteries have a certain sentimental charm, and this kind of nineteenth-century monastery not least. But our modern, especially Scottish, Universities, are far removed from such a conception. They are compromises between the theoretical and the practical. They aim at one end of their curriculum to meet and welcome the intelligence of the youth of the country, and at the other to connect themselves with the duties of active life. And if, in thus adapting themselves to the needs of the time, they have thought it wise to constitute or complete certain Faculties, is the equipping of the future teacher of the country with the principles, history, and methods of his special task of less moment than the equipping of the future engineer, agriculturist, physician, or lawyer?

There is yet another objection taken by a few—an objection which is certainly specious. 'We admit,' they say, 'the importance of the subject in itself; we recognize the desirableness of using the Universities to supply the professions of the country, because we think that we thereby contribute to the strength and dignity of those professions, and send out recruits who, along with their professional knowledge, carry with them a certain portion of University culture, and so contribute to maintain a

high standard of social life. This culture we endeavor to give, regarding it as an essential part of the merely professional training, and that whereby we prevent the University from being converted into a mere aggregate of specialist colleges. But, while admitting all this, we shall recognize no subject of instruction in any Faculty which can not rank itself among the sciences, either in itself or by direct affiliation.' There is much vagueness and half thought about this objection. It seems to be forgotten that very many of the existing Chairs are divorced by their very nature from the category of sciences. All those Chairs which have to do with Humane Letters, not merely the Chairs of ancient tongues, but of Philosophy and Literature, and even Law, have a place in the higher education of youth by virtue of qualities which are, it is not too much to say, antagonistic to the conception of science. The truth is, that the objections urged on the scientific ground are a covert attack on The Humanities, and especially on the Philosophy of Mind in all its branches. The objectors start with the assumption that nothing is worthy of University study save science, and at the same moment they restrict the term 'science' to aggregates of fact that can be demonstrated in such a way as not to admit of question. There is no science in this, the strictest acceptance of the term, except Mathematics and those branches of knowledge which rest on Mathematics.

Botany, for example, is not a science in the restricted sense of the term; it may be one day a science, but as yet it is only a system of classification, and a record of interesting observations and reasonings on the physiology of vegetable organisms—so far as they go, correct and verifiable. I may be mistaken, but it seems to me that there is nothing to prevent a discovery in Biology being made, which would revolutionize the fundamental conception of Botany in one day. Botany may be held to represent other departments of knowledge to which the name of science is freely accorded. The objectors would not drive such studies as Botany out of the Universities, because they include them (as I think, inconsistently) in their notion of science. The fact is, that such objectors respect Botany and similar studies, because they are at least possible sciences, inasmuch as they deal with what can be seen by the eye of sense, and handled and weighed and measured, and so forth. Their objection to Education as a special branch of study is at bottom this, that it adds another to the list of humane studies which already disturb their scientific intellects—to wit, Classics, Metaphysics, Logic, Ethics, and I rather suspect Political Economy too. To History they may condescend to give academic standing room, because after all it has to do with things that *did* make their appearance as phenomena on the face of the planet, and probably admit of some sort of co-ordination. But as to those other departments of thought which I have named, and all such, the sooner they are dispatched to the limbo of ineptitudes the better. It is naturally disturbing to such minds to find subjects, which do not admit of exact treatment, assuming rank and importance in determining the progress

of civilization, and in the regulation of cotemporary academical arrangements. The most recent improvement in the microscope does not enable them to see the so-called things of mind; the most delicately adjusted scales will not weigh them; their genesis and their *modus operandi* are invisible and impalpable, and their possible and actual results defy any calculus. It is not only disturbing, but distressing, that such things should be—nay, that such things should, in truth, constitute the great forces which, in all ages, have moved the heart of humanity, and have made the history of man.

If a science be a synthetic and systematic body of truth regarding a department of knowledge, which starts from certain axiomatic statements, and, by help of a few postulates, builds up its fabric of verity so that each part rises out of another by necessary sequence, then it is well to say at once that Education is not a science, nay, that it never will be a science. But are we to measure its right to a place in a University system by such stringent requirements? If so, what department of study belonging to the *Litteræ Humaniores* will stand the test? Is Metaphysics a science? In one sense 'No,' in another it is the *scientia scientiarum*—the *πρώτη φιλοσοφία*. Even in the field of formal Logic do not men still occupy hostile camps? Of Ethics, what shall we say? For 2,400 years men have thought, spoken, and taught, but with what *scientific* result? With this, that even now the criterion of the right and wrong in conduct, the nature of conscience, the very existence of the sentiment of duty as an inner power, are still matters of debate. And yet there is a philosophy, if not a science, of Ethics. Is History a science? Some vainly imagine that it is at least a possible science. Given certain conditions, they are prepared, by the help of the Registrar-General, to predict the history of a nation. But it is at once evident that the social movements of the whole involve the equally necessary movement of each individual of that whole; and that a science of History demands for its possibility, not only an unbending system of physical laws within which man is to work, but also that man himself shall be an automaton! And yet, though there be no science, there is a philosophy, of History. Is Political Economy a science? Even now the fundamental principles of that department of knowledge are an arena for discussion. The question of Supply and Demand is still debated; the difficulties of the Currency question are still open to further discussion; even the principle of Free Trade *versus* Protection is still a moot point. Not perhaps in this country; but we must not let our insular self-complacency shut our eyes to the fact that in the United States and our Colonies, and on the Continent of Europe, the principle of Free Trade is not merely set aside in practice, but impugned by argument. The very theory of Rent, which J. S. Mill considers to be the *pons asinorum* of Political Economy, and the discovery of which is the crowing glory of Ricardo, is still unsettled. Is Jurisprudence a science? No; and yet is there no philosophy of Law? So with Education. I am quite willing to hand over the word 'science' to those

departments of knowledge which have to do with Mathematics, and with things seen and temporal, if only I am allowed to comprehend those other studies which truly constitute the life of man under the term Philosophy. As theory, Education allies itself to Psychology, Physiology, and Sociology. The materials of its teaching it draws from these philosophies, from the practice of the school-room, and from the rich domain of History.

Minor Objections.

Grant all this, but still those generally well affected to the new study have misgivings. The Chair of Education will be a mere platform for the airing of theoretical views or the enunciation of crotchets. Now, gentlemen, I would allay such fears by pointing out, in the first place, that this Chair does not exist for the purpose of talking at large about Education, but of preparing teachers for their profession, and that this practical aim is inconsistent with windy talk. I have some sympathy with the cynical Love Peacock, who, in describing certain social bores in the shape of men of one idea who hold forth in season and out of season, says :—'The worst of all bores was the third. His subject had no beginning, middle, nor end. It was Education. Never was such a journey through the desert of mind, the great Sahara of intellect. The very recollection makes me thirsty.' Such men are not educationists in any sense in which that term is applicable within these walls. They are men of leisure who have restless minds, and if they have not one fixed idea or crotchet, will find another. An educationist has no crotchets. That man has crotchets who, having seized on that particular corner of a large and many sided subject which has some secret affinity with his own mind, or affords the quickest passage to notoriety, pursues it to the death. Now, an educationist is, by virtue of his very name and vocation, inaccessible to all petty fanaticisms. He has to deal with a subject of infinite variety, and so variously related to life, that he is more apt to be lost in hesitations and skepticisms than to be the victim of a fixed idea. If you wish to meet with educational crotchets, you must go to the specialist in this or that department of knowledge, who is unfortunate enough to take up the question of Education, as you see he often in moments of aberration takes up other subjects which are outside his own range of intellectual experience. It is only in such cases that you will find the confidence and self-assurance which is born of limited knowledge, and the pertinacious insistence which flows from these habits of mind. To him whose subject is Education crotchets are prohibited, because his opinions on this or that point are related on the one side to rational and comprehensive theory, and on the other to the daily practice of the school-room and the needs of life.

Educational Agencies.

Having dealt thus far with what may be called the apologetics of my subject, and arrogated for it a place in our Academic system, whether we regard its inherent claims or its relations to the well-being of the country, I have, on the other hand, to avoid the error of magnifying too much its

importance. The more abstract treatment of the theory of Education is doubtless, if true in its philosophy, of universal application. It sweeps the whole field. But this will engage our attention only within carefully prescribed limits, and when we leave this portion of our subject we have to restrict ourselves on all sides. The education of every human being is determined by potent influences which do not properly fall within the range of our consideration here. The breed of men to which the child belongs, the character of his parents, the human society into which he is born, the physical circumstances by which he is surrounded, are silently but irresistibly forming him. The traditions of his country, its popular literature, its very idioms of speech, its laws and customs, its religious life, its family life, constitute an aggregate of influence which chiefly make him what he is. With these things we have to do only by way of a passing reference; we have not to deal with them. By their constant presence they mold the future man, himself unconscious. They are the atmosphere of the humanity of his particular time and place, and in breathing it, he is essentially a *passive* agent. Our business is rather with the conscious and *active* elements of moral and intellectual growth. We have to make the passive creature of circumstances a free, self-conscious, rational agent, endowed with purposes and ideals, and we have to find the means of best doing this. The passive activity of our nature is not to be ignored in our educational methods; it is to be turned to use as one of our most potent instruments; but it is mainly the self-conscious forces that we have to educe and direct. Even in doing this we are bound by external conditions, and must take note not only of the almost irresistible forces around us, but of minor conditions of time, place, and circumstance.

Aim and Characteristic of the Educational Process.

Each successive century, and the traditions and circumstances of each country, nay, the genius of each people, present to us the educational problem in ever-changing aspects. Educational systems can not be manufactured in the study. Our theory of the end of all education, and the means by which that end has to be attained, may be, or rather ought to be, always the same; but the application of that theory must vary with varying external conditions. What present defects have we *here* and *now*, and to what dangers are we exposed? is the form which the practical question must take with us. Now I would say that one of our chief dangers in these days is the over instruction of willing and ingenuous boys. We are in the very midst of what will afterward be designated the information epoch of Education. We are in danger of confounding the faculty for swallowing with the faculty for digesting. To borrow words from biological science, we sometimes proceed as if the mind of man grew by accretion and not by intus-susception. The system of universal examinations has encouraged this. Now a system whereby the teachers of the country are converted into 'coaches,' is, by its very nature,

hostile to the true conception of Education. No school which converts itself into a coaching establishment is a place of education in the proper sense of that term. There is a repose, a calm, a stability in the steady march of all sound Education, which is alien to the feverish spirit that animates the ante-chamber of an examination room.

The aim of the educationist is not the giving of information, nay, not even instruction, though this is essential, but mainly discipline; and the aim of discipline is the production of a sound mind in a sound body, the directing and cherishing of the growth of the whole nature, spiritual and physical, so as to make it possible for each man, within the limits of the capacity which God has given him, to realize in and for himself, with more or less success, the type of humanity, and in his relation to others to exhibit a capability for wise and vigorous action. This result will not be attained by pressure. By anticipating the slow but sure growth of nature, we destroy the organism. Many and subtle are the ways in which nature avenges itself on the delicate, complicated machinery of man; but avenge itself somehow it will and must.

It is difficult to say which is the more pernicious, that system which overstrains the active intelligence of the willing and ambitious boy, or that which fills his mind, while it is yet mainly passive, with the results of mature thought, and endows him with a kind of miniature omniscience. Those who survive such methods of training may, doubtless, be very useful agents, very serviceable machines, but they will rarely initiate. With a few exceptions, their minds will be either exhausted or overlaid. That elasticity of mind which enables a man always to rise to the level of the varying requirements of the day and hour in the Family and the State; that free movement of will which is ever ready to encounter more than half-way the vicissitudes and exigencies of life, with a consciousness that its powers and capacities are not itself, but only the instruments of the life of reason, and that they are ever within his power to regulate and adapt—his servants, not his masters; that soundness of brain and muscle which reacts on his inner self by giving steadiness to his moral purpose, will assuredly not be promoted by forcing more and more subjects into the school curriculum, and applying the pressure of constant examinations by outside authorities. We want men who will be ready for the crisis of life as well as for its daily routine of duty, and who will, by their mere manner of encountering even their ordinary work, contribute to the advance of the commonwealth in vigor and virtue. Such men alone are fully competent for all the services which their country may demand from them. Such men may be slowly grown; they can not be manufactured under a system of pressure. Great Britain has had many such; Scotland has been prolific of them. The intellect, the will, and the arm of Scotsmen have done, we flatter ourselves, their fair share in creating the British Empire; and they have done it all by virtue mainly of their breed, and by such restricted education as Arithmetic Latin,

and the Shorter Catechism afforded. No superincumbent load of impossible tasks oppressed their minds while yet immature.

Do not draw a hasty inference from what has now been said. The requirements of the time in which we live, the industrial competition of one nation with another, the revolution in the arts of war, all demand that the materials of education should change with changing conditions of life. I am quite alive to this necessity—but the inner Form (if I may here use this term) must remain ever the same. For after all that can be said, the main object of our efforts must, on one side at least, be the growth of Power in the future man. If we would secure this, the pursuit of it must control and regulate the instruction we give, and the method of giving it. Above all, we must not be in a hurry. Having faith in the quiet processes of Nature, we must, as educators, be calm, deliberate, and ever regard the end.

Formal End of Education—Power.

The power which we desire to foster is the product of will and of natural force. It is difficult to separate these two elements in any act, but for purposes of thought they may be regarded as distinct. I shall refer again to the element of natural force; our present concern is with power in its intellectual and moral relations, which is Will. It operates in the region of intelligence and emotion alike. The ground and root of intellectual and moral activity is ultimately, I believe, the same, and the end is the same—the Ethical Life. If this can be shown analytically, we shall reduce to unity the whole idea of Education in its merely formal aspect, and supply a conception which, while helping us to estimate the value of educational instruments and methods, will, at the same time, exalt and guide our conceptions of duty as educators.

Real End of Education—Culture.

Power, however, can not work on nothing; and we have next to consider it in its concrete relations in order that we may discern and exhibit the Content as well as the Form of the Educational Idea. True that our range of discussion is in this place finally limited by the practical object which we have immediately in view—the production of the good citizen; but this, though our primary, is not our ultimate aim. Citizenship is not the end of human life, but only the means to an end. For, in a certain sense, the ultimate reference of all thought and action of man is to himself as a personality. Christianity, which teaches the most thoroughgoing ultraism, also teaches this; and in teaching this, it deepened the foundation of the modern doctrine of Culture which had been laid by the Greeks. Speaking quite generally, Culture may, for want of a better word, be accepted as the end of all exercise of intellectual and moral power, and therefore in its ultimate result the Real end of Education, just as power is the Formal end.

Culture must have a Center.

But in accepting 'Culture' as a fit expression for the real end of Edu-

cation, we have to examine carefully the features of this god as they appear on the canvas of modern *littérateurs*, and distinguish our own conception from theirs. No finality, no perfectness is possible for man, and Culture therefore must be restricted, viewed educationally, to the idea rather of a process than of an attained and staple product. It is the harmonious and continuous growing of a man in all that pertains to humanity. Culture in the sphere of Education is, I say, a continuous process—the harmonious balancing of all the varied forces that constitute the life of a human soul. Now, such a balancing is impossible save round some center. From this may be deduced two practical conclusions on Education in respect of its Content. *First*, that intellectual culture will be most thorough when a man has some leading subject as the center of his intellectual activity; and *secondly*, that moral culture, the harmonious growth of the soul, is possible only where there is a center round which all the moral and aesthetic elements of our nature turn. That center is God himself, round which reality, the sentiments, emotions, hopes, and aspirations of the moral life range themselves. In God alone the ethical life has true existence. If for God we substitute self, we substitute an empty and barren fact in the room of a pregnant and life-giving idea.

When I say that it is an essential condition of vigorous intellectual growth that a man should have some prime subject of thought and study, I do not of course mean that every man must be a specialist. A specialist, in the strict sense of the term, is a man who has so used up both his powers and his mental interests in one specific direction as to weaken his capacity for all other objects, and to narrow his mental range. A study prosecuted so exclusively weakens the judgment for all else. A leading subject, but not an exclusive subject, is wanted, and this will be found to strengthen the judgment for all else. In the moral region, again, the permanent center of all our thought and activity, which is God, so far from narrowing, expands the growing man. The central idea is like a sun, under which the whole being lives and grows, and from which each individual part draws warmth and strength. Culture without this center is the depravation of a great idea, and has no object higher than self. Self can form no true center to self.

Culture must be Active.

Moral Culture, further, must not only find its center outside of self in God, but it must express itself in action, if it is to live. It is a misuse of terms to call *that* Culture which, laboring under the baleful influence of self-worship, has forgotten that power can fulfill itself only in action. With some minds of strong aesthetic proclivities, Culture issues in a kind of paralysis of judgment. The soul floats in the dim and dreamy potentialities of sentiment. The man of this kind of Culture indulges himself in the perpetual contemplation of himself and his surroundings, is frequently distinguished for a spurious amiability, nourishes feeling in a self-

imposed retirement from the duties of citizenship, occupies himself with the contemplation of his own refined sensibilities, ever repeating to himself the words which Cicero puts into the mouth of the god of Epicurus, 'Mihi pulchre est: Ego beatus sum.' This result indeed is the very Nemesis of Culture when it has lost its way. This is the fate of the literary no less than of the religious recluse. Depend upon it, Nature, which is strong and virile, will have none of this: it demands the active manifestation of such power as we have, in expressed thought or living deed. Thus, then, only does moral Culture reach its true aim, by first centering itself in God, and next by forgetting itself in action.

Culture, then, which, for want of a better word, we may accept as an expression of the sum of the end of Education in respect of Content, as distinguished from the end of Education with respect to Form (which end is Power), is the harmonious growing of all that is in man. As a harmonious growing of intellect it demands a prime intellectual study, but discourages specialism. As a harmonious and therefore balanced growing of the moral life, it must have a center round which it may balance itself, other than itself; and that center of truth and reality is God, the source and sustainer of life, the beginning and the end of human endeavor: finally, as a living and wholesome as well as a harmonious growing, it has to seek the very conditions of its existence outside itself in action. It finds in the opportunities of life at once its nourishment, the conditions of its vitality, and the measure of its soundness. It lives neither from itself, in itself, nor to itself.

Practical conclusion in respect of Education.

Culture thus interpreted is not, you will at once see, unpractical in its aims in the hands of the educationist. For we find that it can not be truly promoted save by ever keeping in view the practical issue of all training—the rearing of a religious people, and the preparation of youth for social duty and for the service of humanity, whereby alone they can truly serve and fulfill themselves. In its practical relations to the Science and Art of Education, the term will be found pregnant with instruction as regards method also. For in the intellectual sphere, as we have seen, it enjoins unity of purpose as opposed to fragmentary encyclopædism, and in the moral sphere the need of the Religious idea and the conception of social duty, without which all our moral sentiment and moral discipline would be jointless and invertebrate.

The educational skeptic will say, 'These be brave words: what has this culture to do with the education of the masses?' I might reply that I deal *here* with Education, and not merely with the education of those whose school time ends at twelve or thirteen years of age; but I do not choose to take refuge in a reply which would involve me in the confession that the education of one class of the community is essentially unlike that of another, and has different aims. Were it so, there would be no unity in the idea of Education—and this is to say that there would be no

idea of Education at all. The thread of intellectual discipline, of moral purpose, and of culture runs through all education alike. The end is the same and the processes are the same. The seed which we sow in the humblest village school, and the tender plant which there through many obstacles forces itself into the light by the help of the skilled hand of the village schoolmistress, are not different in kind from the seed and the plant which in more favorable soil, and by force of a higher organization, grow up into a Leibnitz or a Bacon. To some extent indeed we may say that Education is at every stage complete in its idea and uniform in its methods. It is with a process, not a consummation, that the teacher has to do, and with an unfinished process that he has to be content. With every individual soul he has to deal as with a being that lives for ever, and that may carry forward its growth and the impulse he gives it after this brief life is past. It is only when we commit the vulgar error of confounding growth of soul with intellectual acquisition that we depreciate the possible results of Primary Education. The experience of us all testifies to this, and justifies and sustains our loftiest hopes. Have we not all seen the highest ends of Education attained in lives limited in their scope, brief in their duration, and barren of opportunity?

*'In small proportions we just beauty see,
And in short measures life may perfect be.'*—Ben Jonson.

Unity of the Formal and Real.

Having thus set before you the twofold end of Education in respect of Form and of Content—Power and Culture, our next duty, in working out a theory of Education, is to follow the secret inner movements of Mind whereby it reaches these ends, and finally attains to the consummate man.

It is precisely at this point in the process of our thought that a new consideration is forced on us. For we find that the Formal processes that tend to Discipline and the processes that tend to Culture cross and recross each other. This is explained by the fact that, while it is necessary, for purposes of exact thought, to distinguish the Formal and the Real, these two are in truth one in a concrete third notion. Culture, without the presence of a dominant and regulative inner power, is impossible; on the other hand, an inner regulative power, save as the center of an abundant material of cognitions and emotions ranged and co-ordinated under some supreme and governing principles, is an empty abstraction. The two unite together in the Ethical life. The more or less of knowledge or of faculty is a small matter; the Ethical life is all in all. It is because the Formal and Real are in truth one in their issue that we find it impossible, save in a very rough way, to separate the processes of the growth of Power, which are disciplinary, and the steps of the growth of Culture, which are the realities of knowledge. By fixing their attention too much on one side or the other, men take a partial view of Education, and partial opinions are apt to degenerate into partisan views.

My conception of Education is a conciliation of both; but it is governed by the Formal and not by the Real element. The distinguishing characteristic of man is that, while he is *of* Nature, he is also above and outside Nature. By Will it is that man is what he is. In my estimate, therefore, of the comparative claims of the Disciplinary and the Real in educating, I assign priority to the former.

Processes of Education—Intellectual.

It will be at once evident that the side from which we regard the idea of Education will determine the value which we attach to particular studies, and the methods of intellectual and moral training which we shall most affect. But when we pass from the general consideration of the Formal and the Real elements in Education, and the part which each plays in the production of that unity 'of a completely fashioned Will,' which is the goal of our labors, and descend to the mental processes themselves whereby intellectual and moral elements are taken into the structure of the life of a rational being and contribute to its organic growth, we are on ground common to all. In this field of inquiry, as in every other, we are but the ministers and interpreters of nature. The subtle processes whereby the moral and intellectual life of man is built up are in truth the processes of Education. To trace these is a difficult task, and one in which we can not hope wholly to succeed. But we may go on in full faith that there is a way in which Nature works by moral and intellectual discipline to the growth of Power, and by knowledge to the growth of Culture. The analysis which we institute to ascertain this way is not influenced by our philosophical conceptions: it is simply a question of fact. On this analysis rests the whole system of Methods of instruction and of school-keeping, which ought to constitute at least one-half of the course of instruction given from this place. In the sphere of the Understanding, for example, by what cunning process does intelligence take to itself the materials of its life? A matter this of great importance; for the determination of the different stages of the growth of the understanding determines at the same time the period at which the various subjects of instruction, and the diverse aspects of these, are to be presented to the child, the boy, and the youth respectively, in such a way as to insure assimilation. For it is by assimilation only that true growth is possible; all else is mere acquisition, and so far from being education, it is not even instruction. On this subject, as indeed on all questions of methodology, we shall learn most from infant schools. It is in the teaching of the elements of knowledge that the art of teaching chiefly reveals itself.

Moral and Religious.

In the Moral sphere, again, we encounter difficulties of method much more grave. We have here to tread delicately and warily. The question of times and ways is a vital one. We readily perceive the folly of presenting the whole of knowledge in mass and at once to a child's

understanding, and yet we do not hesitate to put at once before him the complex sum of moral and religious doctrine and precepts, in the hope of producing thereby a living effect. The ideas of religion and the principles and precepts of morality must follow experience, accompany intellectual growth, and wait even on the activity of the imagination. The educator will approach this portion of his task with much earnestness and some fear. He has to shape and to inspire a human soul, full of sensibility, alive to the lightest touch, quickly responsive to every appeal of love and every word of hate. 'A mother's scream,' says Jean Paul, 'will resound through the whole future life of a child;' and do we not know that the memory of a mother's tenderness lives for ever? Let not the instructor of youth imagine that he has no concern with what may be called the refinements and subtleties of moral training. If he does so, his psychology is fundamentally unsound. Even in little things the teacher must seek and find his opportunity. *Les petites morales* of good personal habits and of good manners are to him by no means trivial. They constitute frequently the only way in which he can apply to the ordinary acts of the school-room and the playground the deeper truths which inspire his teaching; and they are in the case of many childish natures the only way in which those deeper truths can be brought into consciousness as living and governing forces. They are the outer expression of an inner state, and by the cultivation of the outer expression we always sustain the inner life; nay, we sometimes evoke it when otherwise it would not emerge. Manners seem to be of slight importance, but they are often of large import, and are not seldom convertible with morals, as the word itself was among the Romans. The Laureate speaks truly when he says:—

'Manners are not idle, but the fruit
Of loyal nature and of noble mind.'

Unity in the Ethical life.

I have been speaking of intellectual and moral instruction and of intellectual and moral discipline; but I would repeat that, beyond and above both these, constituting the unity in which the two meet, is the Ethical life. This proposition—that the intellectual and moral substance of education, and intellectual and moral discipline, the Formal and the Real, are fused in the unity of the Ethical life—it will be my business to explain and make good in the more philosophical portion of my course. You will then see, I trust, that the Ethical function of the teacher can not be pressed too far. It will appear also that it is the ethical element which is at the root of the manly and generous growth of boyhood, and the sole force which can permanently sustain even purely intellectual effort. All labor of the schoolmaster is of doubtful issue as regards the merely intellectual *resultant* in his pupils, but every act which is inspired by the ethical spirit has its sure intellectual as well as moral reward. It can not possibly be wholly

lost. Here the spiritual forces are on our side, and continually make for us. Indeed, if we have not this faith, we had better give the whole business up.

Be it observed that the term Ethical is here used in the broad sense in which it comprehends Religion. It is the Ethics of a religion which justify a creed before the world, and it is the religion of ethics which gives moral teaching a hold on the heart of man, and a sure foundation in human reason. The morality of secularism has for its foundation self-interest, and for its sanction coercion; it may preserve society; but it is only when ethics are in union with religious conceptions, either passing into these or rising out of them, that they promote the true life of humanity. It is religion which affords to Ethical science the basis in the infinite, and presents to the Ethical life issues in the infinite.

Materials for Education.

The question which next most presses for consideration is—What instruments or materials are most promotive of the end we propose to ourselves, viewed in the light of their ultimate unity in the Ethical life? We have to select those instruments which by their nature contribute most, and most surely, to the supreme end of all our endeavors. By this measure we must mete the instruments which the present state of knowledge offers us. It is impossible, and were it possible it would be undesirable, and destructive of all sound discipline, to teach even the beginnings of every subject. But it ought not to be difficult to adjust the rival claims of Literature (including under this head Languages, Ancient and Modern), Science, and *Æsthetics*. The philosophy of Education is a poor affair if it can not, out of the materials which are clamant for attention in the school-room because of their immediate use in the work of life, and therefore essential prerequisites of ethical activity, find apt instruments for its purpose. Such questions are of great importance to the well-being of society. If Primary Instruction, for example, must exclude from its curriculum Science, in any strict sense of the term, can there be any doubt that our daily instruction should be so contrived as to place a child in intelligent relations with the world in which he lives, and to enable him to look with the eye of Reason, and not of the brute, on the phenomena of the physical universe? Still less is there room for doubt, it seems to me, that the elements and applications of the laws of health and of social economy should enter into every scheme of instruction. It is through these subjects indeed that we shall at once rectify the conceptions of the pupil as to the sphere of duty in which God has placed him, and give direction, significance, and practical force to our moral teaching.

In the secondary stage of Education, again—that which immediately precedes University discipline,—the place to be assigned to Latin and Greek must be largely determined by what we mean when we name these studies. If such instruction resolves itself into mere memory work and

gerund-grinding, it is even then not without educative uses, but it must make way, and that quickly, for other and better disciplines. If, however, it is so employed as to be an exercise of the inductive and deductive processes; if the study of words and sentences be an unconscious study of thought, and if they become, as boys advance, a study of Form and an introduction to the pregnant and elevating idea of Art; if the embalmed thoughts be truly made to breathe and the dead words to burn; then indeed we have here an instrument of unsurpassed and unsurpassable excellence. It is true that the rich records of modern life and literature now yield us much of the culture we seek in antiquity, but we can not afford to dispel the halo which gathers round the remote past, and the deeds of the men who have gone before us. Imagination here, by idealizing, sustains morality, and is the spur of the intellect. Still less can we afford to part with the impersonal and objective character of the teachings of Judæa, Greece, and Rome, and to substitute for them the subjective and partisan lessons of modern life. On the whole, I feel with Jean Paul, who says, 'The present ranks of humanity would sink irrecoverably if youth did not take its way through the silent temple of the mighty past, into the busy market-place of life.' But even after all this is said, and more than this, it is an anachronism to give such studies exclusive possession of the field. In the present state of knowledge, not more than half the school time should, in my opinion, be given to ancient studies, even in the upper classes of professedly classical schools; and not all boys should be even thus far restricted. It is a discredit to our great Educational Institutions that any boy of seventeen should be in ignorance of the elements of Physics and Physiology.

Physiology in relation to Education.

As yet, Gentlemen, we have been talking of the education of man as if we were speaking of spirits in a world of spirits, except when we alluded briefly to the conditions of Power. From birth to death, however, Man is subject to external circumstances which are for the most part too mighty for him. He seems to rise out of a physical organization: it is the outer which at first evokes his slumbering consciousness at birth, and the outer conquers him in death. With these physical conditions of existence he has to effect a compromise. All his receptivity and all his activity is in and through mortal brain and muscle. All his moral and intellectual activity must therefore be carried on with due regard to the external instrument which he must employ. By so saying I do not mean to indicate any theory of the relation between mind and body. But this we know, that the former, both in its sensibilities and activities, is bound up with the natural laws of the latter, and to those laws it must conform, or fail itself to live.

The theoretical question of the identification of thought and emotion with nerve-processes is simply one part of a much larger question, the

relation of Nature itself to Mind. Evade it as we may, encumber it as we may with irrelevant and side issues, the question is really this: Are thought and personality the product of natural force, or are natural forces themselves the product of thought and personality? Does the outer make the inner, or the inner the outer? Now this, as other cognate questions, can not be from this Chair treated critically. The critical and historical investigation of all such subjects is otherwise provided for. I must therefore in all such matters assume a purely dogmatic position, and with dogma you must be here content. The advance of Physiology into the sphere of Psychology has been viewed by many of the older and purely introspective school with unnecessary jealousy and even alarm. It is a mistake to suppose that the physiology of Mind necessarily rests on a materialistic theory of intelligence. This is often assumed; but there is no necessary connection between the two. The physiology of Mind is merely the study of those material processes in which sensation and intelligence and even moral emotion are involved, and which at once condition consciousness and are conditioned by it. It is an important auxiliary to the study of Mind, but can never occupy the ground of the older Psychology. In every step of its processes it demands a reflection on consciousness, and an analysis of the life and phenomena of consciousness, to give it significance,—nay, even to render its results intelligible.

If, leaping out of ourselves, we entirely change our point of departure in self, and look at self and all that we call Mind from the outside as a mere product of physical forces, as a function of matter, we are then no longer dealing with a merely psychological question, but only, as I have already indicated, with a part of that larger cosmical question—the origination of all things; and by our conclusions as to this larger inquiry, the subordinate, yet to us all important subject, must be determined. In brief, the only effectual answer to the proposition 'All is Nature,' is the counter proposition 'All is Mind.' That man alone can entertain the thought of Mindless man who has first taken to his bosom the withering thought of Godless Nature.

However this may be, it is sufficient for our purposes, as students of Education, dogmatically to assume that Mind works under physical conditions. Every sensation, every emotion, every act of memory, every act of thought, is effected through brain, and involves a certain process and a certain exhaustion of substance. The proper nutrition of brain, consequently, with a view to the repair of waste, must ever be with educationists a matter of prime consideration. The effects of overstraining or of defective nutritive process are in their practical relations vital. I am sufficiently well aware of the necessity of fresh air and clean skins, and spacious well-drained school-rooms; but these and other physical questions are all subsidiary to the consideration of the demands which the life of sensibility, emotion, will, and thought make on the brain. Here Physiology holds up the finger of warning. But instructive as the nega-

tive teachings of Physiology are, the positive contributions which it has to make to the philosophy of Education are even more valuable. The intimate connection subsisting between states of consciousness and cerebral changes, and the relation of these when repeated to what may be called the 'set' of the nerve apparatus, bring to view, with a vividness which is beyond the reach of the ordinary psychology, the manner of the formation of habits of feeling, thought, and action. Indeed there is nothing more encouraging to the earnest teacher than the study of the Physiology of Habit.

It will now be more clearly apparent why I selected the word 'Power' to denote the formal end of Education. It is preferable to Will, because this has to do rather with moral and intellectual relations regarded purely as such. When an active and free, self-determining, ever ready will is aided by those physical conditions which determine the healthful activity of all the bodily organs, so that they respond willingly to the demands made on them, we have a complex state before us. There is a natural volition, the issue of mere life and health in our physical frame, which bounds forward to ally itself with the movement of intelligent Will, and gives to the latter a certain steadiness and self-assurance. To this combination of free will with the gladly coöperating volition of the bodily organization we assign the name of *Power*.

Limitation of Scope.

It would appear that in dealing with Education we touch the various departments of knowledge, but there is little danger of our wandering: for the fixing of the ends of Education at once imposes a limit on the studies belonging to this Chair, and gives stability to them. It will protect us both from vague speculation and from tedious detail. To enter into questions of philosophy is so far from being incumbent on us that to do so would be to defeat the specific objects for which this Chair has been founded. The consideration of these questions has been already provided for in the University curriculum. But while the Professor must here, as representing a practical subject, avoid all speculation, he must yet find some dogmatic philosophic basis as a support for his thought, if his teaching is not to be an aggregate of disjointed essays. In Psychology and Physiology he must lay his foundations; but from these departments of knowledge he will select only such materials as have a direct bearing on Education, and in giving significance and the force of law to educational ends, processes, and methods.

This portion of our course has to be treated in detail as belonging to the Art of Teaching, and will necessarily occupy much of our attention. It will be illustrated by model lessons, and by observation of the procedure of the best schools. The means of obtaining practice in teaching will also, it is hoped, be provided.

History and Biography.

Thus informed as to the ends and philosophy of Education, and the

rational grounds of pedagogic methods, we shall then find ourselves in a good position for surveying History. As we read the records of the past we shall see that education by and in the family was early overpowered by the education of the tribe, and finally of the State. In the earliest stages of society, while man was yet struggling for subsistence, education could only mean the fitting of a man to secure for himself the necessary protection and food; nor is this primary necessity ever to be lost sight of as the basis of all educational systems, even among the most cultivated nations. As society advances, division of labor and the rudiments of professions extend the sphere of rational life and the conception which the more thoughtful form of man's capabilities, needs, duties, and destiny. Religion, Law, and Medicine become gateways of speculation; and through speculation it is that humanity has been enabled to rise. Speculation may be said to begin when knowledge for its own sake becomes an object of pure desire, and man becomes an object of interest and wonder to man. As soon as men surmise their own greatness, apprehend that each is valuable not only for what he can do, but for what he is, and that man does not live by bread alone, the idea of Culture enters—which contemplates the growth of man to the full stature of his race. In the educational history of Oriental nations, of Greece and of Rome, we shall see these ideas take form. The process of historical evolution will thus furnish a continual illustration of the Philosophy of Education, and while guarding us against the errors of other times, recall to us great ideas which we are apt to push rudely aside with the vulgar self-assurance which distinguishes a mechanical age, oblivious of the debts it owes to the past, and ignoring its moral inheritance.

We shall find, too, much instruction from the study of the educational organization of other countries, and much encouragement from the study, in their historical connection, of the systems of those who have been eminent as educational reformers. Those systems are generally full of suggestive material, even when their leading ideas must be pronounced partial and inadequate.

Summary and Conclusion.

I have now endeavored to vindicate, as fully as the limits of a lecture permit, the position of this Chair in an Academic curriculum, and to indicate the nature of the instruction which it proposes to give to those fitting themselves for the work of the school. It seems to me that, if the future teacher of the higher class of public schools be carried through such a course, he will not merely be better fitted for his professional work than now, but he himself benefited by the mental discipline which the curriculum will afford. Going forth to the duties of active life instructed in the ends, processes, and history of Education, he will not work blindly; but, connecting his daily duties with the philosophy of man, he will see all methods of instruction in their

rational grounds; and, allying himself with the long history of his profession, he will regard with that self-respect, which is alien to self-conceit, his position as the responsible distributor, within his sphere, of the accumulated knowledge and civilization of his time. Going forth, too, with an inspiring motive suggested by the ethical end toward which all his labor tends, he will carry with him the moral fervor which we demand of a minister of sacred things. All instruction, all discipline, will be truly valuable in his eyes only in so far as they subserve that ultimate ethical purpose in which the Form and Content of Education finally unite. Set apart to educate children for the State—whatever instruments he may use, whatever methods he may pursue—this purpose will ever be present to his thought, exalting his life and sustaining his activity. It is only by laboring toward this end that he can fitly discharge his special function in society, find a certain reward even in partial success, and, in the words of Milton, 'store up for himself the good provision of peaceful hours.' What is it to him that he should teach this or that particular subject with apparent success, if he fail to build up and elevate the whole humanity of his pupils! And should he pursue any other purpose than this, and pursue it with success, what will be the result in the generations that are to follow? A mere sharpening of the wits, but no wit to find the true way. 'What an infinite mock is this,' says Shakspeare, 'that a man should have the best use of his eyes to see the way of blindness!'

In conclusion, let me say that, if the teacher can be led to rise to the full conception of his task, and to understand that he is in truth one of the great moral forces of society, one of the conservators of civilization, he will be among the first to resist all attempts to divorce his daily work from the Ethical and Religious life of his time. This follows from the idea of Education and of the Educator's function, which I have endeavored to set forth. He will at once see that so to divorce him is to throw him out of all relation to the true humanity of the past and of the future, and to abrogate that which is at once his highest duty and greatest privilege. As an inevitable consequence of such restriction, he must be content to forego the full measure of the social respect and State consideration which are rightfully his due. Ordained to the priesthood of the school, and held by society to be so ordained, he will not find it necessary to clamor for a social recognition which will be freely accorded to him whose office it is.

' . . . to rear, to teach;
Becoming, as is meet and fit,
A link among the days to knit
The generations each with each.'

If, Gentlemen, men can be sent forth from this University for the service of their country so equipped and so inspired, the Chair of Education will have made good its claim to a place in the Academic curriculum, and the objects of the Founders will be attained.

UNIVERSITY CHAIR OF EDUCATION—ST. ANDREW.

PROF. MEIKLEJOHN'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS—NOV. 1876.

INTRODUCTION.

PROF. MEIKLEJOHN, the recently-appointed Professor of Education at St. Andrews University, Scotland, delivered his Inaugural Address in the Hall of the United Colleges, on the 11th of November, 1876, to a crowded audience. We copy from the *Educational Times* the following extracts. After glancing at the Theory of Education—and the importance of a new chapter in psychology on the nature and proper food of the growing mind, to the professional training of teachers, the speaker points out a number of evils, or using Lord Bacon's phrase, 'peccant' humors, in the present system of Teaching.

1. *The Evil of Encyclopædism and Abridgment.*

(1.) The almost complete absence from the public mind of any distinct idea of what they want, of any clear end and aim, of any intelligible and workable meaning of the word *education*, leaves it a prey, on the one hand, to a thoughtless and unexamined tradition, and on the other, to passing impulses, unreasoning wishes, and momentary attractions. Now, the increase in knowledge and the progress of the sciences during the last two generations have been so great, and the results obtained so astonishing and beneficial, that many persons have been filled with a strong and perfectly reasonable desire that their children should learn the most important of these sciences, and should thus be able to have an intelligent appreciation of the scientific triumphs and the social benefits which meet our eyes at every turn. It is 'desirable,' they say, that their children should 'learn' Botany, and Chemistry, and Natural Philosophy, and Physiology, and perhaps one or two other sciences. And so it is. But if we look more closely into the minds of these worthy persons, we shall find that they do not wish their children to follow the method and to walk on the path of these sciences,—that they do not wish them to do the work—the only work—which can put them in true and legitimate possession of scientific knowledge; but that what they want for them is an acquaintance with results and a mind stocked with what is called 'information' about them. The teacher accordingly looks not within, to arrange his own ideas and his own knowledge; but without, for a book, where every thing is set down in an orderly manner, where what has taken scientific men months and years to find out is 'mastered' by the little boy in half an hour, where every thing can be learnt about the science, and where a patent method is exhibited of telling you every thing, with the result that you know nothing. These books take as their chief aim the giving of a skeleton; and, in defiance of the teaching of physiology, they take care to make sure of their skeleton first.

(2.) This vice of encyclopædism, moreover, brings with it a sister vice, which is the obverse of itself, and which is, if possible, much worse than itself. This other vice is the vice of *Abridgment*. Human life is short, and the arts and sciences are becoming longer and larger every day; but time must be found for

every one of them somehow. Thus the demon haste—the haste and hurry of the exchange and the market—is in danger of importation into the tranquillity of childhood and what ought to be the calm ongoing of youth.

Let me take an example or two. There is a 'subject' taught in schools which is called *Geography*, and which, from its name, we should guess to be a connected description of the operations and appearances of Nature in terrestrial space. Now the story of the meaning and connection of the infinitely beautiful sights that lie all around us—of the life of man and animals and plants all over the globe—is a story not very difficult to tell, and that is certain to be followed with the growing interest and wonder of the children who listen. But into what has this intensely interesting narrative been turned by school traditions, and by the ever-pressing necessities of routine and drill? Into a list of dry names, a wilderness of unconnected facts, a long array of numbers, a mound of miscellaneous gossip and statistical material, which no architectonic power of the pupil can ever raise into a mental edifice. He does not make the attempt. The teacher himself does not make the attempt. He thinks he is giving 'knowledge,' and a small dose of this dead 'information' is poured into the pupil's memory twice a week. No curiosity precedes the process; no wonder accompanies it; no exercise of judgment is called for by it; no imaginative or sympathetic power is quickened by it. No power except the volitional memory is called into use; and that is the poorest and most barren side of the mind. The knowledge given—if knowledge it can be called—is the same in kind and in interest with that which is obtained from the directory of a city or a county.

One asks naturally, Who is it that makes such books? Are they indeed human and breathing beings? Did they sit down, of set and deliberate purpose, and say to themselves, 'Now I will tell young people what the world is, and what they ought to try and see when they open their eyes?' No; these books were not written in the sense in which a poem or a work on mathematics is written; they were produced by a kind of spontaneous degeneration; they grew as funguses grow, from the decay of that which was nobler and better than themselves. The facts came together like any other fortuitous concourse of atoms, or like the moraine-wall on a glacier, by the gradual exclusion and edging off produced by the motion of the mass of ice. Some one, in a thoughtless moment, fancied that a list of names would be at least 'convenient' both for teacher and pupil; another added to the list those names which he, in the exercise of a judgment based upon no consideration whatever, took it into his head that boys and girls 'ought to know;' while a third or a fourth thought that he could and should make a bigger book, and a more exhaustive and exhausting set of tasks, than any previous compiler; and thus this terrible infliction, this fearful mass of facts, this dreary labor, has grown to its present monstrous proportions. There are books on this subject, used both in England and Scotland, in which the pupils are required to learn by heart and to attach to a black dot upon a map about 12,000 names, not one-tenth of which is there any internal or external necessity for knowing any thing whatever about. The time and the power of the school are wasted in this dreary business, and permanent disgust or a wrong bent is given to the unfortunate pupil. Such is the result of a mindless dealing with things of the mind. This thoughtless and 'unnatural selection' ends, in the field of the intellect, in a sort of distorted Darwinianism; it ends in the survival of the unfittest. We send our children to rummage in this dust-heap of disconnected details, while all around them the fair world of nature lies unquestioned and unexplored. Much better that our young men should be following the plow and tilling the ground, or making sound and lasting chairs and tables, than that they should waste their time and nerves in trying to find a place for this dishonest nonsense in the memory of their pupils.

Let us take another example. There is nothing so edifying and inspiring for the young as the right learning of *History*. They like to hear what the grown up people have done and said—what brave men have done, and what wise men have planned, and men of genius have written or sung; nor can there be the least objection to giving them a connected view of the course of events in our own history or in the history of the world. And if all this is given so as to carry the living interest of the pupil with us, it can not be forgotten. Biography for the youngest, events for those a little older, and the connection of events

with what is called the development of the nation for those still older,—these would seem to be the natural steps toward a general and retainable view of history. But the greed for facts, the felt and fussy necessity of 'knowing' this and that and the other thing, drives us into the path of compression, so that, at last, every thing that has, and much that has not happened, is squeezed into the pages of the school history book. I have before me a 'complete' history of England, from the invasion of Julius Caesar down to our late war in Abyssinia, which costs only a penny. It is called a text-book; but we all know very well that it is not so employed—that it is not used by the teacher to give narrative from and to base explanations upon; but that it is in daily use as a memory and a cram book. These and larger books have been rightly said 'to combine the respective disadvantages of the multiplication table and the Newgate Calendar, being little better than a list of dates and battles, enlivened by murders and other crimes, with a sprinkling of entertaining stories, most of which are now no longer regarded as authentic, and which we are taught first to believe and afterward to disbelieve.' I do not myself know what general impression—if any—the getting up of such books leaves upon the mind of the growing youth; but I should judge, from an examination I have made of several hundreds, that the half-conscious notion which settles in their heads is, that the government of God upon earth is a government of accident tempered by catastrophe. Now the chance of filling the heads and hearts of young persons with a knowledge of the best and constructive side of humanity, of firing them with a love of nobleness and goodness, of training them to self-sacrifice for the good of the State and of their fellow-men, is lost, and the spirit of history is extinguished by the demands of routine and drill, of encyclopedism and abridgment. A *hortus siccus* of dates and events, deaths and successions, battles and murders,—a dry and highly abstract calculus of historical series and constitutional epochs, out of which comes no inspiration, and into which can be put no sympathy,—takes the place of a living and spoken narrative, to which children can listen for hours, to which they will listen when repeated in the very same words again and again, the gaps of which they will fill with that imaginative experience which exists in a more or less latent form in the mind of every child. Instead of this, he 'learns' the poor stuff that is given him in books; he can not hold it; it can not hold him; it will not combine with other knowledge, and when he leaves school, he quite comfortably gives it all up and forgets all about it.

Let me take still another example; and I have the less hesitation in calling your attention to it, as what I have to say applies in this subject both to primary and to secondary instruction. There is a subject called Grammar, which fills a considerable amount of time in all our schools. There are also about seven hundred grammars of the English language in the South Kensington Museum, to show the teacher how to teach it, and to guide the pupil how to learn it. Of these seven hundred, most of which I have looked into, about six hundred and fifty are only expressions of private opinion regarding certain phenomena in our mother tongue; and they have no more value for a student of the philology of the English language than Mrs. Marcet's conversations on chemistry have for a modern student of that science. But we have to ask ourselves what purpose we have in teaching what is called Grammar? That purpose can only be one of three. Either it is (1) to teach the history, growth, and form of our own language, on the scientific basis of philology; or (2) it is to teach grammar as an introduction to literature, to the power of appreciating and enjoying the best writers; or it is (3) to furnish a certain kind of easy and agreeable training in elementary logic, in so far as that can be received from words. If the first be our object, we are very deficient in Great Britain, as the grammars in general use give no hint of the fact that our language had any history at all, and take no cognizance of the difference between the English of the present century and the English of the fourteenth or of the ninth. If it is the second purpose that is kept in view, we must lament the fact that elaborate preparations—in the form of parsing, analysis, rules of syntax, etymology, and prosody—are made; and when the pupil is thoroughly prepared to be ushered into the presence of the great masters of thought and expression, in the hope that he will form with some of them a life-long friendship, the introduction does not take place at all.

If a training in the art of thinking is our aim, it can not be denied that this is very useful, and there are good teachers who succeed admirably in it. But they are not assisted by the books. On the contrary, these books afford to the young student of logic his best and richest field for the hunt after logical errors; they contain, in rank profusion, every kind of blunder—cross-division, undistributed middle, imperfect induction, insufficient and inconvertible definition, and every other species of logical fallacy.

Now, this short review of the state in which three widely taught subjects are at present found, calls our attention to two important considerations. The first is the question, What influence can a university have upon teaching in schools? And the second is, How can such subjects as are at present taught in schools be best engineered?

The spirit and tendency of university teaching are to lead the student in science to Nature herself, and to show him how to interrogate her; in literature, to guide the student always to the best in thought and in expression, and to show him how to enjoy and to live in that. Copies or compilations, which contain a large proportion of the unauthentic, the second-hand, and the unverifiable, have no legitimate position, and can meet with nothing but temporary sufferance within the walls of a university. Now, it is this spirit which requires to be breathed into the whole of our primary and most of our secondary education. At present, the two diseases of both—and they are chronic diseases—are the appropriation by the memory alone of results apart from methods and processes, and the belief that we are acquainted with some work in literature, when we have neither appreciated it nor felt it, but only read about it and about it.

The second question involves in it the farther question, which I can only glance at here: What amount of abridgment is possible, necessary, and useful for the young learner? This question has never yet been asked; and yet it is of vital importance in primary instruction. If an abridged statement of facts is presented to grown up and thoughtful persons, they insist on knowing all the steps that have led to this abridgment; they have probably made themselves acquainted long ago with all the data which underlie and give reality to each general notion, and they are in a position to verify every item in the general view. But nothing of all this has been done by, or is possible for, the young learner, and we do not ask for it. Our old friend, the volitional memory, is at hand to help us, and into that illimitable tank all kinds of facts, data, conceptions, and representations are thrown, and the fermenting process is neither examined nor regarded.

The pressure of encyclopædism all over the country, both in primary and in secondary schools, is producing a most remarkable tendency,—a tendency which is completely hostile to the true spirit of education. This tendency inspires pupil-teachers and other examinees to ask the question: What absolutely smallest amount of knowledge am I to compel myself to receive in order that I may force my way through the narrow gate of examination? And abridgment is at hand to make the process as dry and useless to him as it can be made.

2. *The Tyranny of Books.*

Another *idolon scholæ*—and one which it is time to dethrone, or at least to put down to a lower place—is *the book*. The tyranny of the *book* is felt from the farthest north to the extremest south of this island; and, paradoxical as it may seem, it is perhaps the greatest enemy to education, and to right conceptions of what education may be made, that we at present have. The popular notion of instruction in school always contains three factors—a Teacher, a Book, and the Learners; and the arrangement is the teacher behind the book, and the pupil in front of it, while the process—it is sometimes called a method—is to pour, in the readiest way that can be invented, the contents of the book into the memory of the pupil. And thus the true idea of education is obscured, and it is indeed in many of our schools in danger of being entirely lost; I mean the conception of education as the *contact of living mind with living mind*. Spiritual light and divine fire may, as we all know, be passed on by writings and books; but, for true education, are less often helps than obstructions. In the school-room they interfere to a large extent with the cheering sight of the first begin-

ning and gradual growth of a new knowledge, with the bright interplay of question and answer, with the kindly hint and the shrewd guess, with the perpetual seeking and finding, with the hunt and the capture, with the constant correction of each other's bearings, with the coming to branching paths 'in the wanderings of careful thought,' with the sympathetic reception of truth and the collective enthusiasm for beauty.

3. *Mechanical Methods.*

The third 'peccant' humor which at present infects the body of education is the employment of Mechanical Methods. These methods were perhaps not at first mechanical; they have become so by degeneration in the hands of merely imitative persons. If a method is not thoroughly assimilated by the teacher, so as to become a living part of his own mind, if it does not marry itself willingly to his own thought and his own habits, if it is adopted as a mere plan for saving himself trouble, and for escaping from his usual amount of work, it has a tendency to degenerate into a kind of machine, into something that can not call forth thought and mental activity from his pupils.

Again, our schools try to cultivate the art of clear and adequate expression in speech and in writing. But, losing sight of the true end, and of the right means to that end, and having lost the inspiration of the vital force which creates the art, their attempts dwindle into a mere set of imitations and a code of petty rules, into the bastard arts of 'composition' on the one hand, and 'elocution' on the other; and young people are urged to acquire what is called a *style* without regard to the subject-matter they have to think about, or the soul that must give expression to the thought.

Once more, our mechanical methods blind us to the necessity of seeking to analyze our subjects in the fullest manner, and so to arrange the steps that the children may go up with ease and pleasure. We are constantly giving knowledge prematurely; we are every day anticipating results which the child will reach for himself; and all our pupils suffer in their brains from the malady of the day—imperfect digestion.

4. *Didactic Teaching.*

The fourth disease which is chronic in our modes of instruction is what may be best described as the *Didactic Disease*. It may seem strange to classify what looks like the essential condition of all teaching, or indeed as teaching itself, as the base and the enemy of it. But I employ the word *didactic* here to indicate two things, both of which are inconsistent with good and sound teaching. One is the presentation of results with subsequent analysis and explanations of them; the other is what goes by the name of *telling*, in opposition to eliciting or educating. Now, if a pupil can be led along the right path of induction, and arrive at these results by the motion of his own mind, the results remain with him for ever, and are a new power for the acquisition of more; whereas we never can be quite sure whether the pupil has appropriated, in a thorough-going and healthy way, the conclusions which were at first presented to him as such, and afterward explained and apologized for. Again, it is plain that knowledge *given* is one of those dangerous gifts which, in the language of Wordsworth, 'are not to be given,' and that, in this region also, the eternal law of value rules beyond contradiction. 'You must pay for every thing that which it is worth.' If you get your knowledge for nothing, it is worth exactly that and no more. In fact, there is no more room or ground of existence for didactic teaching than there is for didactic poetry. Both education and poetry are believed, and rightly believed, to be perpetually attended by delight and a healthy up-building of the mental frame; both lose that healthy and edifying delight in exact proportion to the presence of the consciously didactic element. The process of giving on the one hand and taking on the other—the process of telling and listening, of learning by heart, repeating and hearing—this process goes on until the minds of both teacher and pupil are beaten hard like a macadamized road, and it would be as useful to cast fresh seed on the one as on the other. Wonder and curiosity and interest are left outside, waiting on the wrong side of the school door; and they have to wait there until they rejoin the child in the fields or by the river side.

A. BRONSON ALCOTT.

MEMOIR.*

A. BRONSON ALCOTT† (whose father's name was written Joseph Chatfield *Alcock*, as was his grandfather Joseph Alcock, the first settler of Wolcott) was born on Spindle Hill, Wolcott, November 29, 1799. His father owned a farm of one hundred acres, which he tilled, with the help of his sons, in summer, and worked as a mechanic in making all sorts of farming tools and household utensils for his town folks in the winter, and intervals not occupied with his farming—living in a quiet, simple way with a wife of more than ordinary intelligence and character. The mother of our Concord philosopher, as he has been named from his residence in Concord, Mass., since 1830, was Anna Bronson, the daughter of Captain Amos Bronson, of Plymouth: a man of property, influence, and decided theological opinions, somewhat at variance with those of the majority of Connecticut farmers at that time. She was the sister of an eminent clergyman and scholar,—Dr. Tillotson Bronson, for some years at the head of the Episcopal Academy in Cheshire, and previously rector of St. John's Church, in Waterbury. She had some advantages of culture not so common in Wolcott at that time, and at her marriage brought to the Spindle Hill neighborhood a refinement of disposition and a grace of deportment that gave a more polite tone to the little community. In course of time her husband and children joined her in the Episcopal form of worship, when introduced in their neighborhood, where the service was read (at the Spindle Hill school-house), until in course of time a church was gathered. She united steadfastness and persistency of purpose with uncommon delicacy and sweetness of spirit, and was truly, as her son declares her, 'meek, forgiving, patient, generous, and self-sustained, the best of wives and mothers.' She lived to a great age, surviving her husband more than thirty years.

From his earliest years Mr. Alcott was fond of books, and read

* Abridged from Memoir by F. A. Sanborn, in Proceedings of the Centennial Celebration of the settlement of the town of Wolcott, in Connecticut, 1873.

† This change in the spelling of the family name was made by the two cousins for the sake of euphony.

eagerly all that he could find. He went to school in the Spindle Hill district until he was thirteen years old, and at the age of twelve began to keep a diary, a practice which he has continued the greater part of the time since. Still earlier he had read Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, the book of all others which had the greatest influence on his mind. He learned to write by practicing with chalk on his mother's kitchen floor, and became in his boyhood a skillful penman, so that his first essay in teaching was as master of a writing-school. He was mainly self-taught, in the higher studies, although he was for a time a pupil of his uncle, Dr. Bronson, at Cheshire, in 1813, and in 1815 of Rev. John Keys, of Wolcott Hill.

He worked during boyhood on the farm and in the shop with his father and brothers, and was dextrous at mechanical tasks. At the age of fourteen he worked for a while at clock making, in Plymouth, and in the same year went on an excursion into northern Connecticut and western Massachusetts, selling a few articles as he went, to meet the expenses of his journey. At the age of fifteen he was confirmed, along with his father, as a member of the Episcopal church, the ceremony being performed in Waterbury, by Bishop Brownell, after which young Alcott, with his cousin, the late Dr. William A. Alcott,* used to read the church service on Sundays at the school-house in their neighborhood. The two cousins also carried on a correspondence at this time, and founded a small library for their mutual improvement. A few years later they visited Virginia and the Carolinas together, on one of those peddling pilgrimages which makes such a romantic feature of Mr. Alcott's early life.

Travels and Peddling Pilgrimages.

Mr. Alcott began his travels early. His first visit to New Haven was in 1813, when he went to a bookstore and sighed for a place in it, for the sake of reading all the books. And he turned his rambles in Virginia and North Carolina to good account in the way of reading; gaining access to the libraries of the great houses as he went along.

The beginning of his rambles was in the autumn and winter of 1818, when the youth was almost nineteen years old. At the age of sixteen he had played the part of a subscription book agent, selling copies of Flavel's 'Keeping the Heart.' His earnings were spent in New Haven for a prayer-book for his mother, another for himself, a dictionary, and a supply of paper for his diaries. These short journeys in Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New York, had

* Memoir in *Barnard's American Journal of Education*, Vol. iv. 629-636.

worn off his natural bashfulness somewhat, and had increased his longing to see more of the great world. His father and mother would fain have retained him at home, but he resolved to go to Norfolk in one of the coasting vessels from New Haven, and had a dream that he could easily, in Virginia, find a place as a teacher. Accordingly he sailed from New Haven, October 13th, 1818, in the good sloop 'Three Sisters,' Captain Sperry, skipper, with fifteen other passengers, chiefly peddlers from Connecticut and workmen going in the employ of the Tisdales, Connecticut tinmen, who had a shop at Norfolk. The voyage lasted about a week, and young Alcott landed in Virginia, October 20th. His passage money seems to have been ten dollars. For a few days after arriving at Norfolk he continued to board with Captain Sperry, but soon went to live at Tisdale's, the tinman, and was urged by him to enter his service. At first Mr. Alcott was bent on teaching, but having tried from the 24th of October to the 12th of November, without success, to get a school, and being then somewhat in debt, the youth accepted his offer, and began to peddle for him about the city. This continued until some time in December, but apparently without much pecuniary result, for just before the Christmas holidays we find Mr. Alcott buying a small stock of Virginia almanacs, and selling them to the citizens of Norfolk at a profit of two hundred per cent. Each almanac cost three pence and was sold for nine pence, and the young merchant easily earned a dollar or two a day so long as the holidays lasted. Then it occurred to him to enlarge his stock, and to sell trinkets and silks to the families in the surrounding country. He went, therefore, to a dealer in 'fancy goods,' in Norfolk, and bought goods costing nearly three hundred dollars, which he bestowed in two small tin trunks, to be carried in the hand, as the peddler journeyed on foot from house to house. There were tortoise-shell combs, thimbles, scissors, various articles of ornament for ladies, puzzles and picture-books for children, spectacles, razors, and many other wares for the men, beside needles, buttons, sewing-silk, and much more that was not then a part of a peddler's stock in Eastern Virginia.

The first trip as a peddler of small wares was made in January, 1819, and was a circuit from Norfolk, by way of Hampton, along the James river for awhile, then across the country to Yorktown, and by the York county plantations back to Hampton and Norfolk again. It proved profitable, and both goods and merchant found unexpected favor in the eyes of the Virginians. An American foot-peddler, a bashful Yankee, neither impertinent nor stingy, was a

novelty in those regions, and, it soon appeared, an agreeable novelty. He was kindly received at the great houses of the planters, where he generally spent the night, accepting courteously their customary hospitality, though sometimes sleeping in the slave quarters. On Sundays and rainy days, when his trade could not be pursued, this diffident and bookish Autolycus remained in the planters' houses, and had permission to read in their libraries, where he found many books he had never seen or heard of before. In that part of Virginia there lived some of the oldest and best descended families of the Old Dominion, with large and choice libraries, which they allowed the young man from Connecticut to explore for himself. Biography was his favorite reading, then poems and tales, and he had a keen appetite—not so common among lads of nineteen—for metaphysics and books of devotion. Cowper's *Life and Letters*, Locke's *Conduct of the Understanding*, and Lavater's *Physiognomy* were among the books thus read; nor was his favorite, *Pilgrim's Progress*, forgotten, which he found in fine editions among the Virginians.

SCHOOL KEEPING.

The next stage in his career was school keeping,—an occupation begun in 1823, that he pursued for more than fifteen years. His first school was in a district of Bristol, the adjoining town, and only three miles from Spindle Hill. Here he taught for three months, his wages being \$10 a month besides board, and was so good a teacher as to make the school committee desirous to engage him again. He did indeed teach school in Bristol the next winter (1824-5), but not in the same district, and for a part of the year he gave writing lessons at Wolcott. In the spring and summer of 1825, he resided in Cheshire with his uncle, Dr. Bronson, who then edited the *Churchman's Magazine*, for which Mr. Alcott procured subscribers, and copied his uncle's manuscript for the printer. While residing with Dr. Bronson this season, he read Butler's *Analogy*, Reid and Stewart's *Metaphysics*, Watts's *Logic*, Vattel's *Law of Nations*, and Dwight's *Theology*; his readings being to some extent directed by his uncle, with whom he continued to live after beginning to teach school in Cheshire, in November, 1825. This school occupied Mr. Alcott from that time until June, 1827, nearly two years, when he closed it and returned to Wolcott. He wrote a brief account of it and his method,* which was published in Mr. William Russell's *American 'Journal of Education'*, in January, 1828, and attracted

* This account was republished by Dr. Caldwell, President of the University of North Carolina, in a *Series of Essays* devoted to Popular Education—about 1832.

much notice. It was in Cheshire, in fact, that Mr. Alcott began to develop his peculiar system of instruction, which afterward received so much praise and blame in Boston. He continued this system in a similar school in Bristol in the winter of 1827-8, and then removed to Boston to take charge of an infant school in Salem street, in June, 1828. In the following April he opened a private school near St. Paul's church on Tremont street, in which he remained until November 5, 1830, when he gave it up to open a school in Germantown, near Philadelphia, where with his associate, Mr. William Russell, he remained a little more than two years. On the 22d of April, 1833, he opened a school in Philadelphia, which continued until July, 1834, soon after which, September 22, 1834, Mr. Alcott returned to Boston and there began his famous Temple school, concerning which so much has been written and published. This was nearly eleven years after his first winter's school keeping in Bristol. Mr. Alcott had now reached the 35th year of his life, and the fifth of his married life.

Previous to 1827, the district schools of Connecticut, and of all New England, were at a low degree of discipline, instruction, and comfort, and in all these matters Mr. Alcott set the example of improvement. He first gave his pupils single desks, now so common, instead of the long benches and double or three-seated desks, still in use in some sections. He gave his youthful pupils slates and pencils, and blackboards. He established a school library, and taught them to enjoy the benefits of careful reading; he broke away from the old rule of severe and indiscriminate punishments, and substituted therefor appeals to the affections and the moral sentiment of children, so that he was able almost wholly to dispense with corporeal punishment. He introduced, also, light gymnastic exercises, evening amusements at the school-room, the keeping of diaries by young children, and, in general, an affectionate and reverent mode of drawing out the child's mind toward knowledge, rather than the pouring in of instruction by mechanical or compulsory processes. Familiar as this natural method of teaching has since become, it was an innovation five and forty years ago,—as much so as Pestalozzi's method had been in Europe when he began the instruction of poor children in Switzerland a hundred years ago.

Rev. Samuel May, in 1827, then pastor of a church in Brooklyn, Conn., informed by letter from Dr. W. A. Alcott of his cousin's labors in Cheshire, wrote direct for a detailed statement of his principles and method of training children. In due time came to me a full account of the school of Cheshire, which revealed such a depth

of insight into the nature of man, such a true sympathy with children, such profound appreciation of the work of education, and was, withal, so philosophically arranged and exquisitely written, that I at once felt assured the man must be a genius, and that I must know him more intimately. So I wrote, inviting him urgently to visit me. He came and passed a week with me before the end of the summer. I have never, but in one instance, been so immediately taken possession of by any man I have ever met in life. He seemed to me like a born sage and saint.

The most devoted of Pestalozzi's personal friends and followers in England, Mr. James Pierrpont Greaves, who first learned of Mr. Alcott's experiments in education from Miss Harriet Martineau, after her return from America in 1837, afterward, to a school near London, gave the name of 'Alcott House.'

In his educational, at least his formal school work, Mr. Alcott was in advance of his age, and his ideas in education, now almost universally received, were slow in making their way among the plain and practical people of New England. Like Pestalozzi, he was continually at a disadvantage in dealing with affairs, and he was not so fortunate as to find a coadjutor in his schools who could supply the practical ability to match and complete his own idealism. Hence the brief period of his success in each place where he taught, and his frequent removals from town to town, and city to city. Every where he impressed the best men and women with the depth and worth of his character, the fervor of his philanthropy, the delicacy and penetration of his genius, and they spoke of him as Mr. May did, in the passage quoted above. They sought his fellowship, aided his plans, rejoiced in his successes, and knew how to pardon his failures. During the period from 1826 to 1836, he made the acquaintance and enjoyed the friendship of some of the most eminent persons in Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania; among them Drs. Gallaudet and Henry Barnard, of Hartford; Dr. Channing and Mr. Garrison, of Boston; Mr. R. W. Emerson, of Concord; Messrs. Matthew Carey, Roberts Vaux, and Dr. Furness, of Philadelphia; and many of the most esteemed Boston families,—the Mays, Phillipses, Savages, Shaws, Quineys, etc. Among the eminent women who took an interest in his school may be named, (besides Miss Martineau), Miss Margaret Fuller, Miss Elizabeth Peabody, her sister, the late Mrs. Hawthorne, Miss Elizabeth Hoar, and others. Both Miss Fuller and Miss Peabody were assistant teachers in the Temple school at Boston, and Miss Peabody compiled the accounts of it, which were published under the

title of 'Record of a School,' and 'Conversations with Children on the Gospels.' Mr. Emerson, who had become intimate with Mr. Alcott in 1835, saluted him with high expectation in this part of his career, and said to him what Burke said to John Howard, 'Your plan is original, and as full of genius as of humanity; so do not let it sleep or stop a day.'

The conversation with pupils on the New Testament, in the winter of 1835-6, excited some opposition, however, and the lectures of Dr. Graham, the vegetarian, in 1836, also gave offense. The publication of the 'Conversations,' in the winter of 1836-7, was the occasion of a fierce attack in the newspapers of 1837.

The effect of such denunciation then was crushing. The school at the Temple, which began in 1834 with thirty pupils, and had received as many as forty, fell to ten pupils in the spring of 1837, and after lingering along for a year or two, with one or two changes of place, was finally given up in 1839. The immediate occasion of closing it then was the unwillingness of Mr. Alcott's patrons to have their children educated in the same room with a colored child whom he had admitted, and when the protesting parents found Mr. Alcott determined not to dismiss the colored child, they withdrew their own children—leaving him with only five pupils,—his own three daughters, a child of Mr. William Russell, and young Robinson, the cause of offense. Up to this time (June, 1839) the receipts of Mr. Alcott for tuition since he began his school at the Temple, five years before, had been \$5,730; namely, in the first year, \$1,794; the second, \$1,649; the third, \$1,395; the fourth, (after the attack in the newspapers), \$549, and in the last year only \$343. The expenses of rent, furniture, assistant teachers, and the maintenance of family had been much more than this,—and in April, 1837, the costly furniture, school library, and other apparatus of the Temple school were sold at auction. The city press and the city mob had their way with Mr. Alcott's school, just as two years before they had their way with Mr. Garrison's anti-slavery meeting. The poor and unpopular schoolmaster from Connecticut was hooted down, and his generous experiments in education were frustrated in Boston, in spite of the protests and appeals of such champions as Dr. Alcott, Mr. Emerson, Mr. Russell, James Freeman Clarke, Rev. Chandler Robbins, Miss Fuller, Dr. Furness, Dr. Hedge, and other friends of culture and philosophy.

During this period, as at all times since his marriage in 1830, Mr. Alcott found great sympathy and encouragement at his own fireside. Mrs. Alcott was a daughter of Col. Joseph May, of Boston, and was

born in that city, October 8, 1800. The Rev. Samuel J. May, of Syracuse, whose memoir has been quoted, was her elder brother, born in 1793. It was at his parsonage house in Brooklyn that she first met Mr. Alcott, in 1827, when he was teaching school in Cheshire, and it was largely on her account and through the efforts of her family and friends that he went to Boston, in 1828, and took charge of the Salem street infant school. They were married May 23, 1830, and resided in Boston until their removal to Germantown in the following winter. Their oldest daughter, Anna Bronson, now Mrs. Pratt, (the mother of Miss Alcott's 'Little Men') was born at Germantown, March 16, 1831, and Miss Alcott herself (Louisa May) was born at Germantown, November 29, 1832. A third daughter, Elizabeth Sewall, was born in Boston, June 24, 1835, and died in Concord, March 14, 1838. Miss May Alcott, the youngest of the four daughters, now a well-known artist, was born in Concord, July 26, 1840. The eldest of the four, Anna Bronson Alcott, named for her grandmother, was married May 23, 1860, the anniversary of her mother's wedding day, to Mr. John B. Pratt, of Concord, a son of Minot Pratt, one of the Brook Farm community in former years, and of late an esteemed citizen of Concord. Their children are the famous 'Little Men,'—Frederick Alcott Pratt, born March 28, 1863, and John Sewall Pratt, born June 24, 1866. Mrs. Pratt was left a widow by the sudden death of her husband, November 27, 1870, and has since resided much of the time, with her two sons, at her father's house in Concord.

Transcendental Agitation and Club.

From birth to 1823, a period of twenty-four years, we may consider Mr. Alcott as preparing himself for the work of life. From 1823 to 1839, nearly sixteen years, he was zealously occupied in the business of education. For the last thirty years and more, he has stood forth as an ideal reformer, and the representative of a school of thought and ethics, of which he was one of the founders in New England. During the years from 1834 to 1840, the so-called Transcendental Movement was making progress among the New England people, and particularly in the neighborhood of Boston. Dr. Channing was one of its originators, and so, less directly, were Coleridge, Carlyle, and the Germans whom they make known to the English-speaking races. Mr. Alcott was a Transcendentalist by birth, and early imbibed a relish for speculation and sentiments such as the Transcendentalists were familiar with. He first heard Dr. Channing preach (on the 'Dignity of the Intellect') in April, 1828, and in October of the same year, he listened to a sermon from R. W.

Emerson, at the Chauncey Place church, Boston, on 'The Universality of the Notion of a Deity.' In Philadelphia, between the years 1830 and 1834, he read many metaphysical and mystical books, and speculated deeply on the nature of the soul and on human perfectability, so that he was well prepared, upon his return to New England, in the autumn of 1834, to join in the then nascent Transcendental movement, which went forward rapidly to its culmination about 1840, after which it ebbed away, and gave its strength to other and more special agitations. In 1837, when the Philistines were in full cry against the Temple school and its heretical teacher, Mr. Alcott was spoken of as the leader of the Transcendentalists,—a distinction now generally given to his friend Mr. Emerson, with whom he became intimate in 1835-6. They joined in many activities of the time; were members and originators of the somewhat famous Transcendental club, which met, under various names, from 1836 to 1850. It was first called 'The Symposium,' and met originally on the 19th of September, 1836, at the house of George Ripley, then a minister in Boston. In the October following, it met at Mr. Alcott's house (26 Front street), and there were present Mr. Emerson, George Ripley, Frederic H. Hedge, O. A. Brownson, James Freeman Clarke, and C. A. Bartol. The subject of conversation that day was 'American genius; causes which hinder its growth.' Two years later, in 1838, we find it meeting at Dr. Bartol's, in Chestnut street, Boston, where of late years the 'Radical Club' has often gathered; there were then present Mr. Emerson, Mr. Alcott, Dr. Follan, Dr. C. Francis, Theodore Parker, Caleb Stetson, William Russell, James Freeman Clarke, and John S. Dwight, the famous musical critic. The topic discussed was 'Pantheism.' In September, 1839, there is record of a meeting at the house of Dr. Francis, in Watertown, where, besides those already mentioned, Margaret Fuller, William Henry Channing, Robert Bartlett, and Samuel J. May, were present. In December, 1839, at George Ripley's, Dr. Channing, George Bancroft, the sculptor Clevenger, the artist-poet C. P. Cranch, and Samuel G. Ward, were among the company. These names will give some notion of the nature of the club, and the attraction it had for thinking and aspiring persons. In October, 1840, we find Mr. Alcott in consultation with George Ripley and Margaret Fuller, at Mr. Emerson's house, in Concord, concerning the proposed community, which was afterward established at Brook Farm. In 1848, the Transcendental club became the 'Town and County Club,' on a wider basis, and in a year or two came to an end, having done its work.

During this period of Transcendental agitation, from 1835 to 1850, Mr. Alcott gradually passed through the various degrees of his progress as a reformer. In 1835, he gave up the use of animal food, and the next year wanted Dr. Sylvester Graham to lecture in his school. Still earlier he had joined the anti-slavery society, when founded by William Lloyd Garrison, and he was present at many of the celebrated gatherings of abolitionists,—for instance, at the Lovejoy meeting in Faneuil Hall, in 1837, when Wendell Phillips made his first appearance as an anti-slavery orator. In 1840, he met at Chardon street chapel, with the 'Friends of Universal Reform,' among whom were Garrison, Edmund Quincy, Henry C. Wright, Theodore Parker, W. H. Channing, Mrs. Maria Chapman, Abby Kelly, Christopher Greene, and others of the same school of thought.

Labor and Culture—Fruitlands.

About 1840, plans for life in communities began to be much talked about, and Mr. Alcott indulged in the hope that something might thus be done to reform the evils of the time. He was invited to join the Brook Farm community, and that of Adin Ballou at Hopedale in Milford, but declined, and instead fell back for a while on plain living and manual labor at Concord, where he worked in field and garden, and in the winter of 1840-1 chopped wood in the woodlands of that village.

Speaking of this period in Mr. Alcott's life, Dr. Channing said in a letter to one of his friends, written in July, 1841:—"Mr. Alcott little suspects how my heart goes out to him. One of my dearest ideas and hopes is the union of *labor* and *culture*. I wish to see labor honored, and united with the free development of the intellect and heart. Mr. Alcott, hiring himself out for day labor, and at the same time living in a region of high thought, is, perhaps, the most interesting object in our Commonwealth. I do not care much for Orpheus in "The Dial," but Orpheus at the plow is after my own heart. There he teaches a grand lesson; more than most of us teach by the pen."

Sailing for England in May, 1842, his experience there confirmed Mr. Alcott in his dream of an ideal community, and on his return, in October, he began to prepare for founding such a paradise. Meanwhile he refused to comply with the requirements of civil society, and for declining to pay his tax was lodged in the Concord jail, January 16, 1843. The late Samuel Hoar, father of Judge Hoar, and Hon. George F. Hoar, paid the tax without Mr. Alcott's consent, and he was released the same day. During the following spring,

in company with one of his English friends, Charles Lane, he examined estates, with a view to purchase one for the proposed community, and finally Lane bought the 'Wyman Farm,' in Harvard, consisting of 90 acres, with an old farm-house upon it, where Mr. Alcott and his family, with Mr. Lane and a few others, took up their abode in June, 1843, calling the new home 'Fruitlands.'

This place, a picturesque farm, lying now along the Worcester and Nashua railroad, and bordering the Nashua river in Harvard, Mass., was not well adapted for such an experiment as Mr. Alcott and his friends undertook; nor did their hopes and plans agree with the condition of things in the world. Their way of life was to be cheerful and religious, free from the falsehood and the cares that infested society; it became, in fact, hard and dismal, and ended in bringing Mr. Alcott, almost with despair in his heart, to give up his hopes of initiating a better life among mankind by the example of such communities as he had planned Fruitlands to be. He finally abandoned the farm, in poverty and disappointment, about the middle of January, 1844. The lesson thus taught, was a severe one, but Mr. Alcott looks back upon it as one of the turning points in his life. From that day forward, he has had less desire to change the outward condition of men upon earth than to modify and enlighten their inward life.

Return to Concord—Instruction by Conversation.

In 1845, Mr. Alcott bought a small farm in Concord, with an old house upon it, which he rebuilt and christened 'Hillside.' A few years later, when it passed into the hands of Nathaniel Hawthorne, he changed the name to 'Wayside.' At 'Hillside' Mr. Alcott gardened and gave conversations, and in the year 1847, while living there, he built in Mr. Emerson's garden, not far off, the unique summer-house which ornamented the grounds until within ten years past, when it decayed and fell into ruin. In 1848 he removed to Boston, and did not return until 1857. Since then he has lived constantly in Concord.

It was a favorite theory of Mr. Alcott's, through all this period of agitation and outward activity, that he could propagate his ideas best by conversations. Accordingly, from 1839 to the present time, a quarter of a century, he has held conversations on his chosen subjects, and in many and widely separated parts of the country. He has not valued, as many reformers do, the opportunity of moving great numbers of people, at conventions and in churches, but has preferred the more quiet, and, as he esteems it, the more natural method of conversing. This period of his life

may perhaps, then, be best described as the period of conversation; although of later years he has often spoken from pulpits and platforms on the same topics with which his conversations have to do. It is to be remembered, also, that Mr. Alcott was the first person in America, at least in modern times, to develop conversation as a means of public instruction, for which it was much employed in the period of Greek philosophy.

His home has been at all times a center of hospitality, and a resort for persons with ideas and aspirations. Not unfrequently his formal conversations have been held there; at other times in the parlors of his friends, at public halls or college rooms, or in the chambers of some club. A list of the towns and cities in which these conversations have taken place, with the names of those who have had part in them, would indicate how wide has been the influence, for thought and culture, exercised by Mr. Alcott, in this peculiar manner.

Reports, and other Publications.

The 'Record of a School,' and the 'Conversations on the Gospels,' were compiled by other persons, reporting what was said. During the publication of the Dial, from 1840 to 1844, when it was the organ of the Transcendentalists, Mr. Alcott contributed some pages, among them his 'Orphic Sayings,' which attracted much notice, not always of the most respectful kind. Other writings of that period and earlier, for the most part, remained in manuscript. After a long period, in which he published little or nothing, Mr. Alcott, in 1858, became the Superintendent of Schools in Concord, and in this capacity printed several long reports, which are noticeable publications. He published some essays, poems, and conversations in the Boston Commonwealth and The Radical, between 1863 and 1868, and in the last named year brought out a modest volume of essays, entitled 'Tablets.' This was followed, in 1872, by another volume, styled 'Concord Days,' and still other volumes are said to be in preparation.

Mr. Alcott is in person tall and fair, of kindly and dignified bearing, resembling somewhat the portraits of Wordsworth, but of a more elegant mien and a more polished manner than Wordsworth seems to have possessed. At this period, though touched by time, he is still youthful in spirit and capable of much travel and fatigue and of assiduous mental labor. It is not, however, so much by intellectual efforts that he has distinguished himself, as by a 'wise passivity,' and a natural intuition, or as Mr. Emerson has said of him, in the sketch which the New American Cyclopaedia contains, by, 'subtle and deep science of that which actually passes in thought.'

JOHN CARTER BROWN.

ASSOCIATED with the memory of the Hon. Nicholas Brown, as a benefactor of learning and philanthropy, is that of his son and successor, the late John Carter Brown. This gentleman was born in Providence, August 27, 1797, and died June 10, 1874. He was educated at Brown University, where he graduated in 1816. After spending some years in Europe, he engaged in business pursuits in Providence, and at length became a partner in the ancestral house of Brown & Ives, of which, at the time of his death, he was the senior partner. Accustomed to the use of wealth, he devoted it to the gratification of elevated tastes. He began early in life to form a collection of rare books; at first in several different departments of literature; at length, however, restricting it to books relating to the continent of America, prior to the beginning of the 19th century. In making this collection, his first aim was to secure, as far as possible, the rarest books relating to this subject, in the original editions, in whatever language they might be printed. Beginning at a period when competitors were comparatively few, and devoting to it a large part of a long life, he was able to obtain nearly all the works of this description which are most highly prized, some of which were possessed by no other person. His collection at the time of his death, in 1874, was thought to be surpassed by no other of similar character extant. He had caused a catalogue to be prepared, which was printed between 1865 and 1871. This catalogue is in four parts, or volumes. The first part, embracing the period from 1487 to 1600, contains 600 titles. The second, for the period between 1601 and 1700, contains 1,152 titles, and the third and fourth, for the period between 1701 and 1800, contain together 4,173 titles. Important additions had also been made of works relating to each of these periods. He was exceedingly liberal in allowing access to his collection, to authors and others, who were engaged in the study of the subjects to which it relates. He also frequently lent his books to be used at a distance; and in at least three instances, he sent across the Atlantic volumes which, if they had been lost, could not have been replaced.

Mr. Brown, at the time of his death, was the largest benefactor of Brown University next to his father. His gifts to this institution were in different forms, and were scattered over a long period of his life. He took a special interest in the University Library, and made important additions to its books; and a few years before his death, he gave a hand-

some sum to be used for the erection of a Library building. To his numerous gifts, he added, by his last will and testament, the bequest of a lot of land, as a site for such a building, and \$50,000 towards its erection, which, together with the previous sum, will secure that result. The entire amount of his benefactions to the University is not less than \$155,000, an amount which, as has been stated, has been exceeded only by that bestowed by his father. He was also a friend of poor students, and was at all times ready to aid them in defraying the expenses of their education, provided they were really earnest in their work. He also not unfrequently extended aid to academies and colleges in distant parts of the country that appealed to his generosity; and of the libraries and institutions of education in his native State, he was a liberal supporter.

Mr. Brown took a lively interest in the educational movement initiated by Hon. Wilkins Updike of South Kingstown, in the Legislature of October, 1848, and conducted successfully to the establishment of an efficient System of Public Schools for the whole State, by Henry Barnard of Connecticut, with the coöperation of prominent teachers and public spirited citizens organized and acting through the Rhode Island Institute of Instruction. To any call for pecuniary contributions from the President of the Institute (John Kingsbury, LL. D.,) Mr. Brown promptly responded.

But his benefactions were by no means limited to institutions of education. Of the Butler Hospital for the Insane, which owes its origin to a bequest in his father's will, he was one of the original corporators and a trustee till 1867, when he was made President of the Corporation, a position which he continued to hold to the end of his life. He frequently united with its other friends in liberal contributions for its benefit. When the Rhode Island Hospital was projected, in 1863, he was one of the earliest and largest contributors for its foundation, and subsequently increased his gifts, and bequeathed to it, in his will, the sum of \$25,000, raising the entire amount of his benefactions within about ten years to at least \$65,000.

Mr. Brown never took any prominent part in public affairs, whether State or National, save in the movement against slavery. With this he was more or less connected from the beginning. He was a member of the 'New England Emigrant Aid Society,' the object of which was to people Kansas with settlers who would make it a free State. Of this Society he acted for a time as President, and made liberal contributions to its funds; but in none of the institutions with which he was connected was he fond of prominent positions, nor did he ever seek to exercise any controlling influence over their affairs. He was distinguished for the honesty and simplicity as well as the sterling integrity of his life and character. He deserves to be ranked among the foremost benefactors of learning, and the most liberal promoters of philanthropic institutions in the State where he was born and where he spent his life.

THOMAS BRAY, D.D.

THOMAS BRAY, D.D., founder of the earliest Parochial Libraries in America, was born in the year 1656, at Marton, Shropshire, England, and educated at the Grammar school at Oswestry, and at Hart Hall, Oxford, where he took his master's degree in 1693. Immediately after he commenced bachelor, he entered into holy orders, officiated as chaplain in the family of Sir Thomas Price, and became vicar of Over-Whitacre in Warwickshire.

A publication of his, in 1693, entitled 'Catechetical Lectures,' attracted the attention of Dr. Compton, then Bishop of London, who at once solicited the author to undertake an important mission to Maryland. Before entering on his work, for which he was clothed with the judicial functions of Commissary for Maryland, he projected a system of Parochial Libraries, to be established in each parish, as a means of further culture for those who should go out as missionaries to the intellectually destitute portions of his field.

The Annapolitan Library.

Before leaving for Maryland, Mr. Bray, in company with the Secretary of the Colony, waited on the then Princess Anne, with the dutiful respects of the Governor and people, who had recently named the capital of the Province after her, *Annapolis*. She testified her grateful sense of this compliment by presenting Mr. Bray with a liberal contribution in aid of his library project. This timely help was memorialized by him by establishing his first library in Annapolis, with a choice collection of books which bore the name of the 'Annapolitan Library.'

Lending Libraries.

Meeting with repulses, in his application for aid for the poor parishes in Maryland, on the ground that similar help was needed by the poor rural clergy of England, Mr. Bray at once solicited and received subscriptions from those who declined the first, to establish Lending Libraries in every deanery in the kingdom. In this connection he published, in 1696, *Bibliotheca Parochialis*, a scheme of theological reading, with a list of books, which might be profitably read by the reverend clergy, on the most important points of Christian doctrine and duty.

Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge.

In 1697, he proffered to the House of Commons a petition which he had secured to be numerously signed, to appropriate a portion of the lands alienated on account of alledged superstitious uses, for the propagation of religion in the plantations. Failing in this, he

went over to Holland to solicit from King William his consent to a grant of some arrears of taxes due to the crown, for the same purpose. Not successful in this scheme, he drew up a plan of a voluntary Society for the Propagation of Religious Knowledge, as well at home as in the plantations, and securing the coöperation of the Bishop of London, this Society was actually formed in 1697.

These labors, so widely beneficent, had been performed by Dr. Bray, while his salary as Commissary was in abeyance, and could not be enjoyed until he was actually on duty in Maryland; and when he was offered preferment at home, he still labored on to procure libraries and missionaries for his province. He sailed for America in 1699, but returned, in 1701, to England to secure the Royal sanction to a measure, passed by the Assembly, for establishing the Church of England and securing the legal maintenance in the province.

Dr. Bray did not return to America, but continued to labor in behalf of the missionary operations of his church. He published, in 1701, a Memorial representing the state of Religion and Learning in the Foreign Plantations, and advocated the selection, preparation, and employment of suitable persons to be missionaries in the colonies—young men, of a true missionary spirit, with strength and will to endure labor and fatigue, of exemplary lives and conversation, and well-read in theological learning, to meet at once the endless variety of objections and fancies to which ignorance and isolation had given birth in the colonies. His plans for meeting these wants, although not specifically carried out, resulted in the organizing of a society for the same general purpose on his return from America.

Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

In May, 1701, on the petition of Dr. Bray, letters patent, under the great seal, were issued for creating another corporation by the name of 'The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts'—an institution to which the Episcopal church, all over the world, owes a debt of grateful affection.

In 1706, he accepted the donative of of St. Botolph without Aldgate, worth £150 per annum, having been for some time enabled to continue in his benevolent work only by a gift of Lord Weymouth. In 1727, he made a casual visit to White Chapel prison, and was so much affected by the miserable condition of the prisoners, that he at once solicited benefactions for their relief, which led to a more extended effort for the improvement of British prisons generally.

Dr. Bray died on the 15th of January, 1730.

FRENCH VIEW OF GERMAN EDUCATION.

THE UNIVERSITIES.

M. GEORGE POUCHET, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, in 1869, published a paper on the German Universities, founded on his own observation and studies, as a student in Berlin, and on the reports of Jaccoud and Lorain. This paper was translated, and appeared in the *Living Age* for January, 1870, and a portion of this we transfer to our pages as a contribution to our International Estimate of National Systems of Public Instruction:

UNIVERSITY ORGANIZATION.

Each University is commonly designated by the name of the town in which it is placed, but it takes also a title in memory of the sovereign who founded or restored it. Thus Berlin contains the Frederick William University, and Freiburg the Albertine. All the Universities regard themselves as members of one family, whether in Prussia, Austria, Switzerland, or Bohemia. This fraternity extends without limit. The Universities of Russia and Holland borrow professors from Germany. A great step in civilization will be made when our institutions are so modified as to permit a similar exchange of scientific men with neighboring nations. The German Universities, in other respects absolutely independent of one another, are established on the same plan, and submitted to the same régime.

The Universities are corporate bodies, with certain privileges, but receiving subsidies and professors from the State. The funds of the University, when there are any, are the property of the corporation and cannot be alienated by the State. If they are large enough, the University is not under the power of the administration, which cannot even move it from one town to another. At Freiburg, the principal resource of the University is a municipal grant which would be annulled in case of transplantation. These are exceptional conditions; most of the Universities receive subsidies from the State, which are very considerable in comparison with the budgets of the little countries which vote them. The University of Leipzig has a yearly revenue of 190,000 thalers; Saxony adds to this sum 53,500 thalers. The University of Berlin has a revenue of only 72 thalers, and receives 180,000 thalers from the government. During the year 1861, Prussia expended for its seven Universities the sum of 530,860 thalers, or in round numbers 400,000 dollars in gold, to which were added the private revenues of the Universities themselves.

According to the terms of the Prussian law, "the Universities are privileged corporations composed of the whole body of the professors and matriculated students, and of the employés and their inferiors in its administration," that is to say, all the persons attached to the Universities enjoy the academic privileges. The very fencing, swimming and riding masters, the beadle, the janitor, the jailor, and the lamplighter enjoy these advantages, and see their names after those of the professors on the official list of the members of the corporation. As for the students, the mere entering of their names confers upon them citizenship in the University. They are subject from that moment, like the employés and assistants, to a special jurisdiction, the representative of which, in Prussia at least, is styled the University Judge. Generally he is a magistrate of the town. He has the rank of professor, and has a position on the left of the rector. He takes cognizance of all offences against discipline and misdemeanors committed by the students and minor officials, even

outside of the limits of the University, and can condemn them to confinement in the academic prison.

As to the Professors, they govern themselves, decide all questions relating to instruction, and maintain their privileges scrupulously intact. Doubtless these are less than they formerly were, having been diminished by the successive expansions of the common law, but as they are still a guarantee of the independence of the governing board, that is enough to make them precious. The Professors are only subject to themselves and to the heads whom they elect. Each year the Faculty appoints its Dean, and the four Faculties, in assembly, proceed to the election of a Rector and Senate. This last body consists of the Rector, his predecessor, the four Deans and six members chosen among the Professors. It represents the highest expression of academic power, and its judgment is final. It is charged with administering the affairs of the corporation, and defending it, when necessary, against the invasion of power. It is still a prerogative of the University that every public document published by the Senate and bearing the signature of the Rector is exempt from the censorship in the countries where that exists.

CORPS OF INSTRUCTION.

The corps of instruction of a German University consists of four classes of teachers having very distinct rights, namely, ordinary professors, professors extraordinary, *privat-docenten*, who may be compared to tutors, and finally, decidedly below the others, the teachers of languages and polite accomplishments. These last have not the degree of doctor, and are hardly distinguishable from the employés of the faculty. They teach all the modern languages, sometimes even those of the East, music, singing, riding, dancing, fencing, swimming, gymnastics, stenography, and writing. These teachers are not merely under the patronage of the University. Their teaching is supervised by the senate; and their prices are sometimes fixed by a tariff, some even receiving a slight salary.

The ordinary professors form the faculty. The Dean as well as the Rector are always chosen from among them, and they alone are members of the Senate. They are never numerous. The largest faculties of philosophy, as those of Berlin, Vienna, and Breslau, have not more than from twenty-five to twenty-eight of them; a small number, when one considers that in the faculties of philosophy, instruction is given in all the subjects of human knowledge, excepting theology, law, and medicine. Their number depends upon the wealth and popularity of the University, and in the small faculties is so insignificant as to be insufficient and indeed almost absurd. At Jena, the medical faculty contains only five professors; the law faculty at Giessen only four. These professors represent as it were the instruction of the faculty reduced to its meagrest limits, and scarcely sufficing for the academic demands; but they are always supported by larger numbers of extraordinary professors and of *privat-docenten* who enlarge and complete the scheme of studies.

The ordinary professors are appointed by the sovereign from a list presented by the faculty. The formalities are nearly the same in all the German States. The vacancy of the chair is publicly announced through the newspapers, and any one who has received the degree of doctor can become a candidate by presenting an application to the faculty. The latter in its turn is not obliged to choose from among these candidates; it makes out its own list in perfect freedom at a special meeting in which only the ordinary professors take part. This list contains generally three names; but when the faculty deems proper, when it wishes to bestow an especial mark of esteem on any candidate, he is nominated alone. This honor is customary when the candidate is already ordinary professor in another faculty. The Rector trans-

mits the list to the minister, and he presents it to the sovereign, without being at liberty to make any alteration in it. This privilege which the University has of communicating to the ruler of the State the expression of its choice, without limitation from any intermediate authority, is one of its oldest prerogatives, and one of those which it guards with the greatest jealousy. There is no example, even in Austria, of an appointment made by the sovereign outside of the list of the faculty. There have been certain cases of the refusal of the appointment for political reasons and under such circumstances the place has remained vacant until matters were reconciled. In such cases the government imposes a sort of veto; but it would never occur to it to substitute its own candidate for that of the corporation. It sometimes happens also that it complies with the public sentiment, which has been disregarded by the professors but affirmed by the students. The latter being themselves members of the corporation, can in fact under certain circumstances interfere directly. When they think they have a serious reason for not approving the choice which has been made, they have the right to make known to the sovereign their unheeded desires. One of the best known professors of the Vienna medical faculty owes his chair solely to a demonstration of this sort.

SALARIES AND COMPENSATION OF PROFESSORS.

The regular salary of the ordinary professors varies in the different Universities and even with different professors in the same University. Every ten years it is increased. Moreover the academic faculty in order to attract to itself some famous professor has sometimes been obliged to offer him extraordinary advantages. At every vacancy a curious sort of appraisal of the value of the professor takes place between the Universities. It is all done discreetly, but the bidding is none the less genuine. It is thus that a professor according to his merit as a savant, or his success in his instruction—the two advantages are equally sought for—is able to advance from the smaller to the more important Universities; and if he has a place at Vienna or Berlin he is obliged to maintain it by unceasing efforts. The professor's chair in Germany is never a place of repose, or the reward of a completed career. There is never-ending toil and contest. Self-interest forbids sloth.

In fact the professor does not receive all his emolument from the State, as is the case in France. A part of it is paid him directly by the students. The French system may have its merits, but it certainly has one disadvantage. The least is that it becomes customary for this fixed salary to be regarded as the recompense for a life consecrated to toil, and not as the remuneration for the work of instruction. The consequence is, that the professor occupies himself but very little with his pupils. Our men of science rarely have about them students from whom they receive fees. They entrench themselves in this matter behind a certain dignity which in Germany is judged very severely. The Germans say to us: "that your instruction is gratuitous, appears to be advantageous to the students, but it is rather more so to the professor, by freeing him from the duty of instruction at hours for which he has the right to maintain that he is not paid." It is doubtful indeed whether this system be of advantage to the student. All those who have frequented or had the direction of laboratories know that those alone work who pay. We are so constituted. Gratuitous higher instruction is a generous dream, but it is a dream, and moreover is it quite just that those studies which lead to honor, to great industries, to brilliant and lucrative positions, should be gratuitous, when no one thinks of demanding the same privilege for that secondary instruction, which now a days is indispensable for entrance into the most modest career? There is a certain inconsequence in this.

The Germans find a double advantage in the fact that the professor besides receiving a fixed salary from the State is directly paid by his pupils. In the first place the teacher seeks the more to adapt himself to their needs, and besides, his fees are always in proportion to his merits, whether the students be attracted by his brilliant lectures, or the wish to hear the author of famous works. In France the student pays each trimester a certain entrance fee, which in fact confers no privileges upon him, since the instruction is open to the public. The sum of these fees is to be added to the price of the examinations and of the diploma. It is a tax upon the title of doctor. In Germany, the student chooses, at the beginning of the semester, the courses which he proposes to follow. He inscribes his name with the Secretary, and pays for each one a certain fee fixed at the pleasure of the professor. The rules content themselves with setting a minimum, and the way in which this is established shows the constant tendency of the German Universities to render to every one according to his works. The minimum to be paid by the student for a semestrial course is as many momentary units as the professor gives lessons a week. If he gives, as is not seldom the case, five lessons, the fee is 5 florins in Austria, in Prussia 5 thalers. The professor receives the whole of the fees, but they are paid at the Secretary's office, thereby avoiding any awkwardness. By the income which he draws from the students, the professor is interested in giving a large number of lessons in order to increase the minimum and have them good, in order to secure many auditors. By that part of his salary which he receives from the State, he is secure in sickness and old age. There is no retired list; the title of Professor is held for life. When the Professor becomes infirm, he rests. Owing to the extraordinary professors and *privat-docenten* instruction is not impaired.

PRIVAT-DOCENTEN AND THE SUCCESSION OF PROFESSORS.

The Prussian regulations say: "The mission of the University is by means of lectures and other academic exercises to give general instruction, both scientific and literary, to young men suitably prepared by their elementary studies, and it is moreover to qualify them to enter the different branches of the service of the State and of the Church, as well as the professions which demand a learned education of a high order." It is evident that with its small number of ordinary professors the University cannot fill out such a programme. It is here that the extraordinary professors and the *privat-docenten* come in. At Berlin for twenty-seven ordinary professors in the Faculty of Philosophy, there are thirty-three professors extraordinary. This number is never limited. It depends upon the resources of the University, or the sums that the government puts at its disposal. If the Faculty finds that a new or important branch of science is not represented in their instruction, it seeks a professor extraordinary to fill the gap, or it gives this title to some man of merit whom it wishes to secure, meanwhile waiting for an opportunity to attach him more closely. The professors extraordinary are appointed by the minister on the nomination of the Faculty. Their functions are for life. Often they have no other salary than the students' fees, the amount of which they fix as the other professors do. By way of exception, a regular salary may be granted to those whose courses are not of a nature to attract many pupils.

As to the position of *privat-docent*, it is open to every one who has attained the degree of doctor. It is acquired by a special examination, the details of which are carefully fixed by rule. It is an examination, but without competition. There are no competitive examinations in Germany; they cannot be reconciled with the spirit of a University, which is to leave the entrance free to every capacity, with the number only limited by the necessities of instruc-

tion. The *privat-docenten* never receive any other emolument than the students' fees, and lose their title if they remain two years unemployed. They vary the instruction of the Faculty as the extraordinary Professors complete it. The lectures of the *privat-docenten* often serve as repetitions. In fact, nothing is more common than to see several courses on the same subject in one Faculty. Hence arises rivalry among the professors which cannot but be of advantage to the students. There is perfect liberty on both sides. The professor teaches what he will and as he will, the student goes where he knows he can best secure economy and profit. A curious rule allows him to attend all the courses of the Faculty *gratis* for the first ten days of the semester. Only at the end of that time is he obliged to make his choice and register himself. A certificate of attendance at a single course, even at that of a *privat-docent*, or at another University, admits one to the examinations, and no examiner takes it amiss that the candidate has not followed his lectures.

Cost of French and German Higher Education.

Without doubt the sums paid to the professors at the beginning of each semester soon exceed the trimestrial fees of our French student, but we must take into consideration the number of hours given by the professor to his courses, the number of pupils that he has, and the facilities given for practical instruction. One can thus readily convince himself that the expenses of the German student are much more thoroughly repaid, and that the amount of instruction which he would receive in France for the same sum cannot be compared with that which he gets in Germany. And moreover, to appreciate the expense of education in any country, it is not enough to know what the schooling costs, we must ascertain the total amount of the academic expenses added to the general cost of removal and living. It is evident that the smaller university towns offer to students of moderate means advantages of cheap living, which are not to be found in Paris. Certain universities, as that of Greifswald, are attended almost exclusively by poor students, while Bonn and Heidelberg, where it is the fashion to drink wine, are the headquarters of the wealthy and frivolous. Finally one ought besides to take into account certain conditions which lessen still further the average expenses of studying in Germany.

The professor can always at his pleasure exempt a student from the payment of his fee. He always does this for foreigners who bring letters of introduction to him, and we have everywhere found that this hospitality of knowledge is generously practised. Another custom grants the same exemption to the sons of professors and of all the dignitaries of the universities even down to the secretary. The faculty itself can remit all or half of the fees to such students as shall prove their poverty and at the same time give evidence by a special examination of merit and ability. The number of those who profit from these immunities is estimated at 1200, or one fifth of the German students. The expenses of the students are often defrayed by exhibitions, founded either by the State, by parishes, or by private individuals. At Greifswald, where there are only 350 students, there are more than forty such foundations. They are divided on examination among students who bring certificates of poverty. There are other and humbler foundations; the University for instance always disposes of a certain number of free plates, in a restaurant of the town, and these are allotted each semester to poor students after a special examination, which is held with a certain solemnity before the assembled faculty, and only includes the subjects studied during the last term. Among institutions which have been founded in a more modern spirit, the solicitude of the *alma mater* for her indigent students

is no less constant. There has existed at Heidelberg since the year 1863 an association for the assistance of sick students. The professors belong to the association. The students pay a semi-annual subscription of 30 kreuzers, but are exempt from this in case of poverty. The professors contribute to it their time, care, and good will. The patients have a special ward in the hospital, and choose the doctor they prefer. Those who are able pay their board, the others are attended gratuitously. The council of the association is composed of the protector, who corresponds to the rector of other universities, two professors of the medical faculty, a doctor of the town, two professors chosen each year by the Senate, and five students.

The universal interest in Germany in advanced studies does not grow out of bounties, scholarships, and prizes, but the number, merit and independence of the teaching body, and its adaptability to the exigencies of the age and of science. It is a matter of especial importance that the system of education should be capable of receiving all necessary modifications without delay and without violence. The higher instruction in France, imprisoned from its origin in the administrative mould, is to-day the same that it was fifty years ago; scarcely have any new chairs been created. In Germany, on the contrary, the system of education, free from all governmental shackles, has continually changed, grown and perfected itself, by the mere rivalry of the various universities. In the last fifty years the number of courses has at least doubled. The faculties of law and theology have remained nearly stationary, but those of medicine and philosophy, more allied to the movement of the age, have seen the number of their instructors increase from day to day. At Berlin the number of professors and *privat-docenten* of the faculties of medicine and philosophy was 127 on the 1st of January, 1862; in 1864 it was 140; an increase of 13 professors in two years, and as each gives on an average two courses, this is an augmentation of twenty-six semi-annual courses.

No Curriculum—Liberty of Instruction.

There are, properly speaking, no chairs, there are only professors. The Faculty is not formed by the combination of a certain number of courses, it is a corporation of professors who teach after their own fashion. In proportion as the schemes advance, not only are new men added to the Faculty, but each professor varies his instruction according to the tendency of the times, instead of being obliged to conform, even in appearance, to the announcement of a programme which was countersigned by a minister of state some twenty years before.

If he makes mistakes, if he follows the wrong path, the *privat-docenten* are there; they will not fail in their own interest to supply any omission in the instruction of the professors. Is a place made vacant by the death of a professor, it is not thought necessary to appoint some plodding dullard to fill it, whose only merit is that he has religiously followed the beaten path. The Faculty does not bind itself to continue any of its courses. In the last six years, the Faculty of Philosophy at Berlin has had to replace three ordinary professors, two of chemistry, and one of astronomy; it has secured a physicist, a mathematician, and a paleontologist.

The German system of education, thanks to this freedom of the professors, which is the very basis of the method, has acquired a multiplicity, variety, and adaptability which is far beyond the reach of the most enlightened and foreseeing central administration. Every branch of science, no matter how special, though it be the growth of yesterday, has the right of citizenship in the University, and invites students. We should like to give an entire list of the courses delivered during the last semester in one of the greater Faculties of Philosophy. There would be found all the natural, historical, and social

sciences more or less fully represented according to the interests of the times: the theory of micrometric observations by the side of postal law. Molière's plays by the side of the monuments of the Trojan cycle. French civil law is expounded at Munich, Würzburg, Freiburg in Breisgau, Berne, and Heidelberg. Instruction is given in various ways. One professor comments upon a work he is about to publish, another simply describes a journey he has made. It is not unusual for a course on the literature of a foreign language to be held in that tongue, in French, Italian, or English. At some of the older Universities the lectures are given in Latin. At Prague, there are some young *privat-docenten* who instruct in the *czech* language.

Each professor holds generally two courses at the same time, or even three, for which he charges different fees. On the programmes they are styled *publicæ*, *privatim*, *privatissime*. The lectures *publicæ* are those for which the student has only the minimum fee to pay. These are the most numerous. The others are, if it is desired, a sort of conferences, or actual recitations, the price of which is sometimes higher, but which none the less are announced upon the official programme, and are often held in the rooms of the University. They are generally upon some very special point, or are of a more practical nature than the others. One professor may lecture in one of his courses on meteorology, and in the other on experimental physics. Bopp lectured *publicæ* on Sanskrit, and *privatim* on the comparative grammar of Greek, Latin, and German.

Form and Place of Instruction.

The lecturers have no oratorical pretensions. The only care of the professor is to be understood. Some, in the great cities, have occasionally tried to break through the old academic simplicity by inviting the outside public. At Berlin we saw an attempt of this sort on the part of DuBois-Reymond. On one evening of every week the citizens of Berlin would crowd into the great amphitheatre of the University, which, however, does not contain more than 300 places. The students were few, the majority were men of a certain age, scientific amateurs, old students of the University who were not sorry to be once more within the walls which had witnessed their youthful studies. The learned professor read his lecture, which he tried to make eloquent. It was upon the recent progress made in the department of biology—spontaneous generation, the antiquity of man, paleontology, he treated of them all. This method of lecturing, of which one can form an idea from the conferences of the Sorbonne save that there were no ladies present, and that no experiments were made simply to amuse the audience, was so opposed to the old university usages that it could not fail to give rise to some slight feelings of jealousy. When the students saw this eminent physiologist discussing thus all varieties of subjects, they said, somewhat maliciously, that he aspired to succeed Humboldt. They said, too, that these lectures, given before a public composed solely of amateurs, were of no use for the progress of science, and that DuBois-Reymond would have done better to leave the business of vulgarizing knowledge to those who had not advanced it, as he had done.

Nowhere in Germany are there large halls like those at Paris, or in some of our provincial towns. The lecture-rooms are small, often inconvenient, and poorly lighted. In fact, the first corner one can find is good enough. Von Siebold, at Munich, lectures in the garret of the museum. A sort of intimacy is very soon established between the professor and his pupils by the very special nature of the lectures, and the small number of students who attend them. A few years ago Ewald, the celebrated oriental scholar, at Göttingen, was confined to his bed by illness. He gave his lectures in his chamber. The students, seated around his bed, were busy writing, while Madame Ewald attended to her household duties. It is nothing uncommon

for the lectures, even *public* lectures, to be given at the professor's house. Five or six of us attended Ehrenberg's lectures. He received us in his study, in the midst of his microscopes, his books, and his menagerie of infusoria bottled in tubes. We would talk about the last meeting, ask the explanation of some matter which would cause a long digression; in looking for one creature in the tubes, we would come upon another, and the lecture had to be begun anew; or else it was some obscure reference that had to be explained, and we rummaged through the library; and the result was, that with all their interruptions and irregularities, these lectures were most excellent and profitable.

This disdain of all show, this simplicity are not mere matters of fashion, they are related to the very essence of German instruction. The professor teaches us as he works, his courses are only an exposition of his method. He explores and shows how a subject is to be explored. It has been said that a German professor "works aloud," before his pupils; the phrase is very accurate. In France our scientific professors confine themselves to showing the results that have been acquired.

General Spirit of Scientific Research.

The German University has founded the scientific glory of the country. Every *privat-docent* knows that his only chance of success is to make himself known by deeper investigation, and better work than his rivals can perform. He knows too that his personal standing is in no danger from intrigue or disgrace, from the interference of officials or the judgment of a remote superior who is to be won by flattery. His only judges will be his peers, the professors of other Faculties, under the protection of public opinion. The scientific reviews proclaim the results of his studies, and the students spread the renown of his instruction. His future is sure, he will become titular or supplementary professor. No power, no clique can prevent him. There is no case on record of a *privat-docent* of merit who has remained in the second rank. The secret of this is in that German freedom from centralization, which fills us with astonishment. The *privat-docent* of a great university leaves it without fear, he has no need of keeping friends or a powerful protector there in order to be assured of his recall at some future day. He is certain that he will be summoned from his exile at one of the less-known universities, such as Giessen, Rostock, or Marburg, if he prove himself worthy.

After studying and lecturing all day, the young professors gather in the evening, drink a glass of beer together, exchange scientific information, discuss, affirm their doctrines, and excite from this mutual contact greater ardor for the next day's work.

The eighteenth century gave French science the preponderance in Europe. In 1795, Lallas, a German, printed at St. Petersburg his *Tableau physique et topographique de la Tauride* in French. Until 1804 the Memoirs of the Academy of Berlin were issued in French. French had become the language of learning throughout the continent. All this advance has been lost. The wars of the Empire, crowned by the awakening of German nationality, were the signal of a violent reaction which extended to literature and science. The universities, after having raised the theory of education to a lofty height, are now founding its practice on the broadest basis. The German mind has been renewed by them, it quits its secular swaddling-clothes, and enters into the maturity of the modern spirit with all the advantage of an unrivalled system of education. Therefore the influence of Germany in science goes on increasing in Europe. A few months ago, a *privat-docent* of Berlin, appointed professor at the capital of Holland, began his course in German. The reason which he gave to his astonished hearers was, that Germany was henceforth the universal language of science.

ENGLISH VIEWS OF GERMAN EDUCATION.

UNIVERSITIES—SCIENCE DEPARTMENT AND POLYTECHNIC SCHOOLS.*

I.—THE AMOUNT AND KIND OF TEACHING POWER PROVIDED.

The first fact which impresses the English observer of German Universities under this head is this—that the number of teachers, both of the first and second grade, is considerably greater than in English Universities and Colleges, even after account has been taken of the larger number of students; and this discrepancy is, perhaps, greatest in the Science Departments. Provision is thus made both for the effective instruction of students, and for the zealous prosecution of original research. It is in this fixed union of teaching with independent research that Prof. von Sybel, the Rector of the University of Bonn, in his eloquent lecture "on German and Foreign Universities," finds the special excellence of the German Universities to consist. The combination is cherished, not only with a view to the advancement of science, but because by this union in one body of students, teachers, and discoverers, a school is made, students are drawn from a wider area as to an acknowledged centre of intellectual action, and an *esprit de corps* is created, which reacts with incredible effect on the energies of teachers and learners alike.

BONN.

In the University of Bonn there are two professors of chemistry, Kekulé and Landolt, who are respectively ober-director and director of the newly-erected chemical institute; and under these are five skilled assistants—one for organic chemistry, one for qualitative and one for quantitative analysis, one for the lecture-room, and one a sort of supernumerary. Again, Professor Bischof is director of the chemical laboratory and technological cabinet. There are, besides, directors of the pharmaceutical laboratory and apparatus, and probably other officers in this department.

The directorate of the Department of Physics, with its cabinets, is vacant.

In the Natural History Department we find two professors, who are also Directors of the Natural History Museum. The museum also possesses a Curator of the Palæontological Collection, who, at the same time, is an authorized lecturer on his subjects. Attached to the Botanical Garden and Institute are a professor, an inspector, and an assistant. No account is here taken of the anatomical and physiological professors, who are included in the faculty of medicine.

Of Astronomy there is one professor, Dr. Argelander, who is also Director of the Observatory; he has one skilled assistant.

In the Department of Chemistry we are able to make a comparison with the provision existing in Owens College, in a ratio with the number of students taught. There are about 90 students in Professor Kekulé's largest class, and in the three laboratories is room for 60 workers, though these 60 places are not all filled. At Owens College, last session, there were 76

* Report by J. G. Greenwood and H. E. Roscoe, the former Principal and the latter Professor in Owens College, Manchester, to a committee charged with an extension of the College resources and curriculum, so as to include instruction in Science adequate to the wants of one of the great industrial districts of England. This Report covers an account of their visit to the Science Department of the most prominent Universities and Polytechnic Schools of Germany, and is included also in the Report of the Royal Commission on Scientific Instruction to Parliament in 1874.

students in the largest class, and 44 workers in the laboratory; and our staff consists of one professor and one assistant.

The total number of students at Bonn in the Philosophical Faculty (Faculty of Arts), for the summer half year of 1868, was 275; the number of ordinary professors was 27; of extraordinary professors, 11; and of authorized private teachers (lecturers), 19.

GÖTTINGEN.

In Göttingen chemistry is (against the usage in Germany) attached to the medical faculty; there are, however, three divisions—the general, the physiological, and the agricultural. In the first, we found Professor Wöhler, with four skilled assistants; two of these being also professors. In the physiological division is another professor, with one assistant; and in the agricultural division is one professor and one assistant. There are, further, four laboratory servants.

Prof. Wöhler delivers the principal course of lectures on systematic chemistry. His assistants lecture on special branches. The whole staff directs the laboratory; and over and above these are the two professors of physiological and agricultural chemistry, who conduct their own laboratories.

In Physics, Professor Weber and his assistants, Professors Listing and Kohlrausch, conduct an excellent physical laboratory, and lecture on the several branches of physics—Systematic Physics, Optics, Electricity, &c., Light and Heat, Meteorology. Prof. Ulrich treats of hydrostatics and hydraulics.

In Natural History, Professor Keferstein lectures on comparative anatomy, and performs zootomical demonstrations in the Zoological Museum during eight hours weekly to the students; for four hours weekly the museum is open to the public, when the same professor is present to conduct demonstrations. Two professors lecture on botany (each six hours weekly), and combine with their lectures excursions and demonstrations in the botanical garden; there is also a third assistant professor. Professors Sartorius von Waltershausen and von Seebach lecture each four or five hours weekly on mineralogy and geology, and conduct practical demonstrations in the museums.

Professor Klinkerfues lectures on astronomy, theoretical and practical.

We have given this minute analysis of the provision made at Göttingen for the study of the sciences of observation and experiment, as the routine of any one of the leading Universities serves to illustrate the method adopted in Germany. Göttingen, it will be remembered, is not one of the more recently-founded Universities, nor is it in any special degree subject to the influences which have so remarkably fostered the growth of the branch of education under consideration.

BERLIN.

Of Berlin University it will be enough to say that in chemistry four professors and five other lecturers give 20 distinct courses—theoretical and practical—among which, in addition to several distinct courses on systematic chemistry, are included such subjects as the history of chemistry, the chemical foundations of geology, metallurgy, and pharmacy.

Under the head of Physics, the following distinct courses were given in the summer half year of 1868:

	Hours Weekly.		Hours Weekly.
Experimental physics.....	4	Mechanical theory of heat.....	1
Technology.....	5	Hydrography.....	1
Acoustics.....	4	Physical geography, theoretical and practical.....	2
Capillary theory.....	2	Instruction in the method of making geographical & physical observations	3
Theory of light and optical instruments	2		
Physiological optics.....	4		

These 10 courses are given by seven professors; and a physical laboratory is conducted by Professor Magnus.

In Natural History 10 professors and lecturers gave 31 courses, theoretical and practical.*

It is unnecessary to say that we do not set forth this list of teachers and lecturers as a pattern for us to follow in Owens College, or in English Universities generally. We only desire to point out and emphatically to press the importance of the principle that the existence (in due proportions) of a plurality of teachers is an indispensable prerequisite both for breadth and depth of instruction. Where only one teacher is charged with one leading branch of study, it is barely within his power to provide the systematic teaching necessary for pass-men; whereas, if, as in German Universities, several teachers lecture concurrently on subdivisions of a subject, the more advanced students have the opportunity of studying more thoroughly some one section of their subject. The teachers are also induced, by the opportunity of lecturing on special subjects, to engage in profounder investigations; and thus that other aim of University institutions—the advancement of science and the promotion of a learned class—is furthered. This is a consideration, however, at least so far as England is concerned, for a remote future; it is sufficient for us to insist on the necessity of this plurality of teachers in order to really effective teaching.

The Berlin Gewerbe-Akademie, which corresponds to the polytechnic schools of Zurich and Karlsruhe, is an institution of the first magnitude. There are 530 students between the ages of 18 and 25, and a very complete staff of professors. It is divided into three departments—(1) of mechanics, (2) of chemistry and metallurgy, (3) of shipbuilding; and it is proposed to add a fourth, to be called the philosophical department, to embrace subjects appertaining to general culture, including even the "beaux arts." The State allots £7,800 yearly to the support of the academy, and, in addition to this, large sums have been spent on the collections of models and casts, and on the very complete library.

FREIBERG—MINING ACADEMY.

This school offers many advantages over our Royal School of Mines inasmuch as it is situated in the centre of a mining district, and combines complete courses of lectures on all the branches of science allied to mining, with practical instruction, not only in the working of mines (chiefly lead, copper, and silver), but also in the metallurgical processes, carried out on the large scale, employed in the extraction of the metals from their ores. This school has been famous ever since its foundation in 1766. Among the names of its professors are found the most illustrious geologists, mineralogists, miners, and metallurgists of the time. The number of students at the school this last summer was 92, and of these nearly half were young men from the

* It will complete this analysis of the courses given in the University of Berlin in the summer semester of 1867-8, if we add that—

In classics and the allied subjects 13 professors and lecturers gave 23 courses; and on other ancient and on modern languages 18 professors and lecturers gave 40 courses.

In mathematics 6 professors and lecturers gave 13 courses.

In what we should term mental and moral philosophy, including pedagogy, 11 professors and lecturers gave 19 courses.

In the economic and agricultural sciences 7 professors and lecturers gave 12 courses.

In history and geography 9 professors and lecturers gave 13 courses.

In belles lettres and the fine arts 7 professors and lecturers gave 10 courses.

All the courses enumerated above belong to the faculty of arts (philosophische facultät), and are exclusive, of course, of the three other faculties of theology, law, and medicine.

United States, who come over in large numbers to study mining; indeed almost every nation is here represented. Foreigners pay fees amounting to £30 per annum, but the fees for Saxon students are almost nominal. We were told that there is at present no demand whatever for miners in Saxony, and that in consequence the number of Saxon students has greatly diminished. The following list of lectures and practical courses delivered at Freiberg in the year 1865-6 gives an idea of the character and extent of the tuition:

Subjects.	No. of Lectures per Week.	Subjects.	No. of Lectures per Week.
Mathematics, 1st division.....	4	Assaying in the dry way	1
Descriptive Geometry.....	4	Mineralogy and Repetition Lecture..	1
Elementary Mechanics.....	4	Practical Mineralogy.....	2
Mathematics, 2d div.: and Mechanics.	4	Theoretical Crystallography.....	1
Elementary Mechanics applied to mines	3	Geognosy and Repetition.....	1
Construction of mining machines,		Paleontology.....	2
1st course.....	2	Geology of Ores.....	1
2d course.....	2	Civil Engineering.....	3
Drawing.....	14	Mining Engineering, 1st div. and rep..	5
Physics.....	4	Mining Engineering, 2d div. and rep..	5
Theoretical Chemistry.....	4	Practical Assaying.....	15
Practical Chemistry.....	4	Practical Assaying in the wet way....	2
Analytical Chemistry.....	4	Blowpipe Assaying.....	6
General Underground Surveying.....	2	Mining Law.....	4
Practical Underground Surveying.....	2	Book-keeping.....	2
Practice in such surveying.....(daily)	9	French.....	4
General Metallurgy.....	4		
Metallurgy of iron.....	2		

One day per week is left free from lectures, to enable the pupils to visit the mines and smelting works. All those who wish to pass the Government examination, and thus to qualify themselves for a post in the Saxon mines (which are all worked and owned by Government), must, before they enter the mining school, undergo a preliminary examination in general knowledge, and then devote five months to practical mining. A similar preliminary course in smelting is necessary before the Saxon student can be admitted to the lectures of the academy; these two practical courses, while obligatory on all regular or Government students, are open to all who wish to take advantage of them. After having gone through the academy, the Government student has to pass an examination arranged, according to the special part of the subject to which he devotes himself, (1) for miners; (2) for mining surveyors; (3) for machinists; (4) for smelters.

We were conducted by the veteran mineralogist, Breithaupt, to see the unrivalled collection of minerals which he has brought together during his 50 years of successful labor at the academy. The whole of this in many respects, the finest collection in the world has been made with the small annual grant of £45; but of course the mineralogical richness of the locality has greatly assisted the collector.

Connected, in a certain extent, with the Freiberg Academy is the recently-founded Free Mining School of Zwickau, established by the State chiefly for the education of the workmen engaged in the coal mines of Saxony. In this school the miners spend two days a week, working the rest of the time at their trade. The subjects taught are mathematics, German language, mineralogy and geology, and practical mining. Some of the most distinguished pupils of this school subsequently obtain free admission to the Freiberg Academy. The only institution analogous to this in our country appears to be the Bristol School for miners; it is high time that steps were taken to do something for the education of the higher class of pitmen in our district, amongst whom a deplorable state of ignorance exists.

LEIPZIG.

In Leipzig University the new laboratory is just approaching completion, and it appeared to us to offer one of the best models, as to plan, style and

cost. Provision is being made for 100 workers—60 of them beginners, and 40 more advanced students. Prof. Kolbe, the Director, will be furnished with three skilled assistants—two for the laboratory and one for the lecture-room—but Dr. Kolbe believes that four will, in fact, be necessary. In addition three servants will be provided.

HEIDELBERG.

In Heidelberg, as in Berlin, and even in a more perfect measure, large provision is made for the study of physical science. The Physical Laboratory conducted by Prof. Kirchhoff is very successful. Once weekly, Prof. Kirchhoff lectures, with experiments, on a given subject; in the following week each student in the laboratory goes through the experiments for himself; and in this consists the essence of the course. Students can also prosecute independent research for several hours in the week.

The Chemical School of Heidelberg has always been a celebrated one, and since the appointment of Bunsen to the University, its renown has greatly increased. In no other European laboratory, with the single exception of that of Liebig, at Giessen, have so many promising scientific chemists been trained, and this has been wholly due to the untiring interests shown in each student by the illustrious Professor, who, devoted heart and soul to his science, imparts to his students a portion of that interest in, and zeal for, original investigation, which are the real marks of a scientific spirit. Many of the chemical students at Heidelberg come, as with us, to study the science for the sake of its subsequent applications to manufactures, medicine, or pharmacy—for all the German druggists and pharmaceutical chemists are wisely compelled to attend a regular University course; but many, probably a large fraction of the number, study the science for its own sake, most of these students intending to qualify themselves for the higher posts of scientific instruction in various countries. Amongst the companions of those who studied at Heidelberg with one of the reporters were men who are now making rising reputations in most of the German Universities, or in the various scientific institutions of France, Russia, Portugal, Great Britain, and America.

The Physiological Laboratory, conducted by the celebrated philosopher, Helmholtz, is a novel and important feature in the science department in Heidelberg. A handsome and spacious building has recently been erected for the use of the professors of physics and physiology. This embraces lecture-rooms, laboratories, rooms for apparatus and instruments, and for conducting special scientific investigations, besides dwelling-houses for the professors and their families.

We were conducted over the admirably-kept zoological collection by the chief director, Prof. Pagenstecher. The yearly sum at his disposal for the maintenance and augmentation of the collection is 1,400 gulden; in round numbers, £120. Of this sum he devotes £50 to the acquisition of new specimens; £35 to the cost of preparations; £25 to glass and other materials; and £10 to heating, &c. Many of the more costly specimens have not been purchased, however, but formed the nucleus of the museum. Still, by being always on the look-out, he often procures really valuable things for small sums. He told us with great triumph of his most recent acquisitions—a huge bison, from the Zoological Garden of Cologne, for £8, and a *Belanoptera rostrata* for £16.

The cases (which are fitted with iron, not wood, for the larger specimens) alone have cost more than £1,000; this sum is not included in the annual estimate.

Prof. Pagenstecher insisted with great animation on the necessity of suf-

ficient funds for maintaining and enlarging the collections. He told us he was always waging a fierce battle "einen grossen Kampf" with his preparations, though he managed to keep them under with the assistance of four or five young men, who help him to dissect and prepare in his laboratory.

In the winter half year Prof. Pagenstecher gives courses on special zoology, comparative anatomy, and comparative physiology, with microscopic demonstrations; in the summer half year he gives general zoology and palæontology.

The cases in the museum are freely open to the students, and a small catalogue is placed in each. All the year round a sort of zoological laboratory goes on for zootomical practice.

Dr. Pagenstecher is professor of the subjects enumerated, and director of the museum. On hearing of our present arrangement for teaching Natural History in Owens College, he expressed his surprise at the inadequacy of the provision. In his judgment it is not possible to do with fewer than three professors at least, viz.: Of Geology and Palæontology; of Zoology and Human Physiology; of Botany.

CARLSRUHE—POLYTECHNIC SCHOOL.

The science schools in Bonn, Göttingen, Berlin, Leipzig, and Heidelberg are integral parts of those Universities; in form, indeed, they do not even constitute a distinct faculty, being annexed to the Faculty of Arts. In Carlsruhe, however, exists an example of that important institution of modern Germany—the Polytechnicum. The Polytechnicum may be defined as an institution for teaching, on the largest scale, all the branches of the sciences of experiment and observation, and not only in their principles, but in their application to the several industrial arts—these applications being not treated as illustrations of science merely, but rather regarded as the main subjects for instruction, for the sake of which systematic lectures were given on theoretic science.

The Polytechnic School at Carlsruhe, with that at Zürich, seemed to us to be very ably and successfully conducted, and to contrast favorably with some other institutions of the same kind, in the more highly scientific character of its teaching, both experimental and theoretic.

It is worth while briefly to describe the constitution of this important institution, with its 600 students.

In the original programme the school was declared to consist of *one* general and *seven* special departments. The general department, called the mathematical, furnished instruction in mathematics, in natural science, and in modern languages and literature; and was viewed as preparatory to the special schools, and also as adapted for those who proposed to become teachers of mathematics and natural science. The seven special schools were of (1) Civil Engineering; (2) Mechanical Engineering; (3) Architecture; (4) Forestry; (5) Manufacturing Chemistry; (6) Commercial Studies; (7) Civil Service (Postchule). This constitution is in the latest programme so far modified that (1) the general department is no longer treated in form as introductory to the rest, though it still appears to be so virtually; and (2) the last two of the special departments enumerated above are omitted, while an agricultural department is added. The schools are, therefore, now seven, viz.: (1) Mathematics; (2) Civil Engineering; (3) Mechanical Engineering; (4) Architecture; (5) Chemistry; (6) Forestry; (7) Agriculture.

The teaching staff consists of the 24 professors and 16 assistant lecturers and laboratory assistants. The appliances comprise five laboratories (viz.: Chemical, Physical, Mineralogical, and for Forestry and Agriculture), a library, and 12 different cabinets or collections. The Department of Natural

Philosophy appeared to us to be very ably conducted; as many as 130 students attend the lectures of Prof. Wiedemann, in the large theatre of the department; and the cabinets (which are the private property of the Grand Duke) are large and well arranged. In the physical laboratory were 14 students, who go through the course in groups of four; most of these become teachers of the subjects in Real-Schulen; some get important posts in large mechanical workshops.

MUNICH—UNIVERSITY AND POLYTECHNIC.

In Munich, as in Berlin, there are a University and a Polytechnic School side by side.

The newly-founded polytechnicum in Munich is to absorb the schools hitherto existing in Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Würzburg. The buildings were not completed at the date of our visit.

Dr. Jolly, professor of experimental physics in the University, in addition to his lectures, conducts a very important department called the Mathematico-Physical Seminary. There are at present about 10 or 12 in this department, which, with the physical laboratory, is open to all who propose to become teachers of physics in the Real-Schulen. Professor Jolly's method is much the same as that of Prof. Kirchhoff. He goes through each set of experiments once, and after that the students endeavor to perform them. When they fail to succeed they consult the professor or his assistant. At the end of the semester there is a practical examination.

ZÜRICH—UNIVERSITY AND POLYTECHNIC.

In Zürich, also, there are both a University and a Polytechnic School; and although the university is a cantonal and the school a federal institution, they are so far allied, that they share one building, and many students of the University are, at the same time, pupils in the school. The total cost to the State for the maintenance of the polytechnic school is £12,000 per annum. The professors of the two institutions, moreover, work to a certain degree in concert. For instance, Dr. Bolley is professor of chemistry in the school, and Dr. Städler, professor of the same subject in the University. They have each a laboratory; but Prof. Städler's is an analytical, and Prof. Bolley's a technical laboratory. There are 42 students working in the former, and 50 in the latter.

There is less freedom allowed to pupils of the school as to the class to be attended. Definite courses are laid down; but, as at Owens College, relaxations are freely granted.

The most important department of the polytechnic school is that of mechanics and engineering; there are also departments for forestry and agriculture, and an important department for teachers—a sort of technological seminary.

The professor of technical or applied chemistry, Dr. Bolley, lectures about three or four times weekly throughout the session. He makes four or five subdivisions: as the chemistry of color; of heating and lighting; of materials; of nourishment; of agriculture. Before entering this class the student is required to have attended a theoretical course and an elementary experimental course.

Dr. Zeuner, the professor of engineering, gives about 50 or 60 lectures yearly on the mechanical theory of heat; and he lectures six times a week for two semesters, on the theory of machines. The character of his courses is very high and rigorous; he insists on a knowledge of the differential calculus as a condition of entering his classes. He proceeded to remark on the generally inadequate mathematical preparation of English students of engineering, and mentioned his conviction that Professor Rankine, for whose

works he expressed an unbounded admiration, must find the sphere of his efficiency as a teacher seriously limited by reason of the want of due preparation on the part of his students.

The following extracts from the prospectus of the lectures in the engineering department of the Zürich school show how much more complete is the scheme of instruction there than has at present been found possible in England:

B.—Department of Civil Engineering.

(Duration of course, 3½ years.)

1st year.—Differential and integral calculus. Descriptive geometry. Principles of construction. Practice in construction. Drawing. Experimental physics. Experimental chemistry.

2d year.—Differential equations. Technical mechanics. Geometry of three dimensions. Perspective. Technical geology. Topography. Drawing. Descriptive mechanical construction. Surveying.

3d year.—Theoretical mechanical construction. Astronomy. Geodesy. Construction of iron bridges, railways, and iron roofs. Drawing.

In addition to these courses there are similarly extensive programmes for (A) the Department of Architecture, and (C) the Department of Mechanical Engineering. The number of regular students in the year 1867 was in these subjects: (A) Department of Architecture, 33; (B) Department of Civil Engineering, 103; (C) Department of Mechanical Engineering, 87.

II.—PROVISION MADE FOR THE PAYMENT OF PROFESSORS AND ASSISTANTS.

1. *Professors.*—The Professors ordinarily, at the German Universities and Polytechnic Schools, are servants of the State, and, as such, all receive salaries from the Government, varying in amount from £50 to £400 per annum, according to the importance of the chair and the standing of the professor. In addition to this fixed stipend, a large portion, or in many cases the whole, of the fees falls to the professor, and generally dwelling-houses are attached to the establishment for the accommodation of the professor and staff. In the case of several of the leading professors the houses are spacious and handsome, and valued at least at £100 per annum.

2. *Skilled Assistants.*—Attached to every professorship of chemistry are several assistantships. The assistants are chosen by the professor from the most promising or best qualified students; they are also State servants, and receive salaries from Government amounting to from £40 to £60 per annum, with the addition of residence, with fire, &c. The duties of these assistants are (1) to attend to the preparation for illustrating the experimental lectures of the professor; (2) to assist in the practical teaching in the laboratory. For the first of these purposes the services of one assistant is required; for the second a number of assistants are required, in proportion to the number of students working. In Bonn and Berlin one assistant is appointed for every 12 or 13 students, whilst in other laboratories a larger number of students are placed under each assistant. On the whole, we find that the average ratio of students to assistants is 20 to 1. In some cases (as at Göttingen) the assistants are professors (extraordinarily) in the University, and lecture on special subjects, as well as take a certain number of the beginners in the laboratory altogether off the hands of the professor.

3. *Fees.*—The fees both for lectures and laboratory practice are much lower than with us. This is, of course, explained by the fact that all the science schools are Government institutions. Thus at Heidelberg the fee for the lectures on chemistry (five hours weekly, for from four to five months) is £1 14s. per "semester," whilst the laboratory fee is £4 for working six days

DEVELOPING SCHOOL, AND SCHOOL-SHOPS.

BY S. P. RUGGLES.

Report of Committee of the American Social Science Association, Jan. 10, 1877.

There is an order of education, which may be called special, by which every individual in a community in harmony with his choice shall not only be cultivated into an able man, but shall, in addition, have a practical training in that peculiar knowledge and specific skill by which he becomes habitually a machinist, mason, carpenter, builder, architect, engineer, ship-builder, naval architect, etc. Each of these duties must be learned by some person, over and above and in addition to all that he knows in common with others; and it is plain that the work of each citizen will have value in exact proportion to his skill. In other words, the value of a nation's work will vary with the excellence of its national system of technical education.

The question comes home to every one of us, How shall we train the children and youth, who are to succeed us in this world, changed by science and invention, for the wide field of responsibility that lies before them? The conditions of society have undergone such a radical change during the last forty or fifty years that the laborer must now receive a different practical education from what was required two generations ago. Apprenticeship having departed, never to return in its ancient form, something else must take its place, and give to our artisans practical instruction. Every youth should have placed within his reach such technical instruction as will enable him to become the master of his trade, art or occupation. By the old apprentice system, the boy was bound to the master some seven years, and received his instruction more by his own observation than by any direct teaching. We recommend the plan suggested

by Mr. S. P. Ruggles, and so universally endorsed by the press, in contradistinction to the former system of our fathers, — that the youth, whenever he has completed his general education in any of our public or private schools, may enter what may be called a

DEVELOPING SCHOOL,

so established and arranged as to give all the pupils a good general idea of all the different trades, arts or callings, in order that it may be ascertained by themselves or the superintendent for what kind of business they have the greatest natural genius. Imagine, if you please, one very large room, with a steam-engine and boiler in the middle of it, so that all pupils that have any taste for the management of steam, or steam-engines, could examine every point, and readily understand all about it. Then we would have a carpenter's bench, with a variety of tools, to show how that work was done; then perhaps turning-lathes, to show how the wood-turning business was performed; then, with the aid of blackboards and carving-tools, it might be seen how drawing and carving is done, by those that have any inclination for that business. We should also have planing-machines, lathes, upright drills, jig-saws, etc., to represent the machinist business. Foundry work should be shown by having the usual fixtures for sand, and two and three part flasks for moulding, etc.; the casting could be done in soft metals, as lead, zinc or tin, which could be reused, as the whole art in foundry work consists in the different manner of moulding; and almost all other trades or methods of doing work could be pretty well represented in the same room.

THE SCHOOL-SHOP.

As soon as it should be ascertained what kind of business the pupil is best fitted for by nature, he would be recommended to the SCHOOL-SHOP where that *trade* should be taught, and be more thoroughly instructed in two years, and become a better mechanic, than in six or seven years under the old system of learning a trade.

School-Shops vs. Workshops.

We would here like to show the difference between mechanical shops of all kinds that should be established to teach a trade, art or calling, and the shops already established for doing work of that particular kind for profit. For example, we will speak of the machine-shop, which, as now arranged, is fitted up with the general tools and fixtures necessary to do a particular class of work, such as locomotive building, or steam-engine building of various sizes, or printing-press machinery, or factory machinery, or tool-making, etc., etc., neither of which would have every variety of tool or fixtures in any one shop for doing every kind of machine work. But when we fit up a machine-shop for the express purpose of *teaching* that trade or art, it should contain, not only planers, lathes, upright drills, gear-cutting machines, etc., for doing work generally, but should contain every tool and appliance of every name and nature that is ever used in any shop whatever, so that the student would become acquainted with every manner of doing work and the management of every kind of tool or device ever used in any place or business for doing work. Also there should be a very particular selection of the kinds of work to be made at the school-shops, consisting of lathes and planers and other tools that are always kept on sale, large and small work of different kinds, making as great variety of work as possible for the pupil to practise upon in building, so that he would get a thorough knowledge of all and every part of the machine business; and each pupil would be taught to make the whole, and put together every machine that was being constructed.

The School-Shop Training.

In the school-shop the pupil would advance from a lower degree of instruction to a higher as rapidly as his thorough knowledge and good workmanship would justify. The instructor would be paid a satisfactory salary, and not be permitted to make merchandise of the time of the student. All machinery, or articles made by the students, could be

put on sale, or be sold at auction, and the proceeds appropriated towards the expenses of the "school-shops."

The great and rapid change in the division of labor and the introduction of machinery, and the great variety of appliances for doing all kinds of business, show plainly the importance of changing the system of instruction at the present time. We think it will be admitted that it will be of incalculable advantage to the youth, and would prove in the end to be very economical for the whole community.

AN AGE OF SPECIALISTS.

Formerly a carpenter was taught to build a whole house: he used to jack down his floor-boards, make sashes, blinds, doors, stick out his mouldings, build his stairs, split out the laths, etc.

Now this work is divided into specialties. We have planing-mills, where boards are planed by the wonderful "planing-machine" to an equal thickness; tongued, grooved and jointed if desired; also, machines run by steam for sticking out mouldings of every size and description. There are special establishments for making blinds, sashes, and doors of every description and variety, by machinery invented and adapted to that special purpose. Stair-building, formerly a part of the carpenter's trade, is now a specialty or business by itself. Great changes have taken place in the machine business, caused by the subdivision of labor and the introduction of various machines and appliances to perform the labor formerly done by hand. Instead of chipping and filing to make a straight edge or level surface, the material is now placed upon the planer for planing iron, where the edge is made perfectly straight, or the surface perfectly level, in one-tenth the time formerly required before the introduction of the planing-machine. This is true of other varieties of work, by means of upright drills, jig-saws, screw-cutting apparatus, polishing and emery wheels, universal chucks and other appliances to the lathe, together with other apparatus which facilitates the manufacture of

the various parts of the work. It is well known there is no place at the present, nor has there been for some time past, where a boy could "learn a trade."

ADAPTING EDUCATION.

We boast of our liberal institutions, and our admirable form of government; nay, more, of our *intelligence*. It is admitted that we have done much for the cause of learning; but who cannot perceive how much remains to be done before we can justly lay claim to that noble, refined and practical excellence which ought to adorn a great, a prosperous and free people? We must strike out new paths. We must advance with the world. How many men know anything at all of the materials with which they work?

We are pleased to learn that we have the hearty approval and co-operation of Mr. John D. Philbrick, the experienced Superintendent of the Public Schools of Boston, in relation to the above-proposed plan.

In order to prevent misapprehension by those who have desired information in relation to the many articles published upon this subject in our public papers during the past year, we would wish to be distinctly understood that it is the object of the above plan to give to all the youth leaving our public or private schools the opportunity of obtaining a perfect knowledge of his chosen trade or occupation in the shortest possible time. Every boy, rich or poor, is, we think, as much entitled to be taught a good trade as to have an education in our public schools. We also believe the proposed plan would be self-supporting in a short time after being once put in successful operation.

To recapitulate:—

First. There would be great advantage gained by selecting the right youth (by the Developing School) for the right business.

Second. The boys would be *taught* the trade, instead of getting their knowledge by observation, as was the case by the former plan; and not be kept on work which would be

most profitable for the master, as it would be his whole object to *teach* the boys, instead of making profit on their work.

Third. The school-shop would be much more perfectly fitted up (as described) to *teach* the business than any shop to do work for profit, as all shops heretofore have only been fitted with such tools and appliances as were necessary to do their particular class of work.

Fourth. The kind of work selected to be made by the boys would be both large and small, embracing as great a variety as possible, in order to give them a perfect knowledge of every branch of the business.

Fifth. There would be *good moral discipline* in the school-shop, the boys not being mixed up with journeymen and all classes usually found in all shops as generally established.

Sixth. There would be no more expense to the boy while learning the trade and making him a producer, than there was while getting his public-school education.

Seventh. The worth of the work made by the boys would probably pay current expenses after a very short time.

REMARKS BY WENDELL PHILLIPS.

One of the great problems which confronts republican statesmanship is how to manage the population of cities. The tendency of our time is to gather men into cities. These treble and quadruple while the country only doubles. In every large town and great city is always present a vicious class, a burden and check on the welfare of the community, ready at any moment to become dangerous. The education and moral training of these is of the first importance. Lacking this, republican institutions are sure to be a failure. Every city has two kinds of education for this class: one is the schools; the other is the tolerated temptations and houses of vice. These *educate* men just as much as other schools do. Their results are more immediately visible and more easily measured than those of the book-schools are. While there lies on our Chief of Police's table a perfect list

of every house in the city devoted to vicious indulgence, and such houses are not closed, they must be considered a tolerated and recognized means of training the masses.

Now, idleness is one of the first temptations to vice. Children should be taught how to work, and, if possible, trained to love work. Again, one of the first safeguards against dishonesty is, to know how to make an honest living.

Seven out of ten who come out of our public schools will prefer a trade or be obliged to make their living by the work of their hands. My experience is that hundreds leave school at fifteen years of age, wholly unable to do anything for which any man would be willing or could afford to give them a dollar. Here is the ready and fruitful source of vice and danger in large towns and cities.

In my judgment, we have no right to take a man's child from him and keep him until he is fifteen, or to induce a man to trust his child with us until he is fifteen, and then hand him back unable and unfit to earn his bread. We have done the boy and the city a harm rather than a good. Education means fitting a man for *his* life. We have rather unfitted than fitted such a boy for the life of labor which is to be *his* life.

Of course I do not object to any liberal knowledge we give him. Neither do I now and here intend to notice or criticise the perfection or imperfection with which this is done. On that I have my opinions, and I do not consider our success in that line anything to be proud of. But I maintain that as respects that large class of young men and women who are to earn their bread by the labor of their hands, our *system* is not as good as that which prevailed a century ago, and still prevails in our small towns. The boy went to school six months, and helped his father on the farm or in his trade the other six. At sixteen or eighteen such a boy came into life able to maintain himself, to stand on his own feet, a help, not a burden or danger to the community;

his life a career, not a lottery; the city an opening and opportunity to him, not merely a temptation.

Men wonder sometimes at the extraordinary success of what we call self-educated men. Most of them had such a training as I have described, and if they had failed when competing with men merely book-trained, that would be more matter of their wonder than their success is.

I do not ask to have this old system back again; but it gives us a good hint how to amend ours.

The boy who is going to college has two or three more years of education given him to fit him for his future. Why should not the city extend to the children who prefer some mechanical trade equal favors, parallel advantages? the same amount of training for their future that the college boy has for his? The discrimination against those who prefer to work with their hands is very unjust.

Our system of education helps the literary class to an unfair extent when compared with what it affords to those who choose some mechanical pursuit. Our system stops too short; and as a justice to boys and girls, as well as to society, it should see to it, that those whose life is to be one of manual labor should be better trained for it; the system Mr. Ruggles proposes seems to me admirably adapted to this end. Its main features must be added to our Public School System, which daily becomes more unequal to the task it assumes.

The Developing School is an entirely new suggestion, and an instrument and help to education of great value.

We put a child into a hall or school, where he sees every variety of mechanical work going on. He tries his hand at any he fancies. Soon his natural bent or taste shows itself. His peculiar genius chooses and clings to some one kind of work. *He has found his calling* — the square peg, as the phrase is, has found the square hole — and is not obliged to stagger and stumble through life a square peg in a round hole. This natural bent once found out, we hand the child

over to that school-shop which teaches his particular trade, and thus fit him for his life.

In this school he should be broadly trained in all that pertains to his chosen calling; not be crippled by being confined to some one small item, or portion of it. He should not be crippled by being set—as we used to say when pins were made by hand—to make a pin's head or point all his life. If one portion of his chosen trade fails him, he should have some insight into all its particulars, and be thus able in almost any event or emergency to stand on his feet an independent man. Never let us lose the well-known characteristic of the Yankee race, that no shock can ever shake one off his feet, and no fate place him where he would not be worth his keep.

REV. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D.

Mr. Hale followed Mr. Phillips. He called attention to the loss which the community sustains by placing boys in occupations for which they are not fitted by their native abilities. He spoke also of the difficulty of educating boys in accordance with their native ability, even when that ability has been ascertained. He took, as an illustration, the difficulty, amounting almost to impossibility, of training a Boston boy to a sailor's life. He asked the audience if anybody remembered an instance within the last ten years when a Boston boy had been trained to a life at sea. Yet there is no question but that there is a passion for the sea in our blood. We are the descendants of the Vikings; and some of the greatest achievements of our race have been its victories on the ocean. That is only one instance, among many, of the way in which we are neglecting the native ability of our own children, in our drift or habit of turning all our boys into tradesmen.

Now, the great duty of the State is to make the most out of every child born in the State. These children are born with great diversity of ability, and they must be trained to every variety of calling, if the State be wise. If Jenny

Lind be born here, she must be trained to music; if John Milton be born here, he must be trained to letters; and none of the follies of Adam Smith, or of the other economists, must condemn them to heading pins or spinning cotton. But, as we live, we are fast losing the opportunities for this variety of training. We begin bravely on the broad system of the public schools. But it must be remembered that it is said that the average Boston boy leaves school forever before he is twelve years old. What is it, then, for which you have trained him? Anybody who knows the real openings for those boys will tell you that it seems as if they were fit for nothing but to be news-boys or cash-boys in the great retail shops, or sellers of lozenges at the door of the Museum.

Now, these are not good preparations for life. Nobody ever saw a grown-up cash-boy, or a grown-up lozenge-boy. My friends, the manufacturers, say that they are glad to have a few of these boys in their mills; but I have to say to them that ten hours a day at the loom or the spinning-frame is not a good education for manhood or womanhood. And I have to remind them that the prime business of a Christian State is not to make cottons, but to make men and women.

Now, the report has told you what are the causes for the difficulty in training boys to the use of their hands and heads together. We want the trained mechanic as much as we ever did. But our system, alas, no longer permits the trained man in his workshop to give a personal training to the boy who is to learn. Our system even keeps boys out of the sight of workmen, so that they really tell a story of a boy of sixteen, who had never seen any mechanic at his work, except a plumber, — and that boy chose a plumber's trade because he did not know what else to choose! What follows all this difficulty in teaching boys to use the powers God has given them? Why, there grows up a race of inefficient men, who have not learned to do anything at all. They are left in the grade of mere brute labor, because they have learned no art or handicraft in their boyhood.

Mr. Hale continued :—

Here is the point of view from which I look upon this subject: For more than twenty years now, it has been my duty to study all the questions of city poverty, of pauperism, and of other misery; and I tell you what any working minister will tell you, that, after intemperance, the worst evil you have is your body of untrained laborers, and that your present social status makes no provision for the training of labor. It is to supply this central need that Mr. Ruggles proposes his plan of the Developing School, and the schools connected with it.

I am perfectly willing to admit that the best plan was the old New England plan. The fathers builded better than they knew when they sent a boy to school for three months, and then kept him at work for three months at the bench, in the fishing-boat, or on the farm. But we think we have outgrown that system. We compel the school-boy, while he is a school-boy, to keep at school all the time. We teach him to calculate how many bushels of oats can be exchanged against how many bushels of wheat, when oats are so much and wheat is so much,—and he does not, for all our teachings, know a kernel of oats nor a kernel of wheat when he sees them. Then, finding our boys good for nothing, we turn round and beg the schools to undertake their training. Just as we have made the schools teach a *little* music, and a *little* drawing, and a *little* sewing, we ask them to be good enough to teach a *little* filing, and a *little* planing, and a *little* sawing. But all this is merely overburdening the school system, which is overburdened already; and it does not provide for the separate training of each boy, according to his own personal ability.

What Mr. Ruggles's plan suggests is a school to which the boy shall come when he is of proper age to learn his trade,—where he shall first be tried, by an intelligent master, on different lines of work. The report which has been read explains to you the detail. In a few months, or perhaps weeks, we shall know whether this boy will be a good ma-

chinist, or a good founder, or a good carpenter, or good watchmaker. We shall know his physical aptitudes, his moral aptitudes; we shall know what line of work he can follow well. Then we shall be prepared to take him into the separate school, where that aptitude can be best developed.

I am told by skilful men, and I believe, that under two years of such careful training, for the new purpose of training, an intelligent boy will learn more than he would learn in seven years of the old apprenticeship, knocked about here and there, left to run errands or to take the rough work generally, — perhaps making rivets for a year, if there were need of rivets, or punching-holes for a year, if there were need of holes. If that estimate be true, our plan proposes to save five years of each young man's life, and to give it to him as his freedom present, even before he comes of age.

We wish the State to add this developing system to its system of schools, because the State can do it better than any private corporation. The State has determined, wisely, that all the larger towns shall teach Latin and Greek in the public schools, shall prepare boys and girls for college. It has determined, wisely, that they shall teach drawing in those schools, resolving to develop the hardly budding genius of art in our manufactures. Let it determine, with the same wisdom, not to be dependent on the workshops of other lands for the skilled workmen whom it must have, if its great enterprises are to prosper.

It is an interesting reflection that when Robert Stephenson had conceived, and, I may say, determined on, that great invention of the locomotive, which has revolutionized the world, he knew so well what he needed, and the world needed, that he did not so much as attempt to build his model till he had first trained the machinists who were to build it with him. The machine-shop in which the "Rocket" was built had been first the training-school of the machinists who built her; and, when the great day of trial came, the result appeared. She did not break down on experiment in the competition with her rivals. They did. She did not

need to be hauled off for repairs. What she was bidden to do she did. What he had prophesied, she performed. And the day that the great trial was over, modern society, had it only known it, was re-born! In that new birth it was needed that Robert Stephenson should fitly train a school of machinists to their duty.

I cannot but believe that so soon as the State throws the prestige of the public school system around its schools of industry, and opens them as freely as it opens its schools of Latin, of Greek, and of the higher mathematics, we shall see boys of enterprise and ingenuity and quickness of eye, repair to them with as much eagerness as boys now repair to West Point or to Annapolis, — with more eagerness than they show in going to Yale and Harvard. The State will have provided what its system now lacks, and will meet the wants and aspirations, as it trains the inborn faculties, of every child of God born into its arms.

MR. ELIZUR WRIGHT.

MR. PRESIDENT: The filing school, so thoroughly illustrated, seems to be quite aside from the aim of the report before the Association, and rather in the line which we wish to avoid. The tendency of the present system of manufactures is to turn the boy into a tool instead of a man, — a tool that must rust when out of employ, instead of a man who can get his living and more, everywhere. We wish to educate the boy, not into a filing tool of the highest possible perfection, or drilling tool, or turning tool; but into a master of so large a variety of tools, that he can create all the parts of some complicated and useful mechanism, so as to work, and produce something. Boyhood is not long enough to acquire absolute perfection in perhaps any one of a score of common old-fashioned hand-tools, which, used with the highest possible skill, can produce surprising and beautiful results.

The trouble is, if it *were* long enough, the beautiful result produced would not be the production of the twenty persons

using the twenty tools, but of some superintending brain which used twenty human tools or twenty inanimate tools to produce it. Of all old-fashioned tools the file is perhaps the most painfully difficult to use perfectly. It lies at the very foundation of the metallic arts, and, without very high skill in its use, the present system of machinery could not have been born. But that once in existence, the importance and domain of the file, and the miraculously true filer, shrink almost into insignificance. If people were hereafter to be born without legs, the accomplishment of standing on one's head and walking on his hands would assume great importance. So if planing and turning engines, including the turning of irregular forms, were to be lost to mankind, the old marvellous skill in the use of the file might loom up again.

What we want in the field of practical education is some substitute for the dead apprenticeship system. In the presence of machinery in great establishments, the old trades which were handed down from father to son are either abolished or shrivelled to littleness.

The Yankee boy, the most constructive "critter" naturally in the world, is pretty much shut out from the sight of all sorts of tools. And, knowing nothing of tools, the machines which are made to do the work of the tools are a sealed book and a mystery to him. If he goes to a machine shop, they will, perhaps, take him on the footing of a tool, and set him to doing over and over, forever and ever, one particular thing; that is, if he does not disgust the superintendent by letting his machine do some mischief, which in his ignorance he is likely enough to do. He is a stranger in a strange city, in a perfect Babel maze of buzzing and clanking, the meaning of which is all Greek to him.

But suppose he had first been let into my friend Ruggles's proposed school-shop, furnished with a considerable variety of tools and machines, and encouraged to try his ingenuity in using them to make something — to make the various parts and put them together. He does not become perfect with any

tool, but he becomes familiar with a good many. He has done something with them himself. He has through them achieved a certain mastery over matter. Let him now go into a machine-shop, or great mechanical manufactory, and though he may be set, as in the other case, to do one thing over and over, he understands and sympathizes with all that is going on. He catches the spirit of the place, and feels himself in some degree master of the situation. Instead of gloomily sinking to a level with the tool he is set to use, he seeks to command its best services in the hope of commanding others by and by.

One of the wisest sayings of the learned Dr. Samuel Johnson, it seems to me, when his friend asked him how he should educate his son for a literary career, was "Turn him loose in a library." There is a pretty large class of Yankee boys that would be sure to educate themselves if turned loose in a well-furnished shop. The addition of capable and kind teachers would not render it less sure.

[The discussion on the plan of Mr. Ruggles, set forth in the Report of the Committee of Social Science Association, was continued on the following evening, at the Institute of Technology, by Prof. Runkle, Prof. Whitaker, Prof. Watson, Mr. Newell and others. The Russian system of teaching the use of tools by actual training in all the manipulations of the file and other implements was contrasted with Mr. Ruggles's plan of teaching the entire trade, with some division as to preference; but all the speakers were agreed that the old apprenticeship, which in its best days was a slow process of repetition, mostly of the least important parts of a trade, had gone by, and that some substitute for it must be devised and generally and systematically applied.]

FEMALE EDUCATION PRIOR TO 1800.

REMINISCENCES OF SENEK.*

MR. EDITOR:—Convinced that I can not be better employed than in promoting the interests of education, and especially that of females, from whose nurseries we are to receive men of wisdom to fill every department of useful influence in society, I cheerfully comply with your request, to state what I know of the rise and progress of *Female Education* in this country, during the *half-century past*. The place of my nativity was in the vicinity of Hartford, (Connecticut) and my acquaintance somewhat extended in the county. In 1770, common schools were open to every child, and the expense of instruction paid by the public, partly by the school fund, which was then but small, and partly by town taxes. In larger districts, the schools were kept six months in the year, in the smaller, two, three, or four months. The branches taught were spelling, reading, writing, and rarely even the first rules of arithmetic. The Assembly's Catechism was repeated at the close of every Saturday forenoon school. Those of good memory could repeat the whole hundred and eight answers, the ten commandments, a part of Dilworth's Rules of Spelling, the stops and marks of distinction, and the prosody. Dilworth's Spelling Book was introduced about the year 1762. I have known boys that could do something in the four first rules of arithmetic. Girls were never taught it. At public examinations, as late as 1774, in some instances earlier, the speaking of pieces and dialogues was introduced, and specimens of writing; but I never recollect arithmetic. Whether the school consisted of thirty, sixty, or even one hundred, which I have known, one teacher only was employed, and among his pupils there were sometimes twenty A B C scholars.

Girls had no separate classes, though generally sitting on separate benches. A merchant from Boston, resident in my native town, who was desirous to give his eldest daughter the best education, sent her to that city, one quarter, to be taught needlework and dancing, and to improve her manners in good and genteel company. To complete this education, another quarter, the year following, was spent at Boston. A third quarter was then allowed her at the school of a lady in Hartford. Another female among my schoolmates was allowed to attend the same school for the period of three months, to attain the same accomplishments of needlework, good reading, marking, and polished manners. These are the only instances of female education, beyond that of the common schools before described, which I knew, in a town of considerable extent on Connecticut River, until 1776. Soon after that period, I saw and instructed

* Rev. William Woodbridge, in the *American Journal of Education* for September, 1830, and in the *American Annals of Education*, for November, 1831.

two young ladies, who had attended the private instruction of a neighboring clergyman.

In 1779, two students of Yale College, during a long vacation, after the British troops invaded New Haven, had each a class of young ladies, who were taught arithmetic, geography, composition, &c., for the term of one quarter.

One of these students, (Rev. William Woodbridge,) during his senior year in college, in the severe winter of 1779-80, kept a young ladies' school in New Haven, consisting of about twenty-five scholars, in which he taught grammar, geography, composition, and the elements of rhetoric. The success of this school was such as to encourage a similar school in another place, and with about the same number of scholars. These attempts led to the opening of a similar school in Newburyport, which was supported two quarters only. Before that period the Moravians had opened a school for females in Bethlehem. This place has been long celebrated for its numbers, and continues to enjoy a high reputation, notwithstanding its many rivals. Full to overflowing, when they could accommodate no more, they opened other branches in other places, which I can not enumerate.

In 1780, in Philadelphia, for the first time in my life, I heard a class of young ladies parse English. After the success of the Moravians in female education, the attention of gentlemen of reputation and influence was turned to the subject. Drs. Morgan, Rush, (the great advocate of education,) with others, whom I can not name, instituted an academy for females in Philadelphia. Their attention, influence, and fostering care were successful, and from them sprang all the following and celebrated schools in that city. I have seen a pamphlet of about one hundred pages, entitled the "Rise and Progress of the Female Academy in Philadelphia," to which I must refer for farther and more particular information.

About the year 1785, young ladies were taught in the higher branches of education by Dr. Dwight, in his Academy at Greenfield, in the State of Connecticut, and his influence was exerted with great effect, in improving the state of female education.

In the year 1789, a Female Academy was opened in Medford, within five miles of Boston, so far as I am informed, the *first* establishment of the kind in New England. This was the resort of scholars from all the Eastern States. The place was delightful and airy, containing ample and commodious buildings, and fruit gardens of about five acres.

Here the school flourished in numbers for seven years, until the estate was divided and sold, and its removal became necessary. Seven years of experiment, however, had evinced the practicability of the plan. Schools upon a similar plan, and female high schools, in which the arts and sciences are taught, were soon multiplied, and a new order of things arose upon the female world.

[In a subsequent communication "Senex" thus resumes the subject.]

You inquire how so many of the females of New England, during the latter part of the last century, acquired that firmness, and energy, and excellence of character for which they have been so justly distinguished, while their advantages of school education were so limited.

The only answer to this question must be founded on the fact, that it is not the amount of knowledge, but the nature of that knowledge, and still more, the manner in which it is used, and the surrounding influences and habits, which

form the character. Natural logic—the self-taught art of thinking—was the guard and guide of the female mind. The first of Watts' five methods of mental improvement, "The attentive notice of every instructive object and occurrence," was not then in circulation, but was exemplified in practice. Newspapers were taken and read in perhaps half a dozen families, in the most populous villages and towns. Books, though scarce, were found in some families, and freely lent; and in place of a flood of books, many of which are trifling or pernicious, there were a few, of the best character. They were thoroughly read, and talked of, and digested. In town and village libraries, there were some useful histories, natural and political. Milton, Watts' *Lyric Poems*, Young's *Night Thoughts*, Hervey's *Meditations*, the *Tattler*, and Addison's *Spectator*, were not scarce, though not generally diffused. Pamela, *Clarissa Harlow*, and an abridgement of *Grandison*, were in a few hands, and eagerly read; and the *Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, was the chief work of this kind for the young.

But the daily, attentive study of the Holy Scriptures, the great source of all wisdom and discretion, was deemed indispensable in those days, when every child had a Bible, and was accustomed to read a portion of the lesson at morning prayers. This study, with the use of Watts' *Psalms* (a book which, with all the defects it may have, contains a rich treasure of poetry and thought, as well as piety,) at home, at church, and in singing schools, I regard as having furnished, more than all other books and instructions, the means of mental improvement, for forty years of the last century.

But when were found the hours for mental improvement? Time will always be found, for that which engages the affections. If the spinning day's work was one and a half, or two runs, early rising, and quick movements at the wheel, dispatched the task. The time was redeemed. Often was the book laid within reach of the eye that occasionally glanced upon it for a minute or two, while knitting or sewing.

In the families of educated men, social intercourse became an important means of education to the daughters. The parents spent their evenings at home. In almost every town, there were one or more collegiate students, or men of professional and liberal education. Many taught in the common schools, and "boarded round" in families. The conversation of such persons was then highly appreciated, listened to, repeated and remembered. These circumstances afforded considerable aid to the cause of female education; for here, as in other cases, the means more scantily provided, were more carefully improved.

The mind is formed by the current of its leading thoughts, as the intervalle, by that of its river. At that period, the social, domestic and sacred virtues were the general standard of female merit, in place of learning and accomplishments. Throughout the wisdom of Solomon, the domestic virtues are extolled; and among the ancients, the companions of kings and princes, without these accomplishments, were thought unqualified for their station. The daughters of New England studied the economics of the Proverbs. Nine tenths of all the cloths in use were of domestic manufacture. So late as the eight years' Revolutionary war, when hand-cards only were used in carding wool, all, or nearly all, the clothing for the New England troops, was manufactured by the patient, laborious industry, of our mothers and daughters. This was done in addition to all family clothing, bedding and hosiery. If they had a calico, worsted, or

still more rarely, a silk gown, it was paid for in the produce of the dairy, or in home-made cloth. A wedding-gown often lasted until the daughter was ready to wear it on the like occasion.

But the wise and prudent mother in New England educated her daughters most by her own counsels and example, to virtue, and respectability. "Her mouth was opened with wisdom, and on her tongue was the law of kindness." Example, however,—practical example, led the way, and was accompanied by parental counsel. The father did not fail to enforce the counsels of maternal wisdom, by saying, "Be sure, my child, to obey your mother." An eagle eye of watchful care, like the nightly moonbeams, spread its influence over all their steps, and the public eye and opinion were two faithful sentinels, who never slept on the watch. Under such restraints and by such means were female virtues reared and guarded, and that sterling energy of character, of which you speak, was formed. Family government then was general. So was family worship among the serious and moral; who kept the Sabbath, and attended public worship so generally, that if one was absent, the conclusion was, that he was either out of town, or sick. The Revolution, however, changed the New England habits and manners surprisingly, and deplorably.

After the close of the Revolution, in 1783, females over ten years of age, in populous towns, were sometimes, though rarely, placed in the common schools, and taught to write a good hand, compose a little, cipher, and know something of history. The cause of female education was thus considerably advanced. Young women became ambitious to qualify themselves for school-keeping during the summer season, when sons were in the field.

When, at length, academies were opened for female improvement in the higher branches, a general excitement appeared in parents, and an emulation in daughters to attend them. Many attended such a school one or two quarters, others a year, some few longer. From these short periods of attendance for instruction in elementary branches, arose higher improvements. The love of reading and habits of application became fashionable; and fashion we know is the mistress of the world.

When the instruction of females in any of the departments of science was first proposed, it excited ridicule. The man who devoted his time and heart to the work was regarded as an Enthusiast. The cry was—"What need is there of learning how far off the sun is, when it is near enough to warm us?"—"What, will the teacher learn his pupils to make Almanacs?"—"When girls become scholars, who is to make the puddings and the pies?" But these narrow prejudices have almost passed away. Many have since become equally enthusiasts on this subject, and the results of an improved system of female education have not disappointed their hopes or mine. By a true discipline of mind, and application to the solid branches of knowledge, our well educated females have become more agreeable companions, more useful members of society, and more skillful and faithful teachers, without disqualifying themselves for domestic avocations. On the contrary, they have been better prepared by these means, to promote their own happiness, as well as that of others; whether the scene of their labors was the nursery, the kitchen, the parlor, or the wider sphere of public and extensive plans of benevolence; and at no period of history, perhaps, have the sex exerted a holier or happier influence upon society.

*College Life under President Wheelock.**

DR. WHEELOCK located his college in Hanover in 1769. In 1770, his family, his servants, his laborers, and scholars, numbering seventy, with cattle and carts, furniture and clothing, with books and implements of husbandry and the arts, make their way wearily and slowly, to the spot where now the college buildings stand. Trees were felled and made into log-houses,—some half a dozen,—with one large enough for the college dormitories and a recitation room. Grounds were cleared; roads were built; Mink brook was made to run a corn and saw-mill; chapel exercises were conducted at times in the open air, classes formed and instructed, and the first commencement made to come off in 1771, and a master's degree conferred upon four young men.

Dr. Wheelock had seen sixty winters, but never such an one as he endured in that of 1770-71. The storms and snows and cold came direct from the north pole. Snow-shoes and buskins, mittens and hand-sleds, were often the only locomotive means of access to the outside world, and supplies must come from the nearest log-house farmers, or, when teams could conquer snows five feet deep, from river towns far down toward the sea. But there was wood enough, and fires enough, and pine knots enough, and enough 'bean porridge hot and bean porridge cold,' to keep the school and college up to studies, to their recitations and their lectures.

Dr. Wheelock was intensely busy; his bow was never unbent. He was president of the college and preceptor of the school; his eye located the site of the future college building, laid out the present beautiful park around which the officers of the college and men of business should dwell. He located the roads, superintended the clearing of the lands, and the building of the bridges and mills. Hear what he says of his family and operations his third year:—'For six months in the year I have thirty to forty laborers, beside men in the mills, kitchen, wash-house, &c.; the last year about eighty students, dependent and independent, beside my family, consequently large. I have seven yoke of oxen, twenty cows; have cleared and fenced fifteen acres of wheat, and have twenty acres of corn; have cleared pasturing, sowed hay-seed, and girdled all the growth on five hundred acres. I have inclosed with a fence about two thousand acres of this wilderness, to restrain my cattle and horses. A little more than three years ago there was nothing here but a horrible wilderness; now eleven comfortable dwelling-houses, beside the students' house, barns, malt and brew-house, shops, &c. I live in my little storehouse;—my family is much straightened, but can not afford to build for myself.'

In his Narrative for 1773, under date of October 15, Dr. Wheelock says:—'To give a more clear view and conception of my situation, exercises, and labors in this new world, I shall give an account of *this day*, not because there is any thing special, more than has been common to every day, but because I know now what is actually before me.

'Three men are employed in clearing land at Landaff, to prevent the forfeiture of that town; one man is supposed to be now returning with stores from Norwich, in Conn., two hundred miles distant, with a team of six oxen, with whom I expect one or two teams more, which are to be procured there; three labor-

* Judge Crosby's *First Half Century of Dartmouth College*. An address before the alumni in 1875. Hanover, 1876.

ers at the mills, repairing some breaches, and fitting for use; fourteen employed about my house to prepare for my removal there; two employed in the college kitchen; three digging cellar for the new college; five gathering in the Indian harvest; four receiving and counting brick which I bought at Lyme; several at Plainfield, digging and preparing limestone to be burnt for a *trayl*, whether a supply can be got there for the new college,—all necessary, and neither can be with prudence omitted.'

On the same day, and daily, he attended chapel services, instructed a class, and directed the studies and counseled three tutors of the college, as he could not maintain professors; also, looked after Moor's school, under college students. He was the magistrate of the whole neighborhood, but evidently had little business in this line, as he says he 'is blessed with a peaceable family, diligent and orderly students, and faithful laborers. I have not heard a profane word spoken by one of my number, nor have I reason to think there has been one for three years past, nor do profane persons expect to be employed in my service, or allowed to continue here. I have found nothing more necessary to maintain good order and regularity than to show what is the law and mind of Christ, what will please God and what will not.' 'My government is parental.' He says,— 'A number of students have done much to lessen their expenses the last year by turning a necessary diversion to agreeable manual labor, and many will probably do so for years to come.'

College Funds.

The name 'Dartmouth' brought no money to the college. Lord Dartmouth's money was in the school, and the English and Scotch friends looked after the school and were jealous of the college. The doctor now put his foot into a financial desert, as forbidding as the wilderness he had chosen for his college. Gov. Benning Wentworth gave five hundred acres of land in Hanover, where the college is located, and probably the same reserved to him in the charter of the town. Gov. John Wentworth gave four hundred acres. Other land owners gave lands to encourage the president to locate there, and the farmers in all that region subscribed labor, materials, and food; some subscribers, however, failed to make good their promises, from alledged inability. Collections of money were made from individuals far and near. John Phillips gave, in 1770, \$3,333, and afterward founded the Phillips Professorship of Theology. The State gave £100 for Dr. Wheelock's support, and £500 in 1773 toward the new college building, and afterward built the medical college.

Studies in 1790.

The students are divided into four classes. The freshmen study the learned languages, the rules of speaking and writing, and the elements of mathematics.

The sophomores attend to the languages, geography, logic, and mathematics.

The junior sophisters, beside the languages, enter on natural and moral philosophy and composition.

The senior class compose in English and Latin; study metaphysics, the elements of natural and political law.

The books used by the students are Lowth's English Grammar, Perry's Dictionary, Pike's Arithmetic, Guthrie's Geography, Ward's Mathematics, Atkinson's Epitome, Hammond's Algebra, Martin's and Enfield's Natural Philosophy, Ferguson's Astronomy, Locke's Essay, Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, and Burlingame's Natural and Political Law.—*Belknap's Hist. of N. H.* p. 296.

Early Students at Dartmouth.

Dr. Wheelock was a Connecticut* man, educated at Yale, and had attained the very highest rank among the very learned divines of his State. He was a most eloquent preacher, and an accomplished teacher. His school had given him wide-spread reputation, and the novelty of his enterprise attracted great attention. The young men of Connecticut were, therefore, drawn to him, and also the sons of the early settlers in towns on both sides of the river up to the college, those towns having been settled mostly by Connecticut people, and incorporated by names of towns in Connecticut. During the first ten years, forty-two young men from Connecticut received degrees out of one hundred conferred during that period, Massachusetts thirty-five, and New Hampshire twelve, leaving twelve for Vermont and other States. The long and deep stretch of wilderness, north-west of Concord and Plymouth, prevented the young men of New Hampshire from a resort to Dartmouth.

Another element of success was found in the religious features of the education, and very small expenses of living at the college. Money was high and food was low; corn was worth three shillings per bushel, and beef three to four cents a pound. Dr. Wheelock paid his men three to four shillings a day, and servant girls in their checkered aprons received as many shillings a week. He charged in his accounts five shillings per week for board, lodging, and washing for Indian scholars.

It so happened that Dr. Wheelock took along with him to Hanover a man by the name of Osborn, to take charge of his mills. This man had four brothers, who afterward graduated at the college—Benjamin in 1775. The mill man, Osborn, wrote to Joseph Vaill, a young man of Litchfield, to come up to Hanover 'to obtain a college education, by helping him tend the mills;' and Mr. Vaill tells us how he answered the call. He says he 'started September 28, 1772, with three others, with packs on their backs, with an ax and one horse, to find their way, as best they might, 180 miles to the college saw-mill. We found the mills down in the woods, where the howling of wild beasts and the plaintive notes of the owl added to the gloominess of the night season. We made ourselves bunks and filled them with straw, did our own cooking and washing,' and, if you can believe it, they took in a boarder? 'The price paid for sawing and sticking boards was one dollar a thousand, and half the toll for grinding. Upon this income we were ourselves to live and offset the board of Sophomore Osborn, one of the brothers, who became our teacher to fit us for college, and whose compensation was canceled by his boarding with us. We were two years fitting. One of our number died and another returned home, but two others came on and filled their places,' so that the mill work, the boarding-house, and Sophomore Osborn's support should not fail. Mr. Vaill entered college, and says he studied in his cold home with pine knots for light, walked

* Among his first students was John Ledyard, the traveler, born at Groton, Conn., in 1751, who resorted to Dartmouth to qualify himself to become a missionary among the Indians. But he did not take to his books, as much as to a study of the Indians, and he took leave of both at the close of his first year, by paddling his own canoe down to Hartford, totally unacquainted with the shoals and rapids of Connecticut River, 140 miles below, where his landing on the bank of Little River, in front of his uncle's residence, is commemorated by an elm, still standing, planted by himself. Abel Curtis, a native of Connecticut (b. 1755), of the class of 1776, published at Drexden (Lebanon Crank, the tract of 500 acres given by Gov. Wentworth to Dr. Wheelock) a Compend of English Grammar. Caleb Bingham, a native of Salisbury, was a graduate of the class of 1782.

four miles a day to his recitations, facing a north-west wind, and often breaking his own path in the new snows. 'It is marvelous I did not freeze, as I was thinly clad.' 'In my junior year,' he adds, 'my health failing, the president gave me a room in the college, and placed under my oversight and teaching certain Canadian boys, who were to be taught English; and afterward I had charge of Moor's Charity School, so that I graduated only twenty dollars in debt;' and 'I record my gratitude to God for my unshaken resolution to persevere amidst all discouragements.' This Benjamin Osborn, teacher of the saw-mill boys, became a clergyman of great usefulness, and married the sister of Rev. Dr. Porter, of Andover Theological Seminary; and Mr. Vaill was pastor at the church in Hadlyme, Conn., fifty-eight years, and died in 1850.

Rev. Dr. Dana, one of the presidents of the college, who graduated in 1788, was the fortunate subject of a social arrangement which made an escape for him from all the rough life of the students in his day. Good old Dr. Dana, of Ipswich, Mass., the father of our late president, being at Lebanon, Conn., on a visit to his father, and finding commencement was at hand, took an ax in his carriage and drove up to witness the exercises. Being invited to dine with the Faculty,—for then there were Professors, Smith, Ripley, and Woodward,—he remarked he had two sons fitted for college, but he hardly knew how he could sustain them. So a bargain was struck between Dr. Dana and Professors Ripley and Woodward, that the Dana lads should come into their families, and, in return, a daughter of each professor should board an equal time with him at Ipswich,—thus giving the young gentlemen the higher studies of college, and the young misses the more polished teaching and social amenities of more cultivated society. But we may judge of the short commons at both places, by a letter written by the father to his son Daniel, saying,—'He had got together two dollars toward the payment of his bills!'

Mr. Hidden, of the class of Prof. Adams, 1791, was born in Rowley, Mass. After he had learned the shoemaker's trade, and was about to be married in Gilmantown, N. H., where he had opened shop, being invited to attend commencement in company with his pastor and two or three prominent men of the town, who went out into the wilderness to see Gov. Wentworth's college, he was so delighted with the exercises and the young men, that he postponed his marriage, and fitted for college under his pastor, while working at his bench. He took his tools along with him, and repaired and made shoes till he graduated. After his first year, his biographer says, he, in company with another student, drove on a cow, which greatly diminished expenses; and when he graduated, one friend gave him a guinea for his diploma, another \$20 to pay off his bills, and a third friend gave him a graduating suit. (The keeping of cows by students came down to my time.) This man was my childhood's minister;—gathered more than five hundred converts into his church, and planted other churches in other towns around Tamworth, N. H., where he labored from 1792 to 1837. He was true to his lady-love, who waited long for the nuptials, which took place in two months after ordination.

Only the bravest and strongest young men and women dared to plunge into distant townships, with an ox team of furniture, food, and rough implements of farming, to drive back the wild beasts, and convert the forest hills into productive farms. Hard work and privation were daily duties; but sweet sleep at night gave daily increasing hope and strength.

[Dr. Belknap, a graduate of Harvard college, and the clergyman of the principal religious society of Dover, writes as follows in 1788:]

I have long thought, and do still think it one of the greatest misfortunes of my life to be obliged to rear a family of children in a place and among a people where insensibility to the interests of the rising generation, and an inveterate antipathy to literature are to be reckoned among the prevailing vices; where there is not so much public spirit as to build a school-house; where men of the first rank let their children grow up uncultivated as weeds on the highway; where grand juries pay no regard to their oaths; and where a judge on the bench has publicly instructed them to invent subterfuges and evasions to cheat their consciences and prevent the execution of the laws for the advancement of learning, which in another part of the same charge he pretended to extol, as a means of preserving the country from slavery. You may think this picture is too highly colored. But it is literally and exactly true; and if you should have an opportunity of seeing General Sullivan, who is now gone on business of Congress, and is well acquainted with this town and country, I beg you would ask him, whether my representation is not just. He is an exception to one part of my description; for he is a friend to literature, as men who have emerged from nothing through the force of their own genius commonly are.

It was not always as bad as it is now. Before the war, though there was not one tenth part so much regard had to the instruction of youth as there ought to have been, yet there was more than now. The scenes we have passed through have extinguished every sentiment that was favorable to education in the minds of all the people at large, and all the attempts which a poor lonely individual or two in a town can do to revive or rekindle the flame, are totally ineffectual. I have preached, talked, convened special meetings for the purpose, offered my services in person, all to no purpose. The extreme difficulties which the late times brought me and my family into for a subsistence, the many shifts, the manual labor, the time consumed in moving here and there, together with the stated duties of my office, were extremely unfavorable to family education, which I am convinced is a mode much inferior to public schools. . . .

Since I wrote that letter another subscription has been started to build a school-house in this town, and I have argued the point with a number of the most wealthy people of this place. The next week will show the effect. Sometimes it is the situation, sometimes the expense, sometimes the want of a resolute undertaking, which has defeated such a design; and now if all together should combine on this occasion, I shall not be disappointed.

DANIEL WEBSTER—AUTOBIOGRAPHY (1829).

I was born January 18, 1782. My father, by two marriages, had five sons and five daughters. I am the youngest son, and only surviving child. I have nephews and nieces, both of the whole and half blood; that is to say, sons and daughters of my brothers and sisters, of both my father's wives.

The year following my birth, my father removed from his first residence, which was a log house on the hill, to the river side, in the same town; a distance of three miles. Here, in the meadow land, by the river, with rough hills hanging over, was the scene of my earliest recollections; or, as was said in another case, 'Here I found myself.' I can recollect when *it was* 1790; but can not say that I can remember further back.

[Mr. Webster makes the following allusion to his birthplace in a speech delivered by him at Saratoga in the presidential campaign of 1840:

It did not happen to me to be born in a log-cabin; but my elder brothers and sisters were born in a log-cabin raised amid the snow-drifts of New Hampshire,—a period so early that, when the smoke rose from its rude chimney and curled over the frozen hills, there was no similar evidence of a white man's habitation between it and the settlements on the rivers of Canada. Its remains still exist. I make to it an annual visit. I carry my children to it to teach them the hardships endured by the generations which have gone before them. I love to dwell on the tender recollections, the kindred ties, the early affections, and the touching narrative and incidents, which mingle with all I know of this primitive family alone. I weep to think that none of those who inhabited it are now among the living; and if ever I am ashamed of it, or if ever I fail in affectionate veneration for him who reared and defended it against savage violence and destruction, cherished all the domestic virtues beneath its roof, and through the fire and blood of seven years' revolutionary war, shrank from no danger, no toil, no sacrifice, to serve his country, and to raise his children to a condition better than his own, may my name and the name of my posterity be blotted for ever from the memory of mankind.]

I do not remember when or by whom I was taught to read; because I can not and never could recollect a time when I could not read the Bible. I suppose I was taught by my mother, or by my elder sisters. My father seemed to have no higher object in the world, than to educate his children, to the full extent of his very limited ability. No means were within his reach, generally speaking, but the small town schools. These were kept by teachers, sufficiently indifferent, in the several neighborhoods of the township, each a small part of the year. To these I was sent, with the other children.

When the school was in our neighborhood, it was easy to attend; when it removed to a more distant district I followed it, still living at home. While yet quite young, and in winter, I was sent daily two and a half or three miles to the school. When it removed still further, my father sometimes boarded me out, in a neighboring family, so that I could still be in the school.

In these schools, nothing was taught but reading and writing; and, as to these, the first I generally could perform better than the teacher, and the last a good master could hardly instruct me in; writing was so laborious, irksome, and repulsive an occupation to me always. My masters used to tell me, that they feared, after all, my fingers were destined for the plow-tail.

I must do myself the justice to say that, in those boyish days, there were two things I did dearly love, viz.: reading and playing; passions which did not cease to struggle, when boyhood was over, (have they yet, altogether?) and in regard to which neither the *cita mors* nor the *victoria laeta* could be said of either.

At a very early day, owing I believe mainly to the exertions of Mr. Thompson, the lawyer, the clergyman, and my father, a very small circulating library had been bought. These institutions, I believe, about that time received an impulse, among other causes, from the efforts of Dr. Belknap, our New Hampshire historian. I obtained some of these books, and read them. I remember the Spectator among them; and I remember, too, that I turned over the leaves of Addison's criticism on Chevy Chase, for the sake of reading connectedly the song, the verses of which he quotes from time to time as subjects of remark.

I was fond of poetry. By far the greater part of Dr. Watts's Psalms and Hymns I could repeat *memoriter*, at ten or twelve years of age. I am sure that no other sacred poetry will ever appear to me so affecting and devout. I remember that my father brought home from some of the lower towns Pope's Essay on Man, published in a sort of pamphlet. I took it, and very soon could repeat it, from beginning to end. We had so few books that to read them once or twice was nothing. We thought they were all to be got by heart. I have thought of this frequently since, when that sagacious admonition of one of the ancients (was it Pliny?) has been quoted, *legere multum non multa*.

On the 25th day of May, 1796, my father mounted his horse, placed me on another, carried me to Exeter, and placed me in Phillips Academy, then and now under the care of that most excellent man, Dr. Benjamin Abbott. I had never been from home before, and the change overpowered me. I hardly remained master of my own senses, among ninety boys, who had seen so much more, and appeared to know so much more than I did. I was put to English grammar, and writing, and arithmetic. The first, I think I may say, I fairly mastered between May and October; in the others I made some progress. In the autumn, there was a short vacation. I went home, staid a few days, and returned at the commencement of the quarter, and then began the Latin grammar. My first exercises in Latin were recited to Joseph Stevens Buckminster. He had, I think, already joined college, but had returned to Exeter, perhaps in the college vacation, and was acting as usher, in the place of Dr. Abbott, then absent through indisposition.

It so happened, that within the few months during which I was at the

Exeter Academy, Mr. Thacher, now Judge of the Municipal Court of Boston, and Mr. Emery,* the distinguished counselor at Portland, were my instructors. I am proud to call them both masters. I believe I made tolerable progress in most branches which I attended to, while in this school; but there was one thing I could not do. I could not make a declamation. I could not speak before the school. The kind and excellent Buckminster sought, especially, to persuade me to perform the exercise of declamation, like other boys; but I could not do it. Many a piece did I commit to memory, and recite and rehearse, in my own room, over and over again; yet when the day came, when the school collected to hear declamations, when my name was called, and I saw all eyes turned to my seat, I could not raise myself from it. Sometimes the instructors frowned, sometimes they smiled. Mr. Buckminster always pressed, and entreated, most winningly, that I would venture; but I could never command sufficient resolution. When the occasion was over I went home and wept bitter tears of mortification.

At the winter vacation, December, 1796, or January, 1797, my father came for me, and took me home. Some long-enduring friendships I formed in the few months I was at Exeter. J. W. Bracket, late of New York, deceased; William Garland, late of Portsmouth, deceased; Gov. Cass, of Michigan; Mr. Saltonstall, and James H. Bingham, now of Claremont, New Hampshire, are of the number. In February, 1797, my father carried me to the Rev. Samuel Wood's, in Boscawen, and placed me under the tuition of that most benevolent and excellent man. It was but half a dozen miles from our own house. On the way to Mr. Wood's, my father first intimated to me his intention of sending me to college. The very idea thrilled my whole frame. He said he then lived but for his children, and if I would do all I could for myself, he would do what he could for me. I remember that I was quite overcome, and my head grew dizzy. The thing appeared to me so high, and the expense and sacrifice it was to cost my father so great, I could only press his hands and shed tears. Excellent, excellent parent! I can not think of him, even now, without turning child again.

Mr. Wood put me upon Virgil and Tully; and I conceived a pleasure in the study of them, especially the latter, which rendered application no longer a task. With what vehemence did I denounce Catiline! With what earnestness struggle for Milo! In the spring I began the Greek grammar, and at midsummer Mr. Wood said to me: 'I expected to keep you till next year, but I am tired of you, and I shall put you into college next month.' And so he did, but it was a mere breaking in; I was, indeed, miserably prepared, both in Latin and Greek; but Mr. Wood accomplished his promise, and I entered Dartmouth College, as a Freshman, August, 1797. At Boscawen, I had found another circulating li-

* Mr. Nicholas Emery, a graduate of Harvard College, had charge of the lowest class to which young Webster was assigned. At the end of a month he was satisfied that his pupil's place was higher up: 'Webster, you will pass into the other room, and, boys, you will take your final leave of Webster; you will never see him again.'

brary, and had read many of its volumes. I remember especially that I found Don Quixote, in the common translation, and in an edition, as I think, of three or four duodecimo volumes. I began to read it, and it is literally true that I never closed my eyes till I had finished it; nor did I lay it down for five minutes; so great was the power of that extraordinary book on my imagination.

My college life was not an idle one, beside the regular attendance on prescribed duties and studies, I read something of English history and English literature. Perhaps my reading was too miscellaneous. I even paid my board for a year by superintending a little weekly newspaper, and making selections for it, from books of literature, and from the contemporary publications. I suppose I sometimes wrote a foolish paragraph myself. While in college I delivered two or three occasional addresses, which were published. I trust they are forgotten; they were in very bad taste. I had not then learned that all true power in writing is in the idea, not in the style, an error into which the *Ars rhetorica*, as it is usually taught, may easily lead stronger heads than mine.

In the spring of 1799, at the May vacation, being then Sophomore, I visited my family, and then held serious consultation with my brother. I remember well when we went to bed, we began to talk matters over, and that we rose, after sunrise, without having shut our eyes. But we had settled our plan. He had thought of going into some new part of the country. That was discussed and disagreed to. All the *pros* and *cons* of the question of remaining at home were weighed and considered, and when our council broke up, or rather got up, its result was that I should propose to my father, that he, late as it was, should be sent to school also, and to college. This, we knew, would be a trying thing to my father and mother, and two unmarried sisters. My father was growing old, his health not good, and his circumstances far from easy. The farm was to be carried on, and the family taken care of; and there was nobody to do all this but him, who was regarded as the main stay, that is to say, Ezekiel. However, I ventured on the negotiation, and it was carried, as other things are often, by the earnest and sanguine manner of youth. I told him that I was unhappy at my brother's prospects. For myself, I saw my way to knowledge, respectability, and self-protection; but as to him, all looked the other way; that I would keep school, and get along as well as I could—be more than four years in getting through college, if necessary, provided he also could be sent to study. He said at once he lived but for his children; that he had but little, and on that little he put no value, except so far as it might be useful to them. That to carry us both through college would take all he was worth; that for himself he was willing to run the risk, but that this was a serious matter to our mother and two unmarried sisters; that we must settle the matter with them, and if their consent was obtained, he would trust to Providence, and get along as well as he could. The result was, that, in about ten days, I had gone back to college, having first seen my brother

take leave of the meadows, and place himself in school, under a teacher in Latin. Soon afterward he went to Mr. Wood's, and there pursued the requisite studies, and my father carried him, with me, to college, in March, 1801, when he joined the then Freshman class.

Being graduated in August, 1801, I immediately entered Mr. Thompson's office, in Salisbury, next door to my father's house, to study the law. There I remained till January following, viz: January, 1802. The necessity of the case required that I should then go some where and gain a little money. I was written to, luckily, to go to Fryeburg, Maine, to keep school. I accepted the offer, traversed the country on horse-back, and commenced my labors. I was to be paid at the rate of \$350 per annum. This was no small thing, for I compared it not with what might be before me, but what was actually behind me. It was better, certainly, than following the plow. But let me say something in favor of my own industry; not to make a merit of it, for necessity sometimes makes the most idle industrious. It so happened that I boarded at Fryeburg with the gentlemen, James Osgood, Esq., who was Register of Deeds of the then newly created County of Oxford. He was not *clerical*, in and of himself; and his registration was to be done by deputy. The fee for recording at full length a common deed, in a large fair hand, and with the care requisite to avoid errors, was *two shillings and three pence*. Mr. Osgood proposed to me that I should do this writing, and that of the two shillings and three pence for each deed, I should have one shilling and six pence, and he should have the remaining nine-pence. I greedily seized on so tempting an offer, and set to work. Of a long winter's evening I could copy two deeds, and that was half a dollar. Four evenings in a week earned two dollars; and two dollars a week paid my board.

In May of this year (1802), having a week's vacation, I took my quarter's salary, mounted a horse, went straight over all the hills to Hanover, and had the pleasure of putting these, the first earnings of my life, into my brother's hands, for his college expenses. Having enjoyed this sincere and high pleasure, I hied me back again to my school and my copying of deeds. I staid in Fryeburg only till September. My brother then came to see me; we made a journey together to the lower part of Maine, and returned to Salisbury. I resumed my place in Mr. Thompson's office, and he went back to college.

At Fryeburg, I found another circulating library, and made some use of it. I remember to have read, while at Fryeburg, Adams's *Defense of the American Constitutions*, Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, Goldsmith's *History of England*, and some other small things. I borrowed Blackstone's *Commentaries* also, and read, I think, two or three volumes of them. Here, also, I found Mr. Ames's celebrated speech on the *British Treaty*, and committed it to memory.

From September, 1802, to February or March, 1804, I remained in Mr. Thompson's office, and studied the law. He was an admirable man, and a good lawyer himself; but I was put to study in the old way, that

is, the hardest books first, and lost much time. I read Coke Littleton through, without understanding a quarter part of it. Happening to take up Espinasse's *Law of Nisi Prius*, I found I could understand it, and, arguing that the object of reading was to understand what was written, I laid down the venerable Coke *et alios similes reverendos*, and kept company for a time with Mr. Espinasse and others, the most plain, easy, and intelligible writers. A boy of twenty, with no previous knowledge on such subjects, can not understand Coke. It is folly to set him on such an author.

I brought from college a very scanty inheritance of Latin. I now tried to add to it. I made myself familiar with most of Tully's orations, committed to memory large passages of some of them; read Sallust, and Cæsar, and Horace. Some of Horace's odes I translated into poor English rhymes; they were printed; I have never seen them since. My brother was a far better Latin scholar than myself, and in one of his vacations we read Juvenal together. But I never mastered his style, so as to read him with ease and pleasure. At this period of my life I passed a great deal of time alone. My amusements were fishing, and shooting, and riding; and all these were without a companion. I loved this occasional solitude then, and have loved it ever since, and love it still. I like to contemplate nature, and to hold communion, unbroken by the presence of human beings, with 'this universal frame, thus wondrous fair;' I like solitude, also, as favorable to thoughts less lofty. I like to let the thoughts go free, and indulge in their excursions. And when *thinking* is to be done, one must of course be alone. No man knows *himself* who does not thus, sometimes, keep his own company. At a subsequent period of life, I have found that my lonely journeys, when following the court on its circuits, have afforded many an edifying day.*

To find some situation for one or the other of us, I set off in February, 1804, and found my way to Boston. My journey was fortunate. Dr. Perkins had been in the instruction of a school, in Short street, (now Kingston street); he was about leaving it, and proposed that my brother should take it. I hastened home, and he had just then finished a short engagement in school keeping, at Sanbornton, or was about finishing it, it being near the end of the winter vacation; and he readily seized the opportunity of employment in Boston. This broke in upon his college life, but he thought he could keep up with his class. A letter, stating the necessity of the case, was sent to the authorities of the college, and he went immediately to Boston. His success was good—nay, great; so great, that he thought he could earn enough to defray, in addition to debts and other charges, the expense of my living in Boston, for what remained of my term of study. Accordingly, I went to Boston in July, to pass a few months in some office.

* The argument in the Dartmouth College case was mainly arranged, during a journey on professional business from Boston to Barnstable and back. John Adams's speech was composed, not in Philadelphia, in 1776, but in Massachusetts, in 1896, in a New England chaise. The address for Bunker Hill was, in great part, composed in *Marshpee Brook*; *Testibus, Johanne de Trutta et F. W. puero*.

[Mr. Webster retained through life a grateful remembrance of his teachers, as will be seen by the following letters to Master James Tappan—accompanied by a handsome gratuity.]

WASHINGTON, February 26th, 1851.

MASTER TAPPAN,—I thank you for your letter, and am rejoiced to know that you are among the living. I remember you perfectly well as a teacher of my infant years. I suppose my mother must have taught me to read very early, as I have never been able to recollect the time when I could not read the Bible. I think Master Chase was my earliest schoolmaster, probably when I was three or four years old. Then came Master Tappan. You boarded at our house, and sometimes, I think, in the family of Mr. Benjamin Sanborn, our neighbor, the lame man. Most of those whom you knew in 'New Salisbury,' have gone to their graves. Mr. John Sanborn, the son of Benjamin, is yet living, and is about your age. Mr. John Colby, who married my oldest sister, Susannah, is also living. On the 'North Road' is Mr. Benjamin Hunton, and on the 'South Road' is Mr. Benjamin Pettengil. I think of none else among the living whom you would probably remember.

You have indeed lived a checkered life. I hope you have been able to bear prosperity with meekness, and adversity with patience. These things are all ordered for us far better than we could order them for ourselves. We may pray for our daily bread; we may pray for the forgiveness of our sins; we may pray to be kept from temptation, and that the kingdom of God may come, in us, and in all men, and his will every where be done. Beyond this, we hardly know for what good to supplicate the Divine Mercy. Our Heavenly Father knoweth what we have need of better than we know ourselves, and we are sure that his eye and his loving kindness are upon us and around us every moment.

I thank you again, my good schoolmaster, for your kind letter, which has awakened many sleeping recollections; and, with all good wishes, I remain your friend and pupil,

DANIEL WEBSTER.

BOSTON, July 20, 1852.

MASTER TAPPAN,—I hear, with much pleasure, through the public press, that you continue to enjoy life, with mental faculties bright and vivid, although you have arrived at a very advanced age, and are somewhat infirm. I came to-day from the very spot in which you taught me; and to me, a most delightful spot it is. The river and the hills are beautiful as ever. But the graves of my father and mother, and brothers and sisters, and early friends, give it to me something of the appearance of a city of the dead. But let us not repine. You have lived long, and my life is already not short; and we have both much to be thankful for. Two or three persons are still living who, like myself, were brought up *sub tua ferula*. They remember 'Master Tappan.' And now, my good old master, receive a renewed tribute of affectionate regard from your grateful pupil; with his wishes and prayers for your happiness in all that remains to you of this life, and more especially for your rich participation hereafter in the more durable riches of righteousness.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

[At the interesting festival on the occasion of Dr. Abbott's retirement from the principalship of Phillips Exeter Academy, which he had filled for fifty years, Mr. Webster was one of his numerous pupils who came together from every part of the country, representing every department of professional and public life, with offerings of gratitude to their faithful instructor. Mr. Webster's speech was one of his happiest efforts, of which no printed memorial remains.]

[At numerous gatherings of the Sons of Dartmouth, Mr. Webster expressed his gratitude for the service rendered him in the preparatory stage of his life work.]

EDUCATION AND LITERARY INSTITUTIONS—1832.

BY E. E. EDWARDS.*

INTRODUCTION.

THERE is much in the state of education in this country, which is encouraging to the philanthropist and scholar. Its great object seems to be more and more distinctly apprehended. The harmonious cultivation of all the powers which belong to man, is regarded as of paramount importance. Hence the means which are devised to purify and interest the affections, to discipline and mature the understanding, and to render the body in the highest degree the coadjutor of the mind. The Bible is beginning to take that place in plans of study, which its great value as a storehouse of principles in morals, and literature, and religion, demand. Its merits as a text-book, are undergoing a thorough discussion. The results of inquiry and of experience on this subject, can not be doubtful. From present appearances, we are inclined to think that it will soon be a part of the course of study at all our higher seminaries.

We have reason to believe that greater attention is paid to *individual* minds at our public institutions. The indiscriminate instruction of a *class*, has long been a fatal error. The instructors have not studied the peculiar conformation—the excellencies and defects of particular minds. The sound advice of Mr. Jardine, the excellent Glasgow professor, has produced, we think, considerable effect in this country.

The study of classical literature is now placed on its right basis. It is regarded as an indispensable part of a truly liberal education. It would be much more difficult to assail it successfully, at the present time, than it would have been five years since. The defense of the study of the ancient languages has been conducted in various parts of the country with great ability. We have observed a

* Abridged from *Quarterly Register* for May, 1833. We have personal knowledge of the extensive correspondence used by Dr. Edwards to gather the material for this article. It was the most comprehensive and accurate exposition of the condition of education and various literary institutions of the several States, which had, up to that time been presented to the public. For Memoir of Mr. Edwards, see *American Journal of Education*, Vol. xv. p. 675.

protracted and unanswerable vindication of its utility, in a newspaper published beyond the Alleghany mountains. At the same time, other departments of study are not excluded from a due share of attention. The apparatus and other means of instruction in all the branches of physics, are becoming more and more ample and effective. The objection to the study of the classics, from the little time which could be devoted to it, and from the superficial knowledge which has been consequently gained, has been in some measure removed, by the practice of studying an entire author, rather than detached portions of a great number. The feeling averse to the study, arising from its alledged immoral tendency, has been in some degree, and may be, doubtless, entirely removed, by the substitution of *select* authors.

Manual labor schools, and other means for the physical education of scholars, continue to attract a considerable share of the public favor. It is unquestionably true, that some of their friends have been too sanguine in their expectations of benefits from them. The difficulties attending their organization, and perfect and *continued* operation, have been much greater than were anticipated. It has been found somewhat embarrassing to maintain, at the same time, and in the same institution, a strong interest in intellectual and physical education. Still, there is a much greater degree of attention paid to this subject by private individuals, and in a disconnected manner, than there was ten years since; and all this is a consequence of the efforts of the friends of manual labor schools.

On the whole, we derive great encouragement from what has been accomplished within the last few years in this country. At the same time, a great work remains to be done. The proper degree and the right manner of employing legislative patronage, is a subject of importance. The adequate preparation of a great number of school teachers, is a branch of the subject requiring most anxious and elaborate discussion. The whole subject of the internal economy of education, or the *proper motives* for study and effort, are but just beginning to excite attention. A thorough perception of the wants of the community in reference to school-books, does not yet exist. New books are multiplied almost without number, but many of them differing little from each other and constructed hastily, without any fixed principles and intention. Lyceums, or popular education, in its widest sense, needs a careful examination. In short, there are many things in respect both to the principles and details of instruction and education, in this country, which have yet been hardly at all considered.

MAINE.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.—The laws of Massachusetts provided at an early period for the establishment of elementary English schools, in every town containing sixty families, and for that of grammar schools of a higher order, in every town containing two hundred families. When Maine became a separate State, in 1820, one of the first subjects, which occupied the attention of its legislature, was an alteration of the system of common schools. The principal variation consisted in omitting any limitation of the number of families which a town should contain before it should be required to support a school, and instead of this, requiring that every town of whatever size, should raise annually for the support of schools, a sum equal at least, to forty cents for each person in the town, and distribute this sum among the several schools or districts, in proportion to the respective numbers of scholars in each. The expenditure of the sum is left principally to the discretion of the town, and its committee or agents appointed for that purpose. The schools are required to be established in convenient districts, and the inhabitants of the several districts are invested with corporate powers to build and repair school-houses, and for some other purposes of minor consequence. The parents are required to furnish their children with such books as may be prescribed by the superintending school committee of the town; and all are entitled equally to the benefits of the school.

In 1825, the legislature required a report from each town in the State, of the situation of their schools, so far as respected the number of school districts, and of children usually attending school, the time during which they were open for instructing each year, and the funds by which they were supported. The following were the results:

Number of school districts.....	2,499
Number of children between 4 and 21.....	137,931
Number who usually attend school.....	101,325
Amount required by law to be raised and expended annually.....	\$119,334 00
Amount annually raised from taxes.....	132,263 92
Amount from permanent funds.....	5,614 65
Total annual expenditure.....	137,878 57
Aggregate number of months annually, schools are opened..	11,441
Estimated population in 1825.....	337,244
Probable increase of scholars annually.....	6,035
Number of scholars in 1833, estimated.....	140,000
Months in which each school is open, male teachers.....	2,0
“ “ “ “ female “.....	2,5
Scholars on an average attending in each district.....	40
Average wages of teachers and other expenses per month... \$	12 04
Average annual expense for each scholar.....	1 35
Average expense for each scholar per month.....	30
Proportion of scholars to each 100 of whole population.....	30
Ratio per cent to the whole taxable property, valuation of 1820.....	6

We have seen no recent reports of the condition of the common schools in Maine. We presume the proportion have not materially varied.

ACADEMIES AND HIGH SCHOOLS.—The two oldest incorporated academies in the State are the Berwick and Hallowell academies, both established by the legislature in 1791. In 1829, the *Berwick* academy owned in real estate, an academy building of wood, nearly forty years old, and ten acres of land, estimated at \$700; in personal estate, \$6,837, loaned to banks and individuals. In addition, the Hon. John Lord gave in 1815, \$500 for a fund, the profits to be expended in the purchase of Bibles for the scholars. The *Hallowell* academy has in real estate, between \$4,000 and \$5,000; in personal estate \$3,072. Of the funds, \$1,000 were given by Mrs. Elizabeth Bowdoin; the academy building, which was burned in 1805, was erected and finished by citizens of the county of Lincoln. The *Fryebury* academy, incorporated in 1792, has a building estimated at \$3,000, and a fund whose income is \$566 25. All the funds

were derived from the grants of the legislature. The *Washington* academy at East Machias, incorporated in 1792, has funds, being personal estate secured by mortgages on real estate, \$17,090 93, chemical apparatus, \$200, academy building and site, \$4,500, total, \$21,790 93. Nearly the whole is the proceeds of a township of land granted by Massachusetts. *Portland* academy, incorporated in 1794, has 11,520 acres of land. The *Lincoln* academy at Newcastle, has 11,520 acres of land, incorporated in 1801. The funds of the *Bluehill* academy, incorporated in 1803, amount to \$6,552 in real estate, and \$800 in personal estate. Nearly all was derived from the sale of a half township of land. *Gorham* academy, incorporated in 1803, has 11,520 acres of land. The *Hampden* academy, incorporated in 1803, has 11,520 acres of land. The *Hebron* academy has an amount of real and personal estate of \$8,006 64. About half was given by individuals and half by the legislature; incorporated in 1804. The funds of the *Bath* academy, incorporated in 1805, are \$8,050, the whole of which was derived from sales of a half township of land. The *Farmington* academy, incorporated in 1807, has in real estate \$1,000, and in personal \$1,294. The *Bloomfield* academy has in real estate \$500, and in personal \$3,000, nearly all derived from the sale of a half township of land. The institution has been in constant operation for sixteen or seventeen years. The *Bath* female academy, incorporated in 1808, has 11,520 acres of land. The *Belfast* academy was incorporated in 1808. It has funds to the amount of \$5,723 76. The whole amount of the property of the *Bridgeton* academy is \$10,441 97. Of this sum, \$3,000 were raised by voluntary contributions. The academy at *Limerick* was incorporated in 1808. It has a productive fund of \$1,760. There is a library of about 110 volumes of miscellaneous books for the use of the scholars. An apparatus worth \$300, has recently been engaged. The average number of scholars in the spring, summer, and autumn terms is 45, in winter, 20. Mr. John V. Bean is the principal. A female department formerly existed in the academy, and it is proposed to reorganize it this spring. The *Monmouth* academy was incorporated in 1808. Its property amounts to \$6,649 92; about \$5,000 of which were from the grant of the legislature. The *Warren* academy, incorporated in 1808, has 11,520 acres of land. The *Wiscasset* academy has funds to the amount of \$4,428. The *Thornton* academy at Saco, has in real estate \$1,000, in personal \$6,180; from individual bounty \$3,680 were derived; incorporated in 1811. The *North Yarmouth* academy, incorporated in 1811, has funds to the amount of about \$19,000. The *Bangor female* academy was incorporated in 1818. The *Cony female* academy at Augusta, incorporated in 1818, founded in 1815, has in funds \$9,985, of which \$3,225 were a donation of Judge Cony. The library contains 1,200 volumes, the donation of gentlemen in Massachusetts and Maine. The *China* academy, incorporated the same year, has funds to the amount of about \$4,900. The *Dearborn* academy at Buxton, has funds to the amount of \$1,776. The whole was derived from individual donations. The *Brunswick* academy was incorporated in 1823. It has not been in operation, we believe, for a number of years. Its only property is the building, which cost between \$600 and \$700. The *Flaxcroft* academy, incorporated in 1823, has funds to the amount of \$4,950 89. Of the academy at *Anson*, incorporated in 1823, we know nothing. During the last winter, an institution called the 'Parsonsfield seminary,' was incorporated by the legislature of Maine. It is under the Patronage of the Free-Will Baptists. Its operations commenced in the autumn of 1832. About 50 scholars. One object is to aid their young men in preparation for the ministry and missions. It is now in a flourishing condition. Mr. Hosea Quimby is principal. Tuition \$3 a quarter. Board from \$1 to \$1 25 a week.

Gardiner lyceum. This institution was established at Gardiner, on the Kennebec river, in 1822, by the liberality of Robert Hallowell Gardiner, Esq. It was designed to prepare youths by a scientific education to become skillful farmers and mechanics. The legislature has bestowed upon it \$5,000. Lectures were given very extensively on the sciences as connected with the arts and with common life. Its operations are for the present suspended. With the reasons of this measure, we are not acquainted.

Maine Wesleyan seminary. This institution was founded at Readfield, in

Kennebec county, in January, 1825. In February, 1827, the legislature gave it a half township of land, consisting of 11,520 acres. An original and principal object of the seminary was to educate candidates for the ministry of the Methodist denomination. From the report of the trustees, presented January 9, 1833, we learn the following facts: The number of students during the spring term, was 116; fall term 143. Of these, 55 were employed in the laboring department, 15 in agricultural, and 40 in mechanical labor. Of the students employed in these two departments, 30 paid by their labor the whole expense of their board, and a few did more than this. The remainder defrayed a considerable portion of their expenses in the same way. 'The studies of those who labor have not been impeded by devoting five hours in a day regularly to this employment. Though the proficiency of those who *do not* labor may be greater for a few weeks, yet in a course of study, the laboring student has an obvious advantage in his uniform health and increased vigor of mind.' 'Experience has proved abundantly that the *morals* of the students are also promoted by a regular system of labor.' Since the first establishment of the seminary, nearly 300 students have been employed in the laboring departments, and have paid a considerable amount toward the expenses of their education. A large proportion of them had no other means of obtaining the advantages of education. On account of numerous applications, during the past year, a new blacksmith's shop has been erected, and a larger shop for the carpenters and cabinet makers. The amount of property exclusive of debts, belonging to the institution is \$12,114 90. 'At present our debts are pressing heavily upon us; and the care and perplexity in which this state of things involves the officers of the institution, serves much to circumscribe our usefulness. Funds are greatly needed to furnish a chemical and philosophical apparatus and library for the use of the students, and also to finish the shops which have been commenced.' Merritt Caldwell is principal of this institution, with several assistants. Dudley Moody, Esq., general agent.

The whole amount of capital, permanently invested for the establishment and support of all the academies in Maine, including their buildings, libraries, and apparatus was, in 1825, not far from 220,000 dollars. It does not now probably exceed 250,000 dollars. The number of youths annually under instruction was, in the period just mentioned, about 1,000. It may now be 1,200. The year is generally divided into four terms of 11 weeks each, with four vacations of two weeks each. Total expense for the education of each scholar is 50 or 60 dollars. Board may be placed on an average at one dollar twenty-five cents per week. We find in a recent Maine newspaper of a very respectable character, the following statement: 'We do not recollect hardly three academies in the State, which have not become either nearly inefficient, for want of funds, or are struggling under a weight of responsibilities and debts that would sink any class of the community, unless they had minds like a Gifford, a Heyne, or a Franklin, and the heart of a Howard.' If this statement conveys any thing like the truth, as we have no reason to doubt that it does, it becomes the people of Maine to ascertain the causes and apply the remedies without delay.

COLLEGES AND HIGHER SEMINARIES.—*Waterville college.* This institution is located on the western bank of Kennebec river, in the town of Waterville, eighteen miles above Augusta, the capital of the State. The principal buildings are two brick edifices, situated a short distance north of the village, with an ample space between them for a chapel, which is soon to be erected. The following gentlemen compose the faculty of the college:

Rev. Jeremiah Chaplin, D. D., president.

Joseph A. Gallup, M. D., professor of institutes of medicine, &c.

Thomas J. Conant, Greek and German languages.

George W. Keely, mathematics and natural philosophy.

Willard Parker, M. D., anatomy and surgery.

Rev. Calvin Newton, rhetoric and Hebrew.

David Palmer, M. D., medical jurisprudence, pharmacy, &c.

John O'B. Chaplin, Latin and English languages.

The requisites for admission and the course of studies are similar to those generally required by the New England colleges. Among the classics studied

in college, are Plato's *Phædo*, *Memorabilia* of Socrates, Cicero's *Tusculan Questions*, Juvenal's *Satires*, &c. The German language is a part of the course. All the expenses necessarily incurred by the student in college, except the expense of books and furniture, which may be hired for eight or ten dollars a year, is 75 dollars, of which board is 39 dollars, and college bills 26 dollars 50 cents. The Latin and Greek classics are loaned to such students as wish to hire, for a few cents a term. The workshop connected with the college, consists of two buildings, one 80 feet by twenty, of one story; the other of two stories, 80 feet by 24. Students are allowed to labor in the shop three hours a day.

'In the mechanics' shop connected with Waterville college, an experiment has been made, the results of which, though obtained under great disadvantages, are certainly of the most cheering kind. By devoting three hours of each secular day to business of this kind, the students have earned from one to two dollars a week, which ought to be considered as furnishing good ground to believe that when the system is properly matured, the industrious student will be able to earn at least sixty dollars a year.' Of the school of medicine connected with Waterville college, we shall give some account under the head of Vermont.

Bowdoin college. This institution was incorporated by the legislature of Massachusetts in 1794. The first class was graduated in September, 1806. Hon. James Bowdoin of Boston, gave it 6,000 acres of land in the town of Lisbon. He also purchased for it a collection of well arranged minerals, and fine models of crystallography. In his last will, he bequeathed to it a collection of 75 paintings, as well as other articles. The college buildings are delightfully situated, on a plain near the Androscoggin river, in Cumberland county, about twenty-five miles north of Portland, and about the same distance south of Augusta. Rev. Dr. Joseph McKeen was the first president of the college. He was inducted into the office in September, 1802, and died July 15, 1807. He was succeeded by the Rev. Dr. Jesse Appleton, who remained in the office from December, 1807, till his death, November 12, 1819. He was succeeded in 1820, by the Rev. William Allen, D. D. On the separation of Maine from Massachusetts, the trustees surrendered its former charter, and received a new one from the State of Maine, with a liberal annuity in aid of its funds. By a law of the legislature of Maine, passed in 1831, Dr. Allen was removed from the presidency. The legality of this act of the legislature will soon be tried in the circuit court of the United States. Other facts concerning the college will be mentioned in the tables in the sequel.

Medical school. This institution was established by an act of the legislature, June 7, 1820, and is under the direction of the Boards of trustees and overseers of Bowdoin college. The lectures commence annually about the middle of February and continue three months. The fees for the various courses are about fifty dollars, and a graduating fee of ten dollars. The library contains about 2,600 volumes, selected with much care. Number of students 100.

Bangor theological seminary. This institution was incorporated in 1814, by the name of the Maine charity school, and was opened in Hampden in 1816, with the special view to the instruction of young men, of the Congregational denomination, intending to enter the ministry. It was afterward removed to Bangor, a town at the head of tide navigation, on the Penobscot river, in Penobscot county, 60 miles from the sea, 66 east of Augusta, 661 from Washington city, and in the heart of the State. Its first professors were Rev. John Smith, D. D., and Rev. Bancroft Fowler. It has passed through great adversities, and undergone several important changes of character, until it is substantially conformed to the other schools of theology in our country. Rev. Enoch Pond, lately editor of the *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, Boston, is professor of theology, and Rev. Alvan Bond, formerly minister of Sturbridge, Mass., is professor of Biblical literature. No professor of sacred eloquence is yet appointed. Since the establishment of the institution, *sixty-two* young men have been educated for the ministry, and about twenty others have received assistance in preparing for the same work, making more than eighty in all. Most of them have been aided by the funds of the institution. The whole amount thus appropriated, exceeds 12,000 dollars. These young men have been residents of eight or ten

States. Twenty-eight churches in Maine, have been from this source furnished with pastors, and nearly one-fourth of the present settled ministers of the Congregational denomination in Maine, acquired their education at Bangor. To relieve the seminary from all embarrassments, it is proposed to raise the sum of 30,000 dollars. A part of the sum has been subscribed. Bangor is more than 200 miles from any other theological seminary. Connected with it is a classical department under the direction of a principal. 'The order of studies is arranged with a special reference to the theological course, so as to be *substantially equivalent* to a more liberal education.' This department is open for any students who wish to become fitted for college, and any young man of good moral character may be received. Bangor is in the center of a commonwealth, which will probably, in the lapse of a few years, sustain a population of 2,000,000.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.—Common schools are established throughout the State, and for their support a sum, amounting each year, since 1818, to 90,000 dollars, is annually raised by a separate tax. The State has a literary fund amounting to 64,000 dollars, formed by a tax of one-half per cent. on the capital of the banks. The proceeds of this fund, and also an annual income of 9,000 dollars, derived from a tax on banks, are appropriated to aid in the support of schools. We have no information of any recent changes in regard to common schools in this State. We presume that their condition is substantially the same as in the other New England States.

ACADEMIES AND OTHER PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Name.	Incorporated.	Instructors.
Adams female, Derry.....	1823	C. C. P. Gale, and assistants.
Alstead	1819	Not in operation.
Atkinson	1791	John Kelly.
Boscawen	1828	Miss Sarah Crocker.
Brackett, Greenland.....	1824	Edward Buxton.
Chesterfield	1790	Charles L. Strong.
Edlingham	1819	Eaton Mason, A. B.
Francestown.....	1819	Benjamin F. Wallace.
Franklin, Dover.....	1803	Thomas Hardy.
Gilford	1820	
Gilmanton	1794	Wm. C. Clark.
Hampton.....	1810	Roswell Harris & J. Dow.
Haverhill	1794	Ephraim Kingbury.
Hillsborough	1821	
Holmes, Plymouth.....	1808	
Hopkinton	1827	E. S. Colby, Miss C. Knight.
Kimball Un. Plainfield.....	1813	Rev. Israel Newell.
Lancaster.....	1808	Walter P. Flanders.
New Hampton.....	1821	Wm. Heath, D. Burbank, &c.
New Ipswich.....	1789	Robert A. Coffin, Mrs. Coffin.
Newport	1819	
Pembroke	1818	E. D. Eldridge, Miss Hill.
Phillips, Exeter.....	1781	B. Abbot, Rev. I. Hurd, G. L. Soule, J. H. Abbot.
Pinkerton, Derry.....	1814	Abel F. Hildreth.
Portsmouth	1808	S. L. Emery, Miss E. Spalding.
Salisbury	1808	
Rochester	1827	
Wakefield	1827	
Walpole	1831	C. H. Allen.
Wolfeboro' and Tuftonboro'..	1820	Rev. Enos Merrill.
Woodman, Sanbornton.....	1820	Lewis F. Laine.

Phillips Exeter academy was founded at Exeter, by the Hon. John Phillips, LL. D. It is one of the best endowed institutions of the kind in the United

States. It has a library of 600 volumes and a valuable philosophical apparatus. The building is an edifice 76 by 36 feet, two stories high, with two wings, 34 by 28 feet, one story high. The number of students is 75. The *Adams female academy* in Derry, has a fund of \$4,000. It has a good chemical and philosophical apparatus. All the branches of an English education are taught, with the Latin and French languages. The *Gilmanton academy* has funds—6,000 dollars at interest, and 7,000 acres of land in Coos county. The *Kimball Union academy* has 40,000 dollars in funds, the donation of Hon. Daniel Kimball. The income is devoted principally to aid pious and indigent young men in preparing for the Christian ministry. The trustees are 13 in number,—annual meeting in May. First vacation three weeks from the second Wednesday in May; second, three weeks from commencement at Dartmouth college; third, three weeks from the last Wednesday in December. Application for aid may be made to the secretary, Newton Whittlesey, Esq., Cornish. The *Pinkerton academy* was founded by Major John Pinkerton. Funds 15,000 dollars, besides real estate. The unincorporated public schools with the instructors, are as follows:

Auburn, A. Whittemore, Jr.	Easter, Miss Julia A. Perry.
Andrim	Hancock, Ephraim Taylor.
Barnstead, Nathaniel Grover.	Keene Fem. Sem., Misses Fisk, Withington, Kent, and Holmes.
Concord, Joseph B. Eastman	Pittsfield, John Sanborn.
Concord Female, Miss Mary B. Ware	Wentworth, Joseph Fellows.
Concord Female Seminary, Miss L. C. Far- nham.	Nashua, Frederick A. Eldridge.
Derry village, Misses Washburn and Fair- child	Claremont, Young ladies', Misses Thatcher and Stevens.

Academical and theological institutions at New Hampton. This seminary is situated near the center of New Hampshire, at a small distance from the Pemigewasset river, the principal branch of the Merrimac. From an elevation less than a mile south of the institution, may be seen an area of more than 100 miles in diameter, including a point of the State of Maine on the east, and of Vermont on the west. The institution, in its present form, went into operation in 1825. Forty-nine scholarships were procured in a short time, on the principle, that the subscribers should pay the tuition of a scholar for five years. In 1826, Mr. Farnsworth was elected principal and professor of theology. The act of incorporation provides that the Baptist State convention shall, annually, elect seven of the thirteen trustees, the principal being one, ex-officio, and five of the ten overseers. In 1827, an additional building was erected. In 1829, a seminary for young ladies was established as a distinct branch of the institution, and a suitable building was erected at the distance of a mile and a half. A large edifice was soon after erected at an expense of not far from 7,000 dollars. The building is of brick, 100 feet in length by 36 in breadth, and three stories high, divided into 36 rooms, having also a basement devoted to the commons. The plan of the institution is this: Five distinct departments; *theological*, embracing such students as are preparing for the ministry, under the care of the principal; *classical*, students in the Latin and Greek languages; *senior English*, higher branches of English studies; *junior English*, lads from eight to fifteen years of age; and the *female department*, instructed usually by three ladies. The theological department is now entirely suspended. The whole expenses of a student, annually, exclusive of books, do not exceed 70 dollars. The annual period of instruction is divided into three terms, commencing on the first Monday in September, last Monday in November, and first Monday in May, with vacations of two and a half weeks, one week, and two weeks. Mr. Farnsworth has lately resigned his appointment. The instructors are now,—

—, principal and professor of languages.
Wm. Heath, professor of mathematics and natural philosophy.
M. Curtis, D. Burbank, tutors.
G. T. Barker, teacher of penmanship.
Martha Hazeltine, principal of female seminary.
Misses Rand, Sleeper, and Woodman, assistants.

The following was the number of students in November, 1832:

Classical students.....	96	Senior English.....	76
Junior English.....	34	Female.....	108
Total			314

A public examination of all the departments takes place on the close of the summer term.

COLLEGES AND HIGHER SEMINARIES.—*Dartmouth college.* In December, 1743, Samson Occom, a Mohegan Indian, solicited admission into an English school, taught by the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, D. D., of Lebanon, Connecticut. In consequence of the education of Occom, Dr. Wheelock was induced to form the plan of an Indian missionary school. Two Indian boys of the Delaware tribe, entered the school in December, 1754. In 1762, Dr. Wheelock had more than twenty Indian youths under his care. For their maintenance, funds were obtained by subscription of benevolent individuals, from the legislatures of Connecticut and Massachusetts, and from the commissioners in Boston of the Scotch society for promoting Christian knowledge. Joshua Moor, a farmer at Mansfield, Connecticut, having made a donation of a house and two acres of land in Lebanon, contiguous to Dr. W.'s house, the institution received the name of Moor's Indian charity school. In 1764, the Scotch society appointed a board of correspondents in Connecticut. This board, in 1765, sent out white missionaries and Indian schoolmasters to the Indians in New York. For the enlargement of this school, Mr. Whittaker, Minister of Norwich, and Samson Occom, were sent to Great Britain in 1766. The money, which they collected for Moor's school, was placed in the hands of a board of trustees in England, of which the Earl of Dartmouth was the head, and in conjunction with the Scotch society. As the school increased, Dr. W. determined to remove it to a more favorable location, nearer to the Indians, and to establish in connection with it a college for instruction in all the branches of science. Larger tracts of land being offered in New Hampshire than elsewhere, he concluded to transplant his school to Hanover, and there to found a college. A charter was given by Governor Wentworth in 1769. In 1770, Dr. W. removed to Hanover. The school has ever been distinct from the college, with a separate incorporation, obtained at a subsequent period from New Hampshire. Of Moor's school, the Earl of Dartmouth was a benefactor, but not of Dartmouth college, to the establishment of which, he and the other trustees of the fund were opposed, as being a departure from the original design. Dr. W., his family, and pupils, in all about seventy individuals, at first resided in log-houses, but the frame of a small two-story college was soon set up. The first commencement in the college was held in 1771, when four students graduated. At this period the number of his scholars destined for missionaries was 24, of whom 18 were whites, and only 6 Indians. Experience had proved that his plan of an Indian college could not succeed. He had found that of 40 Indian youths, who had been under his care, 20 had returned to the vices of savage life. The revolutionary war, obstructed, in a great degree, the projects which he had commenced.

After being at the head of the college about nine years, he died April 24, 1779, aged 68. Having the privilege of naming his successor, he nominated his son, John Wheelock, LL. D. He remained in the office from 1779 to 1815, when he was removed by the trustees. The reasons of this measure it is not necessary to explain at length in this place. At the session of the legislature of the State, in June, 1815, Dr. Wheelock, then president of the college, presented a memorial to that body, charging a majority of the trustees with gross misbehavior in office. The legislature sent thereupon a committee to investigate facts and make a report. This report was committed to a joint committee of both houses, who 'expressly declined considering the report of facts of the investigating committee as the proper ground on which the legislature ought to proceed in relation to the college.' The trustees soon after removed Dr. Wheelock from the presidency, and appointed Rev. Francis Brown, D. D., of North Yarmouth, Maine, who accepted the appointment. By successive acts of the legislature, the twelve trustees under the old charter, and nine other individuals, were appointed trustees of a new corporation, under the name of the Dartmouth university. A board of overseers was also chosen. Nine of the trustees were to be sufficient for a quorum. A part of the new board met and

elected Dr. Wheelock as president, who died soon after. Another individual was substituted in his place. The new trustees took possession of the property of the college. Nearly the whole body of students, however, remained under the instruction of the faculty appointed by the former board. The case was soon brought before the supreme court of the State, and the acts of the legislature were declared to be constitutional. The subject was then carried by appeal to the supreme court of the United States. The judgment of the State Court was reversed, and the acts of the legislature declared to be unconstitutional. This question was thus put at rest greatly to the satisfaction of all the enlightened friends of our public institutions throughout the United States. President Brown died greatly lamented, July, 27, 1820, aged 36. His judgment, intelligence, and firmness, remarkably qualified him for his trying situation. He was succeeded by Rev. Daniel Dana, D. D., who remained in office but one year. He was succeeded by the Rev. Bennet Tyler, D. D. Dr. Tyler resigned in 1823, and was succeeded in 1829, by the Rev. Nathan Lord, D. D., the present incumbent. The faculty of the college are,—

Rev. Nathan Lord, D. D., president.

Ebenezer Adams, A. M., professor of mathematics and natural philosophy.

Rev. Roswell Shurtliff, professor of moral philosophy and political econ.

Reuben D. Mussey, M. D., professor of anatomy and surgery.

Daniel Oliver, M. D., professor of mat. med. and intel. philosophy.

Rev. Charles B. Haddock, professor of rhetoric and oratory.

Rev. Calvin E. Stow, professor of languages.

— Phillips, professor of theology.

Ira Young and Evarts, Worcester, tutors.

'There is a public examination of the several classes annually, in all the branches to which they have attended during the year; continued not less than ten days, in the presence and under the direction of a committee of gentlemen of education, invited by the faculty to attend for that purpose. It is the intention of the faculty to make this scrutiny of the intellectual character and attainments of the young men under their tuition, strict and thorough; and to determine their standing by the progress actually made, and the knowledge acquired.' Instruction is given to the three higher classes chiefly, and to the freshmen in part, by the president and professors, whose permanent connection with the college may be expected to secure to the students the benefits of experience and of extended investigations. Individuals who wish to attend the lectures and recitations of particular departments only, without reference to a degree, may have that privilege. The usual course of studies and lectures is adopted. The whole expenses of a student, annually, with the exception of books, clothes, and personal expenses, is estimated at \$94 24; of this sum, \$27 is for tuition, and \$47 50 for board.

Medical department of Dartmouth college. The annual course of lectures begins one week after the college commencement, and continues 14 weeks. Four lectures daily; a part of the time, five. Fees for the course, \$50. Matriculating fee, \$2. Library fee for those who take books, fifty cents. Surgical operations performed gratuitously before the medical class, during lectures. A course of private instruction is given by Drs. Mussey and Hall, commencing the first of March, and continuing till the college commencement in August. Fees for the private course, \$25. Resident pupils are entitled to the privileges of resident graduates, are allowed the use of the college library, and may attend the public lectures in the academical departments without expense. The graduating expenses are 18 dollars. The professors in this department, are Drs. Mussey, Oliver, and Professor Hale. The delegates from the New Hampshire medical society are Drs. Thomas Chadbourne and Moses Long.

The New Hampshire medical society was incorporated in February, 1791. The annual meeting is at Concord, on Tuesday, preceding the general election. President, Daniel Oliver, M. D., of Hanover, 12 counselors, 12 censors. Enos Hoyt, M. D., Northfield, secretary; Nathan Sanborn, M. D., Henniker, treasurer; orators for 1833, Drs. Twitchell and Sanborn; fellows, 75; districts, 6.

The New Hampshire historical society was incorporated June 13, 1823. Annual meeting, second Wednesday in June. Hon. Matthew Harvey, Hopkinton,

president; John Farmer, Esq., Concord, secretary. Committee for publishing fourth volume, Hon. Wm. Prescott, Rev. N. Bouton, John Farmer; orator for 1832, John Kelly, Esq. Number of members, 50.

VERMONT.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.—The money raised by the general law for the support of schools, at three per cent. on the grand list, (the valuation of taxes,) would be between 50,000 dollars and 60,000 dollars; and about as much more is supposed to be raised by school district taxes. The State has a literary fund, derived principally from a tax of six per cent. on the annual profits of the banks; the amount on loan in September, 1829, was \$23,763 32. The number of district schools in 1831, was about 2,400. The whole number of persons in Vermont, in 1830, between five and twenty years inclusive, was 104,850. This would give about 43 scholars to each school district. Probably the average number who attend school in each district, is less than 30. The legislature applied to the school fund in 1832, \$9,586. The commissioners of this fund, are Benjamin F. Deming of Danville, Jacob Collamer of Royalton, William Page of Rutland, and Zadock Thompson of Burlington.

ACADEMIES AND HIGH SCHOOLS.—The whole number of academies and high schools is about 35. A part are incorporated; a number are not now in operation. We are not able to furnish a complete list.

Brandon select school. Number of scholars, February, 1833, 116, of whom 30 are ladies. Terms for all studies except the languages, \$3; for the Latin, Greek, or French languages, \$4. Mr. Chauncey B. Taylor is principal. *Baptist institution in Brandon.* The trustees of the 'Vermont literary and scientific institution,' at a late meeting, selected the ground on which the building for the male department of the institution is to be placed, and purchased a substantial dwelling-house and about 30 acres of land, immediately connected with the site given by the inhabitants of Brandon. An individual has given the trustees a lease of a workshop and water privileges for twenty years, rent free. It is proposed to raise a subscription of \$10,000, and to have a male and female institution in separate buildings, at some distance from each other. The inhabitants of Brandon have agreed to erect and finish one of the edifices, 100 by 40 feet, three stories high. A very flourishing female seminary has been for some time in operation in *Middlebury*, under the superintendence of Miss Cooke, formerly of Vergennes. In the same place is a classical institution for lads, in some sense preparatory to Middlebury college, though entirely distinct from it. At *Burlington* there are several schools of an established character; at *Chelsea*, a high school; at *Royalton*, a female school under the care of Miss Waahburn; at *Norwich*, opposite Dartmouth college, the Methodists are intending to establish a literary institution; at *Chester* there is one of the oldest academies in the State, with a commodious brick building, well situated; at *Randolph* is the 'Orange county grammar school,' under the care of Timothy G. Brainerd as permanent principal instructor; tuition, \$2 50 a quarter, and board from \$1 to \$1 50 a week; at *Springfield*, is the *Springfield village school*, under the care of Homer H. Stewart, a graduate of Middlebury college. The *Craftsbury* academy has a large and commodious building, and a valuable apparatus; Mr. Hosmer, principal, and Miss Sabin in the charge of the female department; tuition, \$3 a quarter; board from \$1 to \$1 25 a week; instruction is given in music. The *Bennington* academy has been for some time an important seminary in the south-western part of the State. At *Manchester*, in Bennington county, about twenty miles north of Bennington, is the 'Burr Seminary,' founded by the late Joseph Burr, Esq. Mr. Burr bequeathed \$10,000 for this object, on condition that \$10,000 additional, should be raised within a definite period. The sum has been raised. From a prospectus of the institution, just published, we quote the following sentences:

'The seminary is to be opened with public exercises on the 15th day of May, 1833, and instruction is to commence on the day following, under the charge of the Rev. Lyman Coleman, principal, and John Aiken, Esq., associate principal.

'The course of instruction will include the mathematics and the several

branches of a thorough English education; together with the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, and generally all the branches necessary for admission into any of our colleges. Such as are denied the higher privileges of a collegiate education, may be conducted through a more extended course, preparatory to their entering directly upon professional studies. The Bible, also, will be the distinct object of study, and on the Sabbath and other suitable occasions, familiar instruction will be given on morals and religion.

'The expenses of the institution will be, for tuition in the ordinary English branches, \$3 a quarter, or \$12 a year; and in the higher mathematics, philosophy, and the ancient classics, \$4 a quarter, or \$16 a year;—for room rent \$1 50 a quarter, or \$6 a year; and for board and washing, the cost, not exceeding \$1 25 a week, exclusive of fuel and light. Payment is to be made quarterly; for which satisfactory security will be expected on admission to the seminary.

'The means furnished by the institution, toward defraying these expenses, consist, in the first place, of the income of the charity fund; that is, the interest of \$10,000 bequeathed by Mr. Burr, which will enable the board to furnish instruction gratuitously, to thirty-eight pupils; and to this the number of their beneficiaries, at present, is necessarily limited. In the distribution of this charity, reference is to be had to the indigence of the applicants, and their promise of usefulness in the ministry, *without regard to any religious denomination*. And on making application, they will be expected to furnish the same testimonials of their indigence and Christian character, as are required by the American Education Society. Application may be made to either of the following gentlemen, members of the executive committee, to wit: Rev. Mr. Jackson of Dorset, Rev. Mr. Coleman, Rev. Mr. Anderson, and John Aiken, Esq., of Manchester.

'A more important and efficient aid, it is believed, will be derived from the *labor of the students*. For the purpose of agricultural labor, a lot of about thirty acres of land is attached to the institution, a considerable part of which will be appropriated to tillage and gardening. Provision has also been made for the erection of a workshop, to be furnished with valuable machinery, propelled by a water power, and affording important facilities for the successful prosecution of various branches of mechanical labor. The steward of the seminary is himself an experienced and skillful mechanic, and it will be his duty to superintend the operations of the shops, to make the necessary contracts, to instruct the inexperienced, and to make arrangements for the profitable employment of all during the hours of labor.'

COLLEGES AND HIGHER SEMINARIES.—*Middlebury college*. This college was incorporated in 1800. It is pleasantly situated in Middlebury, a town of 3,468 inhabitants, in Addison county, 32 miles south of Burlington, 32 north of Rutland, and 51 south-west of Montpelier. The college buildings are two in number, one of wood, three stories high, containing a chapel and 20 rooms for students; the other, a spacious edifice of stone, 108 feet by 40, four stories high, containing 48 rooms for students. The buildings are on an elevation of 342 feet above lake Champlain. The funds of the college are not large, having been derived entirely from individual donations. The board of trustees, styled the 'president and fellows of Middlebury college,' is not limited as to numbers. This college holds an important rank among the seminaries of the land. It has been distinguished, perhaps, above all others for the enjoyment of special divine influences. The first president was Rev. Jeremiah Atwater, D. D., from 1800 to 1809. Rev. Henry Davis, D. D., from 1810 to 1817. Rev. Joshua Bates, D. D., the present incumbent, was inducted into office in 1818. The board of trustees now consists of 25 members, 12 laymen and 13 clergymen; 21 residents in the State, and 4 elsewhere. The faculty are,—

Rev. Joshua Bates, D. D., president.

Rev. John Hough, professor of languages.

Rev. Wm. C. Fowler, Burr professor of chemistry and natural history.

Edward Turner, Painter professor of mathematics and natural philosophy.

Wm. H. Parker, tutor and librarian.

A convenient mechanical shop has been erected, and furnished with appropri-

ate tools; and a mechanical association formed among the students, for the purpose of obtaining regular and profitable exercise. The usual expenses of a liberal education are considerably diminished by the ample library of the Benevolent society, from which indigent students are gratuitously furnished with text-books; and other students at a small expense. The tuition is \$20, and the average board (in private families) \$1 25 a week, amounting to \$50 per annum. The whole expense is about \$86. Those students who desire it, have assistance in pursuing studies not required by the laws of college, such as the Hebrew and French languages. The course of study does not vary materially from that pursued at other colleges.

University of Vermont at Burlington. This institution was incorporated and established at Burlington, in 1791, but did not go into operation till 1800. It is finely situated on the east side of the village, a mile distant from lake Champlain, on ground elevated 245 feet above the surface of the water, and commanding an extensive and delightful prospect, embracing a view of the lake with the high mountains beyond on the west, and the Green mountains on the east. A large college edifice of brick, which was completed in 1801, was consumed by fire in 1824; since which time three brick edifices have been erected, two of them containing rooms for students, the other a chapel and other public rooms. The university possesses considerable endowments, consisting principally of lands. Burlington is the most important commercial town in Vermont. It is 38 miles west of Montpelier, and 100 south of Montreal. Its population in 1830, was 5,525. The following are the faculty of the university:

Rev. James Marsh, D. D., president.

George W. Benedict, professor of natural history, chemistry, &c.

Rev. Joseph Torrey, professor of languages.

George Huntington, professor of mathematics and natural philosophy.

The course of instruction at this seminary is remarkably intelligent and thorough. Though the distinction of classes is preserved, yet the main part of the instruction is carried on by subjects—that is, all in the institution study the Latin language, for instance, together. Entire authors are used, rather than extracts, and compends. A rigorous examination, of several weeks continuation, is held in the summer. We quote the following extracts from a circular, lately issued by President Marsh. It is important, as showing the comparative state of education in the different counties of the State, and as a reason why the Vermont university has not received a larger patronage:

They are ascertained by an examination of the recent catalogues of the several colleges named in the table, and probably present a fair average of the number in colleges for a period of four years. There may be some few students indeed in other colleges out of the State, whose catalogues were not at hand, but not enough it is presumed materially to affect the result. The annexed table exhibits at one view the number from the several counties in each of the college, and the whole number from each county. At the bottom is seen the number from the State in each of the several colleges, and the sum of the whole. In the two last columns are the population of the several counties, and the ratio of students to population in each.

	Dart- mouth	Wil- liams	Bow- doin	Am- herst	Yale	Univ'y Vt.	Middle- bury	Tot. in each co.	No. in- habit's	No. inhabit's to 1 student.
Bennington....	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	8	14,470	1,810
Windham.....	2	7	0	6	3	1	5	24	28,748	1,193
Windsor.....	9	0	0	1	3	3	11	27	40,623	1,500
Rutland.....	1	1	0	2	0	0	25	29	31,295	1,077
Addison.....	0	0	0	0	0	2	35	37	24,040	674
Orange.....	4	0	0	0	0	4	3	11	27,285	2,880
Caledonia.....	3	0	1	2	0	1	3	10	29,976	2,907
Washington....	1	8	0	0	0	0	1	2	21,394	10,607
Chittenden....	0	0	0	0	0	4	2	6	21,775	3,629
Grand Isle.....	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	3,696	3,696
Franklin.....	0	0	0	0	1	3	5	9	14,470	2,725
Orleans.....	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	5	13,960	2,796
Essex.....	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	5	3,981	796
	24	18	3	11	7	21	90	174		

'1. From this table it appears, that of 174 students, 63, or something over one-third, go out of the State for their education.

'2. That from the six southern counties with a population of 170,052, there are at college 136 students, and from the seven northern counties with a population of 116,656 only 38 students, while the same ratio with the southern would give them 93.

'3. That Addison and Rutland counties with a population of 56,235 educate 66, while a population of the same amount nearest to this university, including Chittenden, Grand Isle, Franklin, and a part of Washington, educate but 17 students, and that those two counties alone educate nearly twice as many as all the northern counties, which according to the same ratio would educate 136. The last column shows in a striking degree also, the disparity in the ratio of inhabitants to students in these districts.

'4. Of the 66 students from Addison and Rutland counties, 60 are at the college within their own limits. Did the corresponding district in the vicinity of this institution furnish students in the same ratio, and regard their local interests with the same zeal, the institution would now have from its own neighborhood 53 in addition to the 7 which it now has, aside from the effect of this in drawing students from abroad.

'5. The friends and patrons of this institution may find in these facts a sufficient reason for the smallness of the number of students, and at the same time encouragement with regard to its future usefulness, if, with the increasing wealth and improvement in other respects of the northern counties of the State, such means are used, as surely ought to be used, to promote here the higher interests of education. These counties, though more recently settled, are certainly not inferior to any other part of the State in general enterprise, and the spirit of improvement, and it may be hoped will not be long behind in directing their attention and efforts to the advancement of education among them in all its departments.'

Medical school connected with the University of Vermont. Instruction is given by Drs. Lincoln, Sweetser, and Benedict.

Vermont academy of medicine at Castleton.

Clinical school of medicine at Woodstock. Connected with Waterville college, Maine, and with Middlebury college. The professors are,—

Joseph A. Gallup, M. D., physiology, pathology, &c.

Willard Parker, M. D., anatomy and surgery.

David Palmer, M. D., obstetrics, materia medica.

John DeWolfe, chemistry and botany.

The annual course of lectures commences on the first Tuesday of March, and continues 13 weeks. From four to six lectures are given daily. Fees for all the lectures, \$40; graduation fee, \$12; diploma, \$3. Examinations for degrees are held at the close of the term by the faculty, assisted by a board of visitors appointed by the corporation of Middlebury college, and delegates from the Vermont medical society.

MASSACHUSETTS.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.—The following is the abstract of the school returns made to the general court, in January, 1833, from *ninety-nine* towns in the Commonwealth. Amount paid for public instruction during the year 1832, \$98,086 43. Number of public school districts, 791. Aggregate time of keeping schools in the year, estimated in months; male teachers, 2,586; female teachers, 3,725. Whole number of pupils attending the schools kept by the towns in the course of the year, 49,582. Number of academies and private schools, 395. Number of pupils in academies and private schools not attending public schools, 8,284. Estimated amount of compensation of instructors of academies and private schools, \$81,294 39. Number of persons over fourteen years, and under twenty-one, not able to read and write, 10. The towns from which the returns are made are distributed in about equal proportions in the various counties of the State. The population of the whole State in 1830, was 610,014; of the 99 towns from which returns were made, 201,681. Whole number of towns and districts in the Commonwealth, 305; towns from which returns have been

received, 99; so that from one-third of the towns and nearly one-third of the population, returns have been received. The condition of the schools in the whole Commonwealth may, therefore, be thus stated:

Number of towns.....	306
Number of school districts.....	2,273
Number of months taught by male teachers.....	7,758
“ “ “ “ by female teachers.....	11,175
Total number of months.....	18,933
Pupils in Public schools.....	148,656
Cost of public instruction.....	\$294,259 29
Number of academies and private schools.....	1,185
Pupils in academies and private schools.....	24,852
Pay of instructors of academies and private schools.....	\$243,883 17
Number between 14 and 21 who can not read.....	30

The amount of compensation paid to male instructors, by the month, is from \$10 to \$25. The average is probably about \$15. Females are generally paid by the week, from 75 cents to \$3, average, \$1 25. The price of wages is higher in Worcester and the counties east, than it is in the four western counties. There is no school fund in this State.

The number of public schools in Boston, in January, 1830, was as follows: 9 grammar and 9 writing schools; one Latin and one English high school for boys; 57 schools for children between four and seven years of age, and denominated primary schools; 2 schools in the house of industry, and one school denominated the house of reformation; the three last in South Boston, making together 80 public schools. The whole number of scholars at the above schools was 7,430. The total expense for the year 1829, of the public schools, was \$65,500. The whole number of private schools in the city, was 155, the whole number of pupils, 4,018; the expense of tuition, &c., \$107,702. The whole number of schools, public and private, was 235; whole number of pupils, 11,448; total amount for tuition, fuel, books, &c., \$196,829 25.

ACADEMIES AND PUBLIC SCHOOLS.—The academy at *Williamstown* was incorporated in 1828; we have not learned its present condition. The *Pittsfield female academy* was incorporated in 1807. The *Berkshire gymnasium* was established in *Pittsfield* in 1827; it is under the care of the Rev. Chester Dewey, formerly professor in *Williams college*—he is assisted by a number of teachers in the English branches of education and in the languages; three large and elegant buildings have been erected on a commanding site north of the town; the whole expense of the board, tuition, &c. of lads, is from \$195 to \$250, according to their age. The *Stockbridge academy* was incorporated in 1828. The *Lenox** academy, incorporated in 1803, has prepared a large number of individuals for college, and is a very useful institution; the average number of scholars, 60 or 70; the *Northfield academy* has 107 students, and the annual expense for instruction, &c., is \$300. At *Greenfield* is the ‘*Fellenburg institution*,’ under the instruction of Mr. James H. Coffin; the students are essentially aided by provisions for manual labor; Mr. Coffin is an experienced instructor. At the same place is a female seminary of considerable reputation, under the care of the Rev. Henry Jones. *Deerfield** academy is one of the oldest in the State, and was incorporated in 1797; it has a valuable chemical and philosophical apparatus. *Amherst** academy was incorporated in 1816, and is under the care of Rev. Simeon Colton; in the autumn, a class of school teachers is instructed; beneficiaries receive their tuition gratuitously; the number of scholars is from 90 to 120, all males; a class of 20 or 30 are fitted for college each year; it has been ever since its establishment one of the principal academies in the State. The operations of the *Mount Pleasant classical institution* in the same town, we believe, are for the present suspended; a change in its character is contemplated. In the same place is a flourishing female school under the care of Miss Hannah White. At *Conway* is a valuable private school, taught by Mr. John Clary. At *Ashfield* is an academy, called the ‘*Sanderson academy*,’ incorporated in 1821, not now in operation. At *Hadley* is

* Shows that it has had a tract of land from the legislature, six miles square in Maine.

*Hopkins** academy, incorporated in 1816, under the care of Mr. Lewis Sabin and Miss Louisa Billings; the income from the funds amounts to about \$400 per annum. At *South Hadley*, four miles below Hadley, is the '*Woodbridge school*,' under the care of the Rev. Vinson Gould and Mr. D. E. Austin; it is for lads only; it has usually 30 or 40 scholars. One great object of the school is to exert a correct moral influence. At *Northampton* is the Round Hill school under the care of Mr. Joseph G. Cogswell. It is after the model of the German gymnasium, and embraces a course of very thorough English and classical instruction. At *Southampton*, eight miles south of Northampton, is the '*Sheldon academy*,' incorporated in 1829. Samuel Hunt and Mahlon P. Chapman, principals. A small philosophical apparatus is connected with the institution. Gratuitous lectures are given on various interesting subjects. Particular attention is paid to school keeping in the autumn. The expenses are, board, from \$1 to \$1 50 per week, fuel and lights included. Tuition, \$3 per term, with a small charge for fuel. The summer term commences May 29, and the fall term September 4, 1833. The whole number of scholars in 1832 was 91 males, and 63 females.

*Westfield** academy was incorporated in 1793. Number of scholars during the year ending Nov., 1832, 186 males, 217 females; tuition is paid in advance, \$3 in summer, \$3 25 in autumn, winter, and spring; students in languages pay fifty cents a quarter more than students in English studies. The academy is provided with a chemical and philosophical apparatus. Lectures are given on a variety of subjects; board is from \$1 33 to \$1 75 a week; the academy has a fund, the income of which is applied to the payment of teachers in part; the location is delightful; Rev. Emerson Davis is the principal, Miss Harriet J. Messer, preceptress, with nine assistant teachers. There has been an academy or high school at *Southwick*, furnished with a respectable building for a number of years. At *Springfield* \$600 is paid annually for the support of a high school. There are 26 schools in the districts, besides three private ones on the United States territory; the whole amount paid for public and private instruction, is \$6,100; the number of scholars is about 2,000. At *Wilbraham**, is the Wesleyan seminary, incorporated in 1824, and a flourishing institution, embracing males and females, and a various course of study. At *Monson** is a very flourishing institution, under the care of Rev. Sanford Lawton; the half township of land given to this academy was sold for \$5,000; attached to the institution is a general fund of \$6,000, a premium fund of \$500, and a charity fund of \$6,500, making in all \$13,000; the charity fund is designed to aid young men in preparing for the ministry; facilities are enjoyed at this academy for manual labor; board is very reasonable. At *West Brookfield* is a female academy, incorporated in 1826. At *Leicester** is one of the oldest academies in the State, incorporated in 1784; the funds amount to \$19,000; average number of scholars, 60 or 70; it is in contemplation to erect a new building for the use of this academy. At *Dudley** is Nichols academy, incorporated in 1819; Rev. William S. Porter, principal. At *Milford** is an academy, incorporated in 1828, which has about 35 scholars each quarter. At *Westminster* is an academy, incorporated in 1833, which has 25 scholars, about one-half from the neighboring towns. The Baptists are adopting measures to establish a literary institution of a high order in the county of Worcester, and on a system affording opportunity for manual labor. It is proposed to raise the sum of \$5,000 in shares of \$25 each, of which \$2,700 have been raised. The academy* at New Salem was incorporated in 1795; the *Gates*, in Marlboro', in 1830; funds, \$2,000; the *Frammingham** in 1799, funds, \$7,000; the *Billerica* in 1820; the *Groton** in 1793, James Townner, principal. The female seminary at Uxbridge, is not incorporated; board, \$1 40 a week. The *Lancaster* academy was incorporated in 1828; the *Lexington* in 1822; the *Westford** in 1793; the *Middlesex female* at Concord, in 1806. The *Haverhill*, incorporated in 1828, is under the care of Mr. Ebenezer Smith, Jr., and Miss L. S. Batchelder; tuition, \$4 a term; board from \$1 50 to \$2 a week. *Central village academy* in Dracut, incorporated in 1833; the *Bradford* academy in the west parish of Bradford, was incorporated in 1804; tuition from 4 dollars to 6 dollars a quarter; Benjamin Greenleaf, principal; Miss Hasseltine, Miss Kimball, and Mrs. Harris, in the female department. The *Dummer** academy at Newbury, incorporated in 1782, has large funds, given by the gen-

human whose name it bears. The *Newburyport academy*, incorporated in 1807. At *Byfield* is a female school, established chiefly as a preparatory school to the *Ipswich female seminary*, yet advanced classes are received; it is under the care of Miss Louisa Packard; tuition, 5 dollars a quarter; board 1 dollar 75 cents a week. The *Ipswich female seminary*, was incorporated in 1828. Misses Z. P. Grant and Mary Lyon, teachers; 11 assistant teachers; whole number of pupils in 1832, 221. It is the leading object of the seminary to prepare young ladies of mature minds for active usefulness, especially to become teachers; none are received under the age of 14 years. The winter term commences on the last Wednesday in October, and continues 25 weeks, including a vacation of one week. The summer term commences the last Wednesday in May, and continues 16 weeks; Miss Grant is now temporarily absent on account of ill health; board, including washing and lights, is 1 dollar 75 cents a week; tuition for the winter term, 15 dollars, for the summer, 10 dollars, to be paid at entrance. At *Topsfield* is an academy incorporated in 1828; *Marblehead* in 1792; at *Lynn*, incorporated in 1805; at *North Andover*, the Franklin academy, incorporated in 1803; at *East Bradford*, the Merrimac, incorporated in 1822. *Phillips*,* at Andover, south parish, was incorporated in 1780, and has two departments, classical and English; the first is under the care of Mr. Osgood Johnson. John Adams, Esq., who was for many years at the head of this school, has lately resigned his office; he educated a very large number for college; the institution is provided with a respectable building and with a library of several hundred volumes; the English school was commenced in the autumn of 1830, under the care of Rev. Samuel R. Hall, who is well known by the publication of several important school-books; it has an excellent building of stone, is furnished with various apparatus, and is altogether a very eligible place for acquiring an education; a boarding establishment is connected with both institutions, with land and mechanical accommodations for manual labor; a student, by laboring three hours in a day, may pay a considerable portion of his expenses. A short distance from the two institutions just named, is the *Abbot female academy*, incorporated in 1829; Samuel Lamson, A. M., principal, Mr. T. D. Smith, Misses L. Tenney, M. P. Abbot, and Mrs. H. W. Everett, assistants; number of pupils, 74; board from 1 dollar 50 cents to 2 dollars a week; a convenient boarding-house will soon be erected; tuition from 4 dollars to 5 dollars a term. At *Woburn* is the Warren academy, incorporated in 1830; funds, \$8,000, and accommodations for manual labor. The *South Reading academy* was incorporated in 1828, and is 10 miles north of Boston; the building cost 2,700 dollars, defrayed chiefly by the Baptist society of South Reading; two departments, English and classical; Rev. Harvey Ball and Mr. Samuel Randall, instructors; the number of students averages from 50 to 60; about one-half are destined for the Christian ministry, a large proportion of whom prepare for college, or directly for the Newton theological institution; a chemical and philosophical apparatus belong to the institution. At *Charlestown* is a female seminary, incorporated in 1833.

In *Boston*, in addition to what was stated on a preceding page, we notice the following schools: the *Mount Vernon female school*, kept in the masonic temple, Tremont street; Mr. J. Abbot, principal, assisted by Miss R. Leach and others; number of teachers in the winter quarter of 1833, 10; scholars, 135; Professor E. A. Andrews of New Haven, Connecticut, took charge of the school May 1st; in *Bowdoin street* is a school for lads, under the care of Mr. Alfred W. Pike; in *Salem street* is an academy, incorporated in 1816; in *Phillips place* is a female school under the care of Mr. E. Bailey; in *Tremont street*, another female school, under the care of Mr. George B. Emerson; in *Chauncy hall*, is a large school of lads under the instruction of Mr. Thayer; at *South Boston* is a female seminary, superintended by Rev. J. L. Blake, and incorporated in 1833; Mr. F. Leverett keeps a select classical school; the *Latin grammar school* is under the care of Mr. Charles K. Dillaway. In addition, there is a great number of excellent schools, where the course of instruction is substantially the same as that pursued at the country academies.

In the counties south of Boston are the following institutions: at *Dorchester* a school under the care of Mr. Parish; in *Weymouth*, the Braintree and Wey-

mouth academy, incorporated in 1828; *Bridgewater** academy, incorporated in 1799, with 5,000 dollars funds; *Bristol** at Taunton, incorporated in 1792; *Chatham*, 1829; *Days** at Wrentham, 1806; *Derby* at Hingham, 1797; 25,000 dollars funds; *Friends* at New Bedford, 1812; funds, 5,000 dollars; library, 1,200 volumes; *Hanover*, 1829; *Kingston*, 1816; *Middleboro'*, 1829, Baptist, Leonard Tobey, Elizabeth Lewis, instructors; *Sherburne*, 1828; *Sandwich*,* 1824; *Plymouth*, 1793; *Nantucket*,* 1801; in the same town 89 scholars attend 'Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin's school,' the expense of which is 1,243 dollars, besides which 49 private schools are returned, at an expense of 9,552 dollars; at *Edgartown*, there are two academies, 'Edgartown' and 'Dukes county,' both incorporated in 1833—students in both, 100; expense of both, 1,000 dollars; *Partridge* at Duxbury, 1829; *Milton*,* 1798; *Randolph*, 1833; *Franklin*, 1833; *Newton female*, Miss A. Hall, instructress;* board, 1 dollar 75 cents; tuition from 5 dollars to 7 dollars; *Young ladies school* in North Bridgewater, Miss J. A. Perry, instructress; tuition from 2 dollars to 7 dollars.

COLLEGES AND HIGHER SEMINARIES.—*Williams college*. This institution is situated in Berkshire county, at Williamstown, in the north-western corner of the State, and within a few miles of the State lines of Vermont and New York; it was founded by a bequest of Colonel Ephraim Williams, of Hatfield, who commanded, for some time, two small forts on the banks of the Hoosac, in Adams and Williamstown, and who was killed in a battle with the French and Indians, September 8, 1755. He bequeathed his property to the establishment of a free school in the township west of Fort Massachusetts, on the condition that the town should be called Williamstown; trustees were appointed in 1785; the school was opened in 1791; in 1793, it was incorporated as a college, under the presidency of Rev. Ebenezer Fitch, D. D.; the first class, four in number, graduated in 1795. Dr. Fitch remained in office from 1795 to 1815, when he was succeeded by the Rev. Zephaniah Swift Moore, D. D., who resigned in 1821. The following gentlemen now compose the faculty:

Rev. Edward D. Griffin, D. D., president and professor of divinity.
 Ebenezer Kellogg, professor of languages and librarian.
 Ebenezer Emmons, M. D., lecturer on chemistry and natural history.
 Mark Hopkins, M. D., professor of moral philosophy and rhetoric.
 Albert Hopkins, professor of mathematics and natural philosophy.
 Edward Lasell and Joseph L. Partridge, tutors.

The course of studies does not materially vary from that pursued at most of the New England colleges. The expenses of tuition, room rent, library, board, washing, and wood, vary from 79 dollars 50 cents, to 106 dollars 50 cents, yearly. The income of the charity funds is sufficient to pay the tuition of more than 30 students, and is divided among applicants according to their necessities; half of it is alike applicable to all indigent young men of merit, whether designed for the Christian ministry or not.

Berkshire Medical institution. This institution is established in Pittsfield, Berkshire county; the average number of students is from 80 to 100; the course of instruction is a lecture and reading term; tuition for the former, \$40, for the latter, \$35; the former commences on the first Thursday of September and continues 15 weeks; the latter on the first Wednesday of February and continues, with the exception of three weeks' vacation in May, to the last Wednesday in August; for this institution, \$3,000 have been raised by subscription, and \$5,000 given by the legislature; the professors are Childs, Williams, S. White, S. P. White, Coventry, and Dewey.

Amherst college. This college is situated in Amherst, a short distance from the east bank of Connecticut river, 8 miles east of Northampton, 80 miles west from Boston, 55 miles east of Williams college, and 80 miles north of Yale college; it is near the center of the old county of Hampshire, in a very favorable location in all points of view; it was established in 1821, under the presidency of the Rev. Dr. Moore, and was incorporated by the legislature of Massachusetts in 1825. Dr. Moore died in June, 1823, and was succeeded by the Rev. Heman Humphrey, D. D., who now fills the office. Four large college buildings have been erected, each four stories in height, three of them containing 32 rooms each for students, and the fourth comprising a large chapel, library-room,

two rooms for the mineralogical cabinet, and philosophical apparatus, a rhetorical chamber, four recitation rooms, and convenient basement rooms for the chemical lectures and apparatus; a subscription of \$50,000 for the college, was raised in 1832; a part of this sum will be devoted to the payment of the debt of the college, a part to the erection of a fifth edifice, and the remainder for other purposes. Within the past year, the college has received from Europe, philosophical and chemical apparatus and books to the value of \$8,000; the apparatus was selected with great care, by Professor Hovey, in London and Paris, and is one of the most complete in the country; the books are mostly standard works in the English, French, Italian, Latin, and Greek languages; the various libraries received an addition of 4,000 volumes; no student is admissible to the freshman class till he has completed his fourteenth year, nor to have an advanced standing without a corresponding increase of age. The necessary expenses of a student for a year, with the exception of vacations, vary from \$96 to \$122; the expense for books is comparatively trifling; the tuition of beneficiaries of charitable associations, and of other indigent, pious youths preparing for the ministry is wholly paid from the fund appropriated for that purpose; about 35 indigent students are gratuitously supplied with furniture. The following gentlemen compose the faculty:

Rev. Heman Humphrey, D. D., president and prof. of mental philos. and divinity.

Rev. Edward Hitchcock, professor of chemistry and natural history.

Sylvester Hovey, professor of mathematics and natural philosophy.

Rev. N. W. Fiske, professor of Greek, and belles lettres.

_____, professor of Hebrew and Latin.

Samuel M. Worcester, professor of rhetoric and oratory.

E. S. Snell, associate professor of mathematics and natural philosophy.

Justin Perkins and Wm. S. Tyler, tutors.

Harvard University. This institution is located at Cambridge, Middlesex county, on Charles river, four miles west of Boston. About the year 1636, the general court advanced four hundred pounds toward the establishment of a college; in 1637, the college was located at Newtown; in 1638, the name of the town was changed to Cambridge; in 1638, Rev. John Harvard of Charlestown, left a bequest to the college of £779 27s. 2d.; in honor of this munificent benefactor, the general court gave to the college the name *Harvard*. Mr. Nathaniel Eaton was the first instructor, but was soon dismissed. The following is the list of presidents of the college with the time of their administration: Rev. Henry Dunster, 1640–1659. Rev. Charles Chauncy, 1654–1671. Leonard Hoar, M. D., 1672–1675. Rev. Urian Oakes, 1679–1681. Rev. John Rogers, 1683–1684. Rev. Increase Mather, D. D., 1684–1701. Rev. Samuel Willard, vice-president, 1701–1707. John Leverett, F. R. S., 1708–1724. Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth, 1725–1737. Rev. Edward Holyoke, 1737–1769. Rev. Samuel Locke, D. D., 1770–1773. Rev. Samuel Langdon, D. D., 1774–1780. Rev. Joseph Willard, D. D., 1781–1801. Rev. Samuel Webber, D. D., 1806–1810. Rev. John T. Kirkland, D. D., LL. D., 1810–1828. Hon. Josiah Quincy, LL. D., 1828. The following are the principal donations which have been made to the university by the State: In 1638, £400; in 1640, the Charles river ferry, for a number of years worth £12 annually, in 1786 worth £200 annually; two other bridges over the same river pay £100 annually; for a long series of years annual grants were made by the legislature; \$15,000 from lands in Maine; Massachusetts hall built in 1723; Hollis hall in 1763; Harvard in 1765; Holyworthy and Stoughton, built by lotteries; in 1814, \$10,000 a year for ten years; the library contains 40,000 volumes, and is of great value; in 1817 the library of Professor Ebeling of Hamburg, was bought, and presented to the library by Col. Israel Thorndike, containing upward of 3,000 volumes wholly on American history, geography, and statistics; in 1823, 1,200 volumes on the same subjects were purchased of D. B. Warden, American consul at Paris; in 1830, 400 volumes on the same subjects, not included in the preceding purchases, were procured in London; it contains the most complete collection in the world on American history and its kindred subjects; the collection of maps and charts

exceeds 13,000. 'The library is opened freely to literary men of all parties, sects, and persuasions, with no other restrictions than what are essential to its preservation, and to its appropriate use in the advancement of general science and literature.' The income of Harvard college is between \$40,000 and \$50,000 per annum, and the expenditure about the same, about half from tuition; the personal property of the college is over \$300,000; the corporation are President Quincy, Rev. Eliphalet Porter, D. D., Hon. Charles Jackson, Nathaniel Bowditch, Joseph Story, and Francis C. Gray; Thomas W. Ward, Esq., treasurer. The overseers, in addition to the governor, lieutenant-governor, council, senate, speaker of the house of representatives, and president of the university, are 29 in number, 15 laymen and 14 clergymen. The members of the faculty are as follows:

- Josiah Quincy, LL. D., president.
 _____, Massachusetts prof. of natural history.
 Rev. Henry Ware, D. D., Hollis prof. of divinity.
 _____, Alford prof. of nat. rel. mor. phil., &c.
 Rev. John S. Popkin, D. D., Eliot prof. of Greek literature.
 Francis Sales, Esq., instructor in French and Spanish.
 James Jackson, M. D., Hersey prof. theory and practice of physic.
 John C. Warren, M. D., Hersey prof. anatomy and surgery.
 Joseph Story, LL. D., Dane prof. of law.
 _____, Hancock prof. of Hebrew and oriental literature.
 John Farrar, Hollis prof. mathematics and nat. philosophy.
 Jacob Bigelow, M. D., prof. of materia medica.
 _____, Rumford professor.
 Thomas Nuttall, lecturer on natural history.
 George Ticknor, Smith prof. French and Latin, &c.
 Walter Channing, M. D., prof. obstet. and med. jurisprudence.
 Edward T. Channing, Boylston prof. rhetoric and oratory.
 Jonathan Barber, instructor in elocution.
 John W. Webster, Erving prof. chemistry and mineralogy.
 Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., prof. pulpit eloquence and past. care.
 John Ware, M. D., adjunct prof. theory and practice of physic.
 Thaddeus W. Harris, M. D., librarian.
 Rev. John G. Palfrey, prof. biblical literature.
 Pietro Bachi, instructor in Italian, Spanish, &c.
 Charles Follen, prof. German language and literature.
 _____, Royall prof. of law.
 Charles Beck, prof. of Latin and permanent tutor.
 Francis M. J. Surault, instructor in French.
 Cornelius C. Felton, prof. of Greek and permanent tutor.
 Andrew P. Peabody, Henry S. McKean, Jole Giles, and Benjamin Peirce, tutors; Edmund L. Cushing, Chandler Robbins, James F. Clark, and Samuel A. Devens, proctors; Oliver Sparhawk, steward. The necessary expenses are as follows; tuition, room rent, library, &c., \$90; board forty weeks, \$73 50; text-books, \$12 50; special repairs, \$3; total, \$179; wood is \$6 or \$7 a cord; washing from \$3 to \$5 a quarter.

Law school connected with Harvard University. The design of this institution is to afford a complete course of legal education for gentlemen destined for the bar in different parts of the United States, and also elementary instruction for gentlemen desiring to qualify themselves for public life or commercial business; it is under the immediate superintendence of the Royall professor of law. Judge Story resides at Cambridge, and during the intervals of his official duties, assists in the direction of the school; the terms and vacations correspond with those of the undergraduates; the fees for instruction are \$100 per annum, for which the students have the use of lecture rooms, the library, and the privilege of attending all the public lectures of the university gratuitously. No previous examination is necessary for admission, and constant residence at Cambridge is not deemed indispensable; the course of study embraces law of personality, commercial and maritime law, law of real property, equity, crown law, civil law law of nations, constitutional law.

Medical school. The faculty of medicine consists of the president of the university, and the professors and lecturers authorized to give instruction to the medical students. Candidates for the degree of doctor in medicine must comply with the following rules: They must have attended two courses of lectures delivered at the Massachusetts medical college; have employed three years in their professional studies under the instruction of a regular practitioner of medicine; if not possessed of a university education, shall satisfy the faculty in respect to their knowledge of the Latin language and experimental philosophy; four weeks before the examination must transmit to the dean of the faculty a dissertation written by themselves on some subject connected with medicine; and must submit to a separate examination before all the faculty; these dissertations must be delivered on or before the first day of July, and for the winter examination on or before the first day of December; the lectures are delivered at the Massachusetts medical college in Boston, and commence annually on the third Wednesday in October; they continue four months; during the lectures, the students may find in the city various opportunities for practical instruction.

Divinity school. Candidates for admission are examined on the day before commencement, and pass an examination in Hebrew grammar, and the first ten chapters of Deuteronomy. 'If unknown to the faculty, they are to present testimonials of their moral and serious character.' Students are required to reside in or near divinity hall; they give bonds in the sum of \$60 for the payment of term bills; board is \$1 75 a week; each student must possess a copy of the Old and New Testament in the original languages, the latter in Griesbach's edition; a copy of all other class-books is furnished on loan; indigent students are aided from foundations and other sources; instruction is given by Professor Ware in natural religion, church history, and systematic theology; by Professor Ware, Jr., in pulpit eloquence, composition, and delivery of sermons, and pastoral duties; by Professor Palfrey in biblical literature, Hebrew criticism, &c.

Newton Theological institution. This seminary is situated at Newton, in the county of Middlesex, seven miles west of Boston, and is under the direction of persons of the Baptist denomination; it has two principal buildings, a mansion house, and a brick edifice 85 feet long, 49 wide, and three stories high, exclusive of the basement; it has 31 rooms for students, to each of which is attached a bedroom; it also contains a reading room, a chapel, and library room. The institution was incorporated in February, 1826, and commenced operations in the following November, with three students in the family of Professor Chase. The institution is open for those persons, and those only, who give evidence of possessing genuine piety, suitable gifts and attainments, and of their being influenced by proper motives in wishing to pursue theological studies. The regular course occupies three years, and embraces biblical literature, church history, biblical theology, and pastoral duties. The plan contemplates four professorships; only three have been yet appointed:

Rev. Irah Chase, prof. of biblical theology.

Rev. Henry. J. Ripley, prof. of biblical literature.

Rev. James D. Knowles, prof. of pastoral duties.

Theological seminary at Andover. This institution was established in Andover, Essex county, in 1807. It is endowed by the donations of John Norris, and of his widow of Salem, of Mrs. Phebe Phillips, John Phillips, and Samuel Abbot of Andover, and of Moses Brown and William Bartlet of Newburyport. The seminary has a president, four ordinary and one extraordinary professorships; the president is generally to be a professor in the seminary. The buildings are three in number, built of brick, on an elevated site, and commanding an extensive prospect; the central edifice contains the chapel, three lecture rooms, and a large library room; the others furnish accommodations for 120 students. It is in contemplation to erect a fourth building; in addition there are houses for the president, three professors, and the steward; also a large building of stone for the purposes of manual labor; the seminary is under the same board of trustees, which have the management of Phillips academy; the faculty and instructors are,

Rev. Ebenezer Porter, president, and lecturer on homiletics.

Rev. Leonard Woods, Abbot prof. Christian theology.

Rev. Moses Stuart, associate prof. sacred literature.

Rev. Thomas H. Skinner, Bartlet prof. sacred rhetoric.

Rev. Ralph Emerson, Brown prof. eccl. history and lecturer on pastoral duties.

Edward Robinson, prof. extraor. sacred literature and librarian.

The institution is equally open to Protestants of all denominations; it is required of every candidate for admission, that he furnish testimonials that he possesses good natural and acquired talents, that he has been regularly educated at some college, or has otherwise made equivalent literary acquisitions, that he sustains a fair moral character, and is hopefully possessed of personal piety, if not a professor of religion, he is required to subscribe a declaration of his belief in the Christian religion; candidates, who expect charitable assistance, must present the proper testimonials of their indigence. Every candidate must be prepared to sustain an examination in Hebrew grammar, and in the Hebrew chrestomathy of Professor Stuart, so far as the extracts from Genesis and Exodus extend. The libraries and all the facilities of education at this institution are more complete than those which are enjoyed at any other theological seminary in the Christian world.

The following are some of the literary associations in Massachusetts: *American academy of arts and sciences*, incorporated in 1780; N. Bowditch, LL. D., F. R. S., president. *Massachusetts historical society*, instituted 1791, incorporated 1794; statute meetings last Thursday of January, April, and October, and the day before commencement at Cambridge, John Davis, LL. D., president, Rev. Charles Lowell, D. D., recording secretary, Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D., corresponding secretary, James Savage, treasurer, ———, librarian. *American antiquarian society*, incorporated October, 1812; Thomas L. Winthrop, president, Rejoice Newton of Worcester, recording secretary, Edward Everett of Charlestown, foreign corresponding secretary, William Lincoln of Worcester, domestic corresponding secretary; library, cabinet, &c., at Worcester. *American institute of instruction*; Rev. Francis Wayland, D. D., Providence, R. I., president, Wm. C. Woodbridge and Solomon P. Miles, Boston, corresponding secretaries; Richard B. Carter, Boston, treasurer; A. Andrews, Frederick Emerson, Cornelius Walker, curators. *Boston society for diffusion of useful knowledge*; Daniel Webster, president. *Massachusetts lyceum*; Hon. A. H. Everett, president, Rev. W. C. Woodbridge, corresponding secretary, Josiah Holbrook, recording secretary, Mr. T. H. Carter, treasurer, Messrs. Wm. Jackson, T. A. Greene, S. C. Phillips, W. S. Hastings, A. R. Thompson, S. J. Gardner, Joseph Brown, and Joseph Jenkins, curators.

RHODE ISLAND.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.—In 1828, the legislature appropriated \$10,000 annually for the support of public schools, with authority to each town to raise by tax double the amount of its proportion of the \$10,000. All the towns availed themselves of its provisions. The whole number of schools probably exceeds \$700. Till within a short period, education has been very much neglected in Rhode Island.

ACADEMIES AND HIGH SCHOOLS.—The Friends' boarding school in *Providence*, established by, and belonging to the yearly meeting of New England, is a spacious structure of brick, with a basement of granite, under the care of a superintendent, 5 male and 4 female teachers. There are 117 male and 70 female pupils; it has a small library. The public schools were established in 1800, and now consist of 5 grammar schools, 5 primary schools, and one African school; they originated with the mechanics' and manufacturers' association. The *English and classical Seminary at East Greenwich*, was opened for the reception of pupils, on the first of April; George W. Greene, principal; the year is divided into two terms of five months each; the first, commencing on the first Monday in April, will close on the last of August; the second, commencing on the first of October, will close on the last of February; board and

tuition in the family of the principal, \$200 a year; tuition alone in English, \$35; for the languages and mathematics, \$50; no scholar received for less than a term.

COLLEGES AND HIGHER SEMINARIES.—*Brown University.* This institution was incorporated in 1764, by the general assembly of the governor and company of the English colony of Rhode Island; it was originally established at Warren, where, in the year 1769, the first commencement was celebrated; it was removed to Providence in 1770; it takes its name from Nicholas Brown, its most distinguished benefactor; it has two halls, both of brick, namely, university hall, four stories high, 150 feet long and 46 feet wide, containing 50 rooms for officers and students, besides a chapel, library, and philosophical rooms; and Hope college, built in 1822, four stories high, 120 feet long, 40 wide, with 48 rooms for officers and students; they are placed on some of the highest ground in the city. Hon. Nicholas Brown has resolved to erect at his own expense, another college edifice, to embrace a chapel, library, philosophical hall, lecture rooms, &c., to be brick, three stories high besides the basement, 86 feet long and 42 wide; it will be placed in the front yard of the college, on the south, and will of course front the north; a subscription has just been commenced in Providence, for the purpose of raising \$25,000, intended to constitute a permanent fund, the proceeds to be applied to the purchase of books, and philosophical and chemical apparatus; Mr. Brown has given \$10,000 toward it, and another gentleman has subscribed \$1,000, and it is expected that the sum will be completed by the next commencement. The government of the university is invested in a board of fellows, consisting of 12 members, 8 of whom, including the president, must be Baptists; and a board of trustees, of 36 members, 22 of whom must be Baptists; 5 Friends, 5 Episcopalians, and 4 Congregationalists. The philosophical apparatus is very complete; the following is the list of presidents, Rev. James Manning, D. D., 1765–1791. Rev. Jonathan Maxcy, D. D., 1792–1802. Rev. Asa Messer, D. D., LL. D., 1802–1826. Rev. Francis Wayland, D. D., 1826. The faculty are,

Rev. Francis Wayland, D. D., president.

William G. Goddard, prof. mor. phil. and metaphysics.

Rev. Romeo Elton, professor of languages.

Rev. Alexis Caswell, prof. math. and nat. philosophy.

Rev. Solomon Peck, prof. Latin language and literature.

George I. Chace, Christopher M. Nickels, and William Gammel, tutors.

Horatio G. Bowen, librarian.

Any young gentlemen of good moral character, may, without becoming a candidate for a degree, be permitted to pursue, with the several classes of the institution, such branches of study as his parent or guardian may select. The bill for board, tuition, room rent, library, and incidental expenses, varies from \$103 to \$128 per annum; the board in commons is charged at its net expense, and varies with the price of provisions; good board is furnished at \$1 per week, and that which is more expensive at from \$1 50 to \$1 61 per week.

CONNECTICUT.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.—The sum divided among the several school districts for the year ending March 31, 1832, was \$76,585 50, which considerably exceeds the expenditure for all other public purposes. This sum proceeds from a fund derived from the sale of lands in Ohio, of \$1,382,261. The number of children between four and sixteen years of age, in all the school districts, according to the enumeration in August, 1831, was 85,095. It is doubtful whether the schools would not be better supported by an annual tax; in other States, as in Massachusetts, the tax is on property, and thus the poorer classes are not burdened, while they pay such a proportion as to be interested in the success of the schools; the rich can afford to pay, by the greater security which the education of the poorer classes gives to their property.

ACADEMIES AND HIGH SCHOOLS.—*Bacon academy at Colchester*, incorporated in 1802; fund, \$35,000; Charles P. Otis, principal, Samuel P. Fox, Dillon Williams, assistants; vacations, first Thursday in September, 3 weeks, first Wednes-

day in January, 2 weeks, first Wednesday in May, 2 weeks. *Plainfield academy*; James Humphrey, principal and teacher of the French language, Chandler Leeden, assistant; vacations from anniversary last Wednesday in August, 3 weeks, from first in January, 2 weeks, from first Wednesday in May, 2 weeks. *Hartford female seminary*; John T. Brace, principal. *Hartford grammar school*; Francis Fellows, principal; tuition, \$6 a term; studies taught, are geometry, algebra, Latin, Greek, and various English studies; Andrew Kingsbury, Esq., treasurer. *Norwich female academy*; Misses Caulkins and Wood, instructresses; Drs. Farnsworth and Hooker, lecturers. *New Haven young ladies institute*; Ray Palmer and Mrs. Palmer, principals. *Litchfield female academy*, Miss Sarah Pierce, principal, Misses Jones, Ogden, and Hart assistants. *Goshen academy*, John Norton, instructor. *Lancasterian school, New Haven*, John E. Lowell and Cynthia E. Bradley, instructors. *Franklin institute, New Haven*, Charles U. Shepard, curator. *Collegiate institute, New Haven*, Professor Cleaveland, principal. *Episcopal academy, Cheshire*, Rev. Bethel Judd, D. D., principal. This seminary has large funds. Anniversary, first Wednesday of September. Vacations, four weeks from first Monday in May, and four weeks from first Monday in September. *Tolland academy*, incorporated in 1829. Rev. William Ely, president, Jeremiah Parish, secretary. *Ellington school*. This school is situated at Ellington, about 16 miles north-east from Hartford, in one of the most pleasant villages in the State. It is designed exclusively for males, all of whom board together under the care of proper guardians. The summer term, of 24 weeks, commences on the fourth day of May. For board, washing, tuition, superintendence, fuel, and lights, the charge is \$90 a term, payable in advance. The officers of Yale college say, that 'the school, after a trial of three years, has fully answered expectations, and is distinguished for the fidelity of its teachers, and the accuracy and completeness of its system of instruction.' Edward Hall, superintendent, John Hall, principal and instructor in elocution, Luther Wright in Greek, Samuel G. Brown in Latin, Luther Haven in English.

COLLEGES AND HIGHER SEMINARIES.—*Wesleyan University, at Middletown*. This institution is on the west bank of Connecticut river, 15 miles south of Hartford, and 25 north-east of New Haven. The population of Middletown in 1830, was 6,892. It is a pleasant and prosperous town. The university was commenced in August, 1831. The following statements will show its present condition. *Faculty*.—Rev. Wilbur Fiske, D. D., president, and acting professor of moral science and belles lettres, Augustus W. Smith, A. M., professor of mathematics, and professor of natural science, ———, professor of ancient languages and literature, and acting professor of natural science, Rev. Jacob F. Huber, professor of modern languages. All the studies pursued at the university, are divided into departments, or general classes, with a professor at the head of each. The number of these departments will be increased, as the means and wants of the university shall increase. At present they consist of five, viz.:—I. Moral science and belles lettres; II. Mathematics; III. Ancient languages and literature; IV. Natural science; V. Modern languages. The students of each department are divided into sections, so as to accommodate their different degrees of advancement, without any reference to their standing in the other departments, or to the time they have been members of the university. Any student may take a partial or an entire course, as may suit his circumstances; and when regularly dismissed, shall be entitled to a diploma, according to his attainments.—But no one will be entitled to the collegiate degree of bachelor of arts, except he pass a thorough and satisfactory examination in the entire classical course. Whenever he does this, he will be admitted to his degree, without regard to the time he may have been in the university. Daily bills of merit and demerit are kept of each student—the former denoting the excellencies of each in his recitations, and other college exercises—the latter, the deficiencies and delinquencies of each in his respective duties. The president will furnish an exhibit of these records in any particular case, when requested by the student or his friends; and in all cases where the delinquencies exceed a certain number, and where private and public admonition has been given without effect, a statement of the bill of demerit will be forwarded to the friends of such delinquent scholars. This will be the last step of discipline,

preceding the final one of suspension or dismissal. The faculty are determined that the university shall not be infested, and the whole community embarrassed and perhaps corrupted, by idle or corrupt members. The university has a choice library of about 3,000 volumes, and a very respectable philosophical and chemical apparatus.

Washington College, at Hartford. This institution is under the control of the Episcopalians, and was established in 1826. It is pleasantly situated about three quarters of a mile west of the city, on elevated ground. Rt. Rev. Bishop Brownell was the first president. The faculty are now

Rev. N. S. Wheaton, D. D., president.

Rev. Horatio Potter, prof. mathematics and natural philosophy.

William M. Holland, prof. ancient languages.

J. S. Rogers, M. D., prof. chemistry and mineralogy.

George Sumner, M. D., prof. botany.

Hon. William W. Ellsworth, prof. of law.

Rev. F. S. Jarvis, D. D., prof. oriental languages and literature.

Rev. Lucius M. Purdy, tutor.

Gregory A. Perdicaris, teacher Greek language, and librarian.

We quote the following statements from a late prospectus of the college.

Terms of admission:—For the Freshman class, English grammar, geography, and arithmetic; *Cæsar's Commentaries*, or *Sallust*; *Cicero's Select Orations*; *Virgil*; *Jacob's Greek Reader*; the Gospels of *St. Luke* and *St. John*, and the Acts of the Apostles; Latin and Greek prosody, and composition in Latin and Greek, as taught in the Latin Tutor, and in *Neilson's Greek Exercises*. Candidates for an advanced standing must sustain a further examination on those branches, which have been pursued by the class which they propose to enter. Students of the *partial course* must be qualified to pursue to advantage those studies of the regular course, to which they propose to devote their attention. They recite with the regular classes, and have the privilege of attending the lectures. The study of the modern languages forms a separate item of expense. Every candidate for admission shall present to the president a certificate of good moral character, signed by his preceptor or some other responsible person; and, if admitted from another college, he must produce a certificate of dismission in good standing. Public Worship.—The students are required to attend morning and evening prayer in the college chapel; and on the Lord's day, to attend public worship, either in the chapel, or at such places as their parents or guardians may desire. Expenses.—For tuition \$11 00 per term; for room rent, \$3 50 per term; for the use of the library, \$1 00 per term; for sweeping rooms, ringing the bell, fuel for recitation rooms, and printing, \$2 00 per term; all payable in advance. Besides the above, there will be occasional assessments for damages, extra printing, or other common expenses. No commons are established, as it is preferred that the students should board in private families, contiguous to the college. The price of board varies from \$1 25 to \$1 75 per week. The students reside in the college, and provide for themselves bed and bedding, furniture for their rooms, fire-wood, candles, books, stationery, and washing. Books and furniture may be sold, when the student has no further use for them, at a moderate reduction from the original cost. The following is a near estimate of the necessary expenses, exclusive of apparel, pocket money, traveling, and board in vacations. College bills \$60, board 40 weeks, from \$50 to \$70; fuel, light, washing, from \$16 to \$30; use of books, stationery, furniture, from \$10 to \$30; taxes in classes, from \$5 to \$8; total, per annum, from \$141 to \$198. In regard to all moneys and expenses the following provisions of the college laws must be strictly complied with:—"To prevent extravagant or improper expenditure by the students, all moneys designed for their use shall be placed by their parents or guardians in the hands of the college Bursar, who shall superintend their expenses with a parental discretion. No student may purchase any thing without his permission. All necessary articles for the students' use are to be paid for by the Bursar, who shall keep a correct account with each student of all receipts and expenditures, on his behalf, and shall receive a fixed salary for his services; and he shall charge each

student with three per cent. on all moneys so disbursed, and pay the same into the college treasury. *If any student shall receive any money which does not pass through the hands of the Bursar, he shall be liable to dismission from the institution.* A botanical garden and green house is attached to the college, well stocked with plants, both exotic and indigenous.

Yale College. This institution was established in 1700, and incorporated in 1701. It was established at Saybrook, and the first commencement was held there September 13, 1702. To avoid charges, the commencements were for several years private. In 1703, there was a general contribution throughout the colony to build a college house. In 1716, the institution was removed to New Haven. The first commencement at New Haven was in 1717, when four individuals were admitted to the degree of bachelor of arts. About this time, Mr. Elihu Yale, of London, gave a donation of books to the college, worth £100, and goods to the amount of £300. In gratitude for his munificent donation, the institution was named *YALE COLLEGE*. In 1733, Bishop Berkeley, of Ireland, gave 1,000 volumes of books, and two small foundations for premiums. There are now ten college buildings; four of which are halls, 100 feet by 40, four stories high, containing 32 rooms each for students; a new and convenient chapel, one story of which is appropriated to the theological school, and another to the library; two other buildings containing rooms for recitations, lectures, and libraries; a dining hall of stone, with an elegant apartment above for the mineralogical cabinet and lectures; a chemical laboratory; and the medical college, a large edifice of stone. The philosophical and chemical apparatus are very good. The cabinet of minerals is the most valuable in the United States. The following is the list of presidents:—Rev. Abraham Pierson, 1701–1707. Rev. Timothy Cutler, D. D., 1719–1722. Rev. Elisha Williams, 1726–1739. Rev. Thomas Clap, 1739–1766. Rev. Naphtali Daggett, 1766–1777. Rev. Ezra Stiles, D. D., LL. D., 1777–1795. Rev. Timothy Dwight, D. D., LL. D., 1795–1817. Rev. Jeremiah Day, D. D., LL. D., 1817. The faculty are now:

Rev. Jeremiah Day, D. D., LL. D., president.
 Hon. David Daggett, LL. D. prof. of law.
 Thomas Hubbard, M. D., prof. of surgery.
 Benjamin Silliman, M. D., LL. D., prof. chemistry, mineralogy, &c.
 James L. Kingsley, LL. D., prof. of Latin.
 Eli Ives, M. D., prof. theory and practice of physic.
 Rev. N. W. Taylor, D. D., Dwight prof. theology.
 Jonathan Knight, M. D., prof. anatomy, &c.
 Timothy P. Beers, M. D., prof. obstetrics.
 Josiah W. Gibbs, prof. sacred literature.
 Samuel J. Hitchcock, Esq., instructor in law.
 Rev. Eleazar T. Fitch, D. D., prof. divinity.
 Rev. Chauncy A. Goodrich, prof. rhetoric and oratory.
 Denison Olmsted, prof. math. and natural philosophy.
 Theodore D. Woolsey, prof. Greek.

Henry Durant, William Carter, Henry N. Day, Flavel Bascom, Alfred Newton, Leverett Griggs, Anthony D. Stanley, and David C. Comstock, tutors; Oliver P. Hubbard, assistant to the professor of chemistry; Erasmus D. North, teacher in elocution. The following statements will give further information in respect to the college. No one can be admitted to the freshman class, till he has completed his fourteenth year; nor to an advanced standing without a proportional increase of age. The whole course of instruction occupies four years. In each year there are three terms or sessions. The three younger classes are divided, each into three parts; and each of the divisions is committed to the particular charge of a tutor, who, with the assistance of the professors, instructs it. The senior class is instructed by the president and professors. Each of the four classes attends three recitations or lectures in a day; except on Wednesdays and Saturdays when they have only two. Gentlemen well qualified to teach the French and Spanish languages, are engaged by the faculty to give instruction in these branches to those students who desire it, at their own expense. The Berkeleian premium, of about forty-six dollars a year, is given to

the scholar in each class who passes the best examination in Latin and Greek; provided he reside as a graduate in New Haven, one, two, or three years. Premiums are also given for Latin and English composition, and for declamation in public.

The Theological department. The instructors in the theological department are a professor of didactic theology, a professor of sacred literature, and the professors of divinity and rhetoric in the classical department of the college. The whole course of instruction occupies three years; and the students are divided into junior, middle, and senior classes.

The Law school. The law school is under the direction of the Hon. David Daggett, LL. D., a judge of the Supreme Court in Connecticut, and professor of law; and Samuel J. Hitchcock, Esq., Attorney and Counselor at Law. The students are required to peruse the most important elementary treatises, and are daily examined on the author they are reading, and receive at the same time explanations and illustrations of the subject they are studying. A course of lectures is delivered by the professor of law, on all the titles and subjects of common and statute law. A moot court is holden once a week or oftener, which employs the students in drawing pleadings and investigating and arguing questions of law. The professor of law delivers lectures to the senior class in college, during the first and second terms once in each week.

The Medical institution. The instructors of the medical institution, are a professor of surgery, a professor of chemistry and pharmacy, a professor of the theory and practice of physic, a professor of materia medica and therapeutics, a professor of anatomy and physiology, and a professor of obstetrics. The lectures commence twelve weeks from the third Wednesday in August, and continue sixteen weeks. During the course, from 50 to 100 lectures are given by each professor. The entire expense of a residence of four months, through the course, including fees and all expenses, except clothing, is from 120 to 150 dollars.

Litchfield Law school. Litchfield is the capital of Litchfield county, 30 miles west of Hartford, 31 north-west of New-Haven, 329 from Washington. We quote the following statements respecting the celebrated law school in this town. The number of students from 1798 to 1827, both inclusive, was 730. This law school was established in 1782 by the Hon. Tapping Reeve, late Chief Justice of Connecticut, and continued under his sole direction until the year 1798, when the Hon. J. Gould was associated with him. These gentlemen continued their joint labors until 1820, since which period Judge Gould has lectured alone. From its commencement, it has enjoyed a patronage, which distinguished talent combined with great legal attainment justly merited. It has been composed of young men from every section of the Union, many of whom have since been eminently conspicuous, both as jurists and as statesmen. And indeed even now, notwithstanding the numerous legal seminaries which have been established throughout our country, this school maintains its pre-eminence. This, it is believed, is to be attributed to the advantages, which the mode of instruction here prescribed, possesses over the systems usually adopted in similar institutions. According to the plan pursued by Judge Gould, the law is divided into forty-eight titles, which embrace all its important branches, and of which he treats in systematic detail. These titles are the result of thirty years severe and close application. They comprehend the whole of his legal reading during that period, and continue moreover to be enlarged and improved by modern adjudications. The lectures, which are delivered every day, and which usually occupy an hour and a half, embrace every principle and rule falling under the several divisions of the different titles. The examinations, which are held every Saturday, upon the lectures of the preceding week, consist of a thorough investigation of the principles of each rule, and not merely of such questions as can be answered from memory without any exercise of the judgment. These examinations are held a part of the time, by James W. Huntington, Esq., a distinguished gentleman of the bar, whose practice enables him to introduce frequent and familiar illustrations, which create an interest, and serve to impress more strongly upon the mind the knowledge acquired during the week. There is also connected with the institution, a *moot court* for the argument of law

questions, at which Judge Gould presides. The questions that are discussed, are prepared by him in the forms in which they generally arise. These courts are held once at least in each week, two students acting as counselors, one on each side: And the arguments that are advanced, together with the opinion of the judge, are carefully recorded in a book kept for that purpose. For the preparation of these questions, access may at all times be had to an extensive library. Besides these courts, there are societies established for improvement in forensic exercises, which are entirely under the control of the students. The whole course is completed in fourteen months, including two vacations of four weeks each, one in the spring, the other in the autumn. No student can enter for a shorter period than three months. The terms of instruction are \$100 for the first year, and \$60 for the second, payable either in advance or at the end of the year.

Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb at Hartford. The American asylum owes its origin to the success which attended the efforts of the Rev. Thomas H. Gallaudet, to give instruction to the deaf and dumb daughter of a gentleman of that city. The attention of people being excited, it was computed that there were more than a hundred deaf mutes in Connecticut; and Mr. Gallaudet was induced to undertake the establishment of an institution at Hartford for their relief, having previously stipulated for means of personally examining the European institutions for the relief of persons thus afflicted. Mr. Gallaudet embarked for Europe in May, 1815. He returned in August, 1816, accompanied by Mr. Laurent Clerc, a distinguished pupil of the Abbé Sicard. The course of instruction commenced, with seven pupils, in April, 1817, and, in 1829, there were 143 pupils in the institution, under the care of Mr. Gallaudet and nine assistant instructors. 54 of the pupils were supported wholly by the legislature of Massachusetts; 15, in whole or in part, by that of New Hampshire; 13 by that of Maine; 21 by that of Vermont; and 13 by that of Connecticut. The institution, from its establishment to 1830, had imparted its benefits to 318 persons. The funds of the asylum have been derived from private donations, and from a grant of land in Alabama, made by the congress of the United States, in 1819. These have furnished the institution with a large and commodious brick building, in which the pupils reside and receive instruction; a dwelling-house for the principal, and convenient out-houses, including two brick workshops, in which the male pupils work four or five hours daily, in order to acquire a mechanical trade; and have enabled the directors to form a permanent fund of considerable amount.

NEW YORK.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.—'There were in the State of New York, on the last day of December, 1831, which was the date of the latest reports on the number of children, 508,878 children over 5 and under 16 years of age; of whom 494,959 received instruction in district schools. The whole number of organized school districts in the State is 9,600; of which 8,941 made their annual reports. These were kept open for the reception of pupils an average period of eight out of the twelve months. The average number of scholars instructed in those districts which made returns, was a fraction more than 55 for each school. In 1816, the number of organized districts was 2,755, and the children taught according to the returns, was 140,106. The increase of those districts which have adopted the *system*, in 16 years, has been of course, 6,845; and the increase in the number of children taught, in the same time, 354,853. The productive capital of the New York school fund now amounts to \$1,735,175 28. The revenue it afforded for the year ending on the 30th of September last, was \$93,755 31. But the revenue for the coming year is estimated at \$101,250; for the fund is increasing. This revenue is paid over from the State treasury to the commissioners of the several towns in the State for the benefit of the schools; and it appears that so much is added from the general funds of the treasury, as to make up the round sum of \$100,000. To this, if we add \$138,384 53, the avails of a State tax; and \$17,198 25 which is derived from local funds possessed by some of the towns, we have an aggregate of \$305,582 78: and this usually is denominated the 'public money.' It appears that

961 towns paid to their teachers during the past year, by way of subscription, voluntary contribution, or taxation in their several districts, \$358,320 17; and this added to the public money, makes an aggregate amount of \$663,902 95 paid for teachers' wages alone, with the exception of about \$60,000 otherwise applied in the city of New York. Thus where the State or the school fund pays one dollar for teachers' wages, an inhabitant of a town, by a tax upon his property, pays \$1 28; and by voluntary contribution in the school district where he resides, \$3 58 for the same object, to which is added the proportion of 17 cents, derived from the local school fund. So that the State pays less than *one-sixth*, and the inhabitants *five-sixths* of the teachers' wages. But the amount paid for teachers' wages is only about one-half of the expense annually incurred for the support of common schools. The yearly value of the capital vested in school-houses, the books, fuel, &c., is estimated at \$462,579; which added to the amount paid for teachers' wages makes a grand total of \$1,126,482 45, expended annually in the State of New York on common schools. And the revenue of the school fund; that is, the \$100,000 paid from the State treasury pays a fraction less than *one-eleventh* of the annual expenditures upon these schools. Before the last year it never has paid less than one-tenth of the whole. Thus, every year's experience of the tendency of the New York common school system should increase our confidence in the wisdom which devised a plan so excellent, and which makes a fund obviously beneficial to the State, instead of operating to paralyze the public mind on the subject of education, as has sometimes happened, especially in Connecticut. The superintendent appears to regard the incorporated academies, of which there are about 57 in the State, as destined ultimately to become the appropriate seminaries for preparing teachers for common schools; and also urges with great earnestness, the importance of employing competent teachers of common schools, at much more liberal prices than heretofore. He urges, too, a more rigid discharge of duty on the part of the inspectors of the schools, and,—as we are very happy to see, expresses a deep conviction that something ought to be done to provide the means of instruction for the inmates of manufacturing establishments. Arrangements have been made for furnishing every school district in the State with a copy of Hall's lectures on school keeping: a measure of undoubted importance, and worthy of being imitated in other States.

The sum apportioned to public schools in New York city, during the year 1832, was \$90,748 86, being nearly \$20 to each scholar instructed in the schools, which are allowed by the legislature to share in the funds. The culpable indifference of parents in availing themselves of the benefits of the public schools, is still felt as a serious evil in the city of New York. The public school society has endeavored to counteract this deplorable apathy, by employing a person at a salary of \$800 per annum, to visit parents in all parts of the city, and to invite and persuade them to send their children to school; and it appears by the report of the commissioners, that the corporation of the city have passed an ordinance, 'excluding from the participation of public charity, when it may be required, all out-door poor, whether emigrants or not, who, having children between the ages of five and twelve, neglect or refuse to send them to some one of the public schools.' About 4,000 families are usually aided as out-door poor; averaging five to each family, it gives a total of 20,000, who will feel the benefit of this ordinance. The English reader is used in 549 towns in the State; Daboll's arithmetic in 472; Murray's grammar in 462; Webster's spelling book in 433; the New Testament in 166; Woodbridge's geography in 375; Walker's dictionary in 95; Olney's geography in 183; Cobb's spelling book in 235; Kirkham's grammar in 111, &c.

ACADEMIES AND HIGH SCHOOLS.—'The incorporated academies,' says Mr. Flagg, in his last report, 'may be relied upon as seminaries for the education of teachers. There are now 57 academies in the State; in the erection and endowment of which about \$400,000 have been expended by the State and by individuals; and to these academies a revenue of \$10,000 is distributed annually by the State. In 1827, \$150,000 were transferred from the general funds of the State, to the literature fund, for the avowed object of promoting the education of teachers of common schools, by increasing the apportionment to the academies.' In each senatorial district the sum of \$1,250 is distributed.

At Rochester is a manual labor school, which not long since commenced operations. At Whitestown, near Utica, is the *Oneida institute*, a manual labor school, which has been in operation a number of years. Rev. George W. Gale has lately been chosen principal. The *Kinderhook academy* is under the care of Messrs. Silas Metcalf, and James Johnson, Jr. The moral improvement of the pupils receives particular attention. The library contains nearly 400 select volumes. Board is about \$1 75 a week; tuition from \$3 to \$5 a quarter. The *Albany academy* has 16 trustees, and 220 students. T. R. Beck, principal; Peter Bullions, Joseph Henry, Daniel D. T. Leach, and G. W. Carpenter, instructors. *Buffalo literary and scientific academy*. Rev. Charles Bishop, principal; Rev. G. O. Warner, and James Jarvis, Jr., assistants. *Erasmus Hall academy*, Flatbush, L. I., four miles from New York city, J. W. Kellogg, principal. The building is 100 feet by 36, with a wing of 50 feet by 25. *Flushing institute* for boys, Queens county. Rev. Mr. Muhlenberg, principal. *Geneva academy* for boys, connected with Geneva college, 86 pupils in 1830. The *Troy female seminary* was instituted in 1821; Emma Willard, principal, a vice-principal, and 19 assistants. Pupils between 200 and 300, one-third from Troy. The *Brooklyn collegiate institute*, opposite New York city, has a capital of \$30,000, designed to afford young ladies the same advantages that are enjoyed by young men in colleges. 75 pupils can be accommodated as boarders with the principal. The *Ontario female seminary* was incorporated in 1826, capital \$10,000, Miss Hannah Upham, principal; and 5 assistants; 100 scholars. The other principal female academies are Clinton, Hamilton, Cortlandville, Homer, Cooperstown, Whitesboro, Washington at Greenwich, Rensselaerville, Hobart in Delaware county, Mt. Pleasant in Westchester, &c. In 1830, there had been distributed to the various academies from the literature fund, \$120,188 83; and given directly by the legislature, \$27,268 82.

COLLEGES AND HIGHER SEMINARIES.—*Brookport college*. The college, which the Baptists are here erecting, is constructed of free stone, 100 feet by 60, five stories high including the basement. Exclusive of the chapel, library room, &c., there are to be 90 rooms for the accommodation of students. Connected with the institution are five acres of land. The whole cost of the establishment is \$15,000.

Geneva college. This institution was established at Geneva in 1825. Rev. Richard S. Mason, D. D., president. 'The discipline exercised at this college, is as much as possible of the paternal character, by private admonition, rather than public censure, by the endeavor to produce correct conduct from the inculcation of correct principles—religious principles, if this can be effected—if not from the inculcation of honorable and gentlemanly feelings. A system of espionage and coercion is as much as possible avoided.' The following is the list of officers:

Rev. Richard S. Mason, D. D., president.

Horace Webster, prof. of mathematics and natural philosophy.

_____, prof. of Greek and Latin.

M. D. Holstein, prof. of modern languages.

Auburn Theological seminary. This institution was established by the Presbyterians at Auburn, Cayuga county, in 1820. The faculty are:

Rev. James Richards, D. D., prof. of Christian theology.

Rev. M. L. R. Perrine, D. D., prof. of ecclesiastical history.

Rev. Henry Mills, prof. of biblical literature.

_____, prof. of sacred rhetoric.

Hamilton college. This institution is located at Clinton, a village in the town of Kirkland, Oneida county. It was established in 1812. Rev. Azel Backus, D. D., was the first president. He was succeeded by the Rev. Henry Davis, D. D. Dr. D. resigned in 1832, and Rev. Sereno E. Dwight, formerly of Boston, is the president elect. The location of this college is delightful. The college buildings, three in number, four stories high, stand in a line, on the summit of a hill, commanding an extensive prospect of rich and picturesque scenery. A law professorship has been recently founded in this college, by the bequest of \$20,000 of Hon. Wm. H. Maynard of Utica. The faculty of this college are:

Rev. Sereno E. Dwight, president elect.
 John H. Lathrop, prof. of mathematics and natural philosophy.
 Rev. Simeon North, prof. of languages.
 Josiah Noyes, M. D., prof. of chemistry and natural history.
 _____, prof. of law.
 Ebenezer B. Maltbie, tutor.

Hamilton Literary and Theological Seminary. This institution is at Hamilton, in Madison county. It was incorporated in 1819. The sum of \$8,000 was raised. In 1822, the instruction of the students was committed to two professors. In 1823, a building was erected, sufficient to accommodate 40 students. Another building was finished in 1827. It is of stone, 100 feet by 60, four stories high, containing 34 rooms for study, as many for lodging, a reading-room, lecture room, and a chapel, sufficient to accommodate 2,000 people. The expense was about \$7,000. Near the building there is a commodious boarding-house, a joiner's shop, and a farm of 130 acres, owned by the Baptist education society.

Rev. Nathaniel Kendrick, D. D., prof. mental philosophy and theology.
 Rev. Barnas Sears, prof. biblical theology.
 Rev. Seth S. Whitman, prof. Hebrew, and biblical criticism.
 Rev. Daniel Hascall, prof. sacred rhetoric.
 Rev. Joel S. Bacon, prof. elect of math. and nat. philosophy.
 Asahel C. Kendrick, prof. of languages.

William Mather, M. D., of Fairfield, gives a course of lectures in chemistry.
Medical School at Fairfield. This school is established by authority of the State, and is under its patronage. It has 190 students. The professors are:

J. McNaughton, M. D., prof. anatomy and surgery.
 T. R. Beck, M. D., prof. physic and medical jurisprudence.
 W. Willoughby, M. D., prof. obstetrics, &c.
 James Hadley, M. D., prof. chemistry.
 James Delamater, M. D., prof. surgery.

Hartwick Seminary. This institution owes its establishment to the liberality of the Rev. John C. Hartwig, of the Lutheran church, who bequeathed a large estate in land for the purpose of founding a seminary, for training ministers of the gospel, particularly in the Lutheran church. It was incorporated in 1815, with the proviso that the principal and first professor of theology should always be a Lutheran. It is in the eastern part of Hartwick, in Otsego county. The seminary commenced its operations in 1815, under the care of the Rev. E. L. Hazelius, D. D., as principal. At his resignation, in August, 1830, Rev. G. B. Miller was elected principal. Rev. C. B. Thummel is assistant teacher and librarian. The seminary is divided into two departments, the theological and academical. In the academical, the students are fitted for college, or for the active duties of life.

Union College. Schenactady, where this institution is established, is on the south-east side of the Mohawk, 15 miles from Albany. The Erie canal passes through it, and it is connected with Albany by a railroad. The population in 1830, was 4,256. The college was founded in 1795. The first president was the Rev. John Blair Smith, brother of the president of New Jersey college. He presided over it with great reputation for three years. His successor was the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, D. D., who continued in the office from June, 1799, till his death, August 1, 1801. The present incumbent is Rev. Eliphalet Nott, D. D., LL. D. The professors are:

Rev. Robert Proudft, Greek and Latin.
 Rev. Alonzo Potter, mathematics and natural philosophy.
 Rev. John A. Yates, oriental literature.
 Joel B. Nott, botany and mineralogy.
 Rev. John Nott, assistant prof. of languages.
 Rev. P. A. Proat, I. W. Jackson, Thomas C. Reed, assistant professors.

Columbia College. This institution, in the city of New York, was founded by royal charter, in 1754, under the name of King's College, by which title it continued to be known until the revolution. The presidents under the charter were Rev. Samuel Johnson, 1754-1763. Rev. Myles Cooper, LL. D., 1763-1775. During the interval between 1776 and 1784, the business of instruction was necessarily suspended, and the college edifice appropriated to the services of a military hospital. The regents of the university, (individuals appointed by act of the legislature to superintend the general interests of education in the State,) discharged the duties of trustees till 1787, when an act was passed, by which the original charter of the college was confirmed, the name of the institution altered to Columbia College, and the government intrusted to a board of trustees. The presidents under this new charter, are William Samuel Johnson, LL. D., 1787-1800. Rev. Charles Wharton, D. D., 1801-1801. Rt. Rev. Benjamin Moore, D. D., 1801-1811. Rev. William Harris, D. D., 1811-1829. Hon. William A. Duer, LL. D., 1830. The faculty are:

William A. Duer, LL. D., president.

Rev. John McVicar, D. D., prof. mor. and men. phil. rhet. and polit. econ.

N. F. Moore, LL. D., prof. Greek and Latin.

Charles Anthon, Jay prof. Latin and Greek.

James Renwick, prof. natural philosophy and chemistry.

Henry J. Anderson, prof. math. and astronomy.

James Kent, LL. D., prof. law.

Lorenzo da Ponte, prof. Italian.

Rev. Antoine Verren, prof. French.

A grammar school connected with the college, under the care of Professor Anthon, contains 100 students.

University of the city of New York. This university was chartered by the legislature in 1831. It is projected on the liberal scale of the universities on the continent of Europe. Its funds have been raised by the subscription of individuals. It is governed by a council of 32 members, chosen by the stockholders, together with the Mayor and four members of the Common Council of the city. There are two general departments in the university. The first comprises professorships and faculties for instruction in the higher branches of literature and science, which may be increased according to the progress of discovery and the wants of the community. The second embraces what is usually deemed a full course of classical, philosophical, and mathematical instruction, and also a complete course of English literature, of mathematics, and sciences, with their application to agriculture, to the arts, and generally to the ordinary purposes of life. The emoluments of professors arise from salaries and from fees. The professors are divided into faculties of letters, of science, and the arts, of law, and of medicine. The last is not yet appointed. In the first general department, there are *attending* members, who are subjected only to such general regulations as are necessary to secure the payment of fees, and good order within the precincts of the university; and *matriculated* members, who are candidates for honors, and who are subjected to examinations and to the discipline of the institution. In the second general department the course of instruction is by lectures, examinations, recitations, compositions, and public speaking. Every student has an unlimited choice of the branches taught. The instructors appointed are:

Rev. James M. Matthews, D. D., chancellor and instructor in sacred antiquities.

_____, professor of the evidences of revealed religion.

Rev. Henry P. Tappan, professor of mental and moral philosophy and belles lettres.

Henry Vethake, professor mathematics and astronomy.

D. B. Douglass, professor natural philosophy, architecture, and engineering.

John Torrey, M. D., professor chemistry, mineralogy, and botany.

S. F. B. Morse, professor sculpture and painting.

Edward Robinson, D. D., professor Greek and oriental literature.

Rev. George Bush, adjunct professor Hebrew.
 Rev. John Mulligan, professor of Latin and Greek.
 Rev. Wm. Ernenpeutsch, professor German.
 Miguel Cabrera de Nevares, professor Spanish.
 Lorenzo L. da Ponte, professor Italian.
 Charles Parmentier, professor French.
 Henry Bostwick, instructor in history, geography.
 Rev. S. H. Cox, D. D., lecturer on moral philosophy.
 Francis Lieber, LL. D., lecturer on commerce, agriculture, &c.

College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York city. Number of students,
 188. Professors:

John A. Smith, M. D., anatomy and physiology.
 Alexander H. Stevens, M. D., surgery.
 Joseph M. Smith, M. D., theory and practice of physic.
 Edward Delafield, M. D., obstetrics, &c.
 John B. Beck, M. D., materia medica, &c.
 John Torrey, M. D., chemistry and botany.

Lectures commence on the first Monday of November annually, and continue four months. The college building is situated in Barclay street.

General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, located in New York city. Instructors:

Rt. Rev. B. T. Onderdonk, D. D., prof. nature, min. and pol. of church.
 Rev. S. H. Turner, D. D., prof. biblical learn. and interpretation.
 Rev. Bird Wilson, D. D., prof. systematic divinity.
 C. C. Moore, LL. D., prof. oriental and Greek literature.
 Rev. R. W. Harris, librarian.

From the last Report of the Committee of the General Convention on the income and expenditure of the seminary, we take the following:—The contributions and donations to the seminary, from its first establishment down to the present day, amount to the capital sum of \$158,928 67. Of which there have been expended for current purposes, \$40,290 60; for buildings, \$33,520; filling up water lots, &c., \$9,595; assessments for streets, &c., \$1,325; investments of sums contributed for scholarships, \$14,194 72; leaving a capital of \$60,003 35, invested in stocks, bonds, and mortgages, yielding an annual revenue of \$3,600. The annual expenditure, with the utmost economy, amounts to \$5,000, and the deficiency, consequently, of the receipts, to cover the expenditure is \$1,400. Two large legacies have been given to the institution, one of \$60,000 by Mr. Sherrod, and another of \$100,000 by Mr. Frederic Kohne, but neither of them are yet available.

The following comparative view of the state of education in the higher seminaries, compiled by B. F. Butler, Esq., of Albany, we take from Mr. Williams's New York Register:—

1790. [POPULATION OF THE STATE 340,120.]	
Number of colleges.....	1
Academies.....	2
Number of students in the college, about.....	40
Number of scholars in the academies, about.....	150
1800. [POPULATION 586,080.]	
Colleges.....	2
Academies.....	19
Students in the colleges.....	220
Whole number of students in the academies, of whom only a small proportion were classical students.....	344
1810. [POPULATION 959,949.]	
Colleges.....	2
Medical college.....	1
Academies.....	25
Students in the colleges, about.....	220
(No report from the Medical college.)	
Whole number of students in the academies, of whom 518 are reported as pursuing classical studies or the higher branches of English education.....	1,495

1830. [POPULATION 1,372,212.]

Colleges (including the College of Physicians and Surgeons in the city of New York and in the western district).....	5
Academies.....	30
Students in the colleges.....	472
Students in the Medical colleges.....	190
Whole number of students in the academies during the year 1810, of whom 630 received classical instruction, &c.....	2,218

1830. [POPULATION ABOUT 1,950,000.]

Colleges.....	4
Medical colleges.....	2
Academies.....	55
Students in the colleges, including those in the preparatory schools connected with Columbia and Geneva colleges.....	506
Students in the Medical colleges.....	376
Students in the academies, pursuing classical studies and the higher branches of English education.....	2,030
Other students.....	1,905

Whole number of students in the academies..... 3,635

There are two academies of fine arts in New York—the American and National, the former supported by artists, the latter by amateurs. The Lyceum of Natural History has been very successful in the pursuit of its objects. The Clinton Hall is a recent association for the promotion of literature, science, and the arts. The Society Library, founded in 1754, contains more than 22,000 volumes. The Historical Society, incorporated in 1809, has collected a vast number of records pertaining to the early history of the United States, and of New York. The New York Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, under Mr. Harvey P. Peet, has accommodations for 150 pupils.

NEW JERSEY.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.—Considerable attention to the cause of popular education has recently been awakened throughout the State, and measures are in progress which promise important and happy results. A school fund, now exceeding \$250,000, is managed by trustees under the authority of the legislature, and is steadily increasing; while a large portion of its annual income is distributed among the several townships, and is applied, augmented by moneys voluntarily raised by the townships, to the support of common schools, and otherwise to extend the means of education over the whole community. In the circular of the American School Agent's Society, it is stated that in 'New Jersey, in 1828, 11,742 children were entirely destitute of instruction, and 16,000 adults unable to read. In many of the towns, more than half of the children never attend, and in two counties, 48 districts were entirely destitute of schools.'

ACADEMIES AND HIGHER SEMINARIES.—A Manual Labor School has been lately established near Sergeanville, seven miles from Flemington, and 40 from Philadelphia, by Mr. R. Rittenhouse, called the *Manua Manual Labor Institute*. It has a farm of 150 acres, a house which will accommodate 30 students. About three hours every day, Saturdays and Sundays excepted, are occupied in manual labor. For tuition, board, lodging, lights, and fuel, \$25 a quarter are charged. At Princeton, is the *Edgehill Seminary*, under the care of Mr. Robert B. Patton, formerly a professor in the College of New Jersey. The lads, limited to 40, are taken under the entire control of Mr. Patton. Several assistant teachers are employed. It is one of the best conducted private schools in the country. At the same place is a *Boarding School* for boys, under the charge of Mr. Charles C. Sears. The ages at which boys are admitted are from seven to fourteen. The winter session commences the first Thursday in November, and continues 22 weeks. Charge for board, tuition, fuel, &c., \$100. The summer session commences on the first Thursday in May, and continues 21 weeks. Charge, \$90. *Lawrenceville High School*. Isaac V. Brown, Alexander H. Phillips, principals; terms, \$200 per annum, exclusive of books and clothing. *Newark Young Ladies' Institute*. Mr. and Mrs. Worcester, principals. Board and family tuition \$35 a quarter; tuition in elementary education, \$5; in higher English studies, \$7; in languages, \$8, &c. *Hill Top School*, Mendham. Ezra

Fairchild, principal. Terms for boarding, tuition, washing, fuel, lights, \$125 per annum. Small children are taught in a separate department. At *Bloomfield* is an academy of long standing. At *Orange* is a classical school under the care of Mr. Pierson.

COLLEGES AND HIGHER SEMINARIES.—*Rutgers College.* This institution is established at New Brunswick, 33 miles south-west of New York, and 56 north-east of Philadelphia, on the west side of Raritan river. The college was founded in 1770, and named after a distinguished benefactor. The principal building is of stone, three stories in height. The students generally lodge with private families in the village, and the building is devoted to public purposes. Rev. Philip Milledoler, D. D., is president of the College, and professor in the Theological Seminary. The whole number of students is 70. Rev. John Croes has given lectures the past year in belles lettres, and Professor Beck in natural history and chemistry. 'A Bible Society, and a weekly association for prayer exist in the College, and the biblical recitation and chapel service on the Sabbath are well attended. The Grammar School attached to the College is in a flourishing condition, under the superintendence of Mr. Robert O. Currie, and numbers at present 28 scholars. An English and Scientific School, under the care of Mr. Mortimer, in the same building, has 32 scholars.'

The Theological Seminary at New Brunswick. This institution is also under the patronage of the Dutch church, and is connected with Rutgers College. The number of students is 20. The professors are:

Rev. Philip Milledoler, D. D., didactic and pol. theology.

Rev. James S. Cannon, D. D., church hist. and eccl. government.

Rev. Alexander McClelland, D. D., biblical literature.

College of New Jersey, at Princeton. This institution was established in 1746 in Elizabethtown. From 1748 to 1757, it was at Newark. In 1757, it was removed to Princeton. The list of presidents is as follows:—Rev. Jonathan Dickinson, 1746–1747. Rev. Aaron Burr, 1748–1757. Rev. Jonathan Edwards, 1757–1758. Rev. Samuel Davies, 1759–1761. Rev. Samuel Finley, 1761–1766. Rev. John Witherspoon, D. D., LL. D., 1768–1794. Rev. Samuel Stanhope Smith, D. D., LL. D., 1795–1812. Rev. Ashbel Green, D. D., LL. D., 1812–1822. Rev. James Carnahan, D. D., 1823. The principal benefactors to the college are Colonel Henry Rutgers and his sisters, \$6,500; Dr. Elias Boudinot, \$15,000, and 4,000 acres of land; Dr. David Hosack of New York, 1,000 specimens of minerals; the family of the late Governor Phillips of Boston, \$2,000. The principal college building is of stone—the same in which a party of British troops took refuge in 1777, and from which they were dislodged by Washington. A great number of distinguished men have been educated at this college. It was founded by the Synod of New York, with the special view of raising up ministers of the gospel. It is now in a very flourishing state, and preparations are making to erect an additional building. The officers are:

Rev. James Carnahan, D. D., president.

Rev. John Maclean, vice-president and prof. ancient languages.

Rev. Albert B. Dod, professor of mathematics.

Joseph Henry, professor natural philosophy.

John Torrey, M. D., professor chemistry.

Samuel L. Howell, M. D., professor anatomy and phys.

Lewis Hargous, professor French and Spanish.

Joseph A. Alexander, adjunct professor ancient languages.

Benedict Jäger, professor of German and Italian.

Samuel H. McDonald, James C. Edwards, and John S. Hart, tutors.

Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. This seminary was established at Princeton in 1812. The professors are:

1812.—Rev. Archibald Alexander, D. D., prof. didactic and pol. theology.

1813.—Rev. Samuel Miller, D. D., prof. eccl. hist. and church government.

1822.—Rev. Charles Hodge, prof. oriental and biblical literature.

The number of scholarships is 23. The professors' salaries are paid from a

Year.	Name.	Endowment.	Year.	Name.	Endowment.
1819.	Ebensburg.....	\$2,000	1827.	Union.....	\$
1820.	Erie.....	2,000	1827.	Lancaster.....	2,000
1821.	Germanstown School.....	2,000	1828.	Beachwoods.....	1,000
1821.	Erie.....	land	1829.	Smithport.....	2,000
1821.	Kittanning.....	2,000	1830.	Le Raysville.....	
1822.	Warren.....	500 acres land	1830.	Dundaff.....	
1823.	Franklin.....	land	1831.	Erie.....	not to be taxed
1823.	Strasburg.....		1832.	Warren.....	2,000
1827.	Clearfield.....	2,000	1832.	Clearfield.....	not taxed
1827.	Milford.....	2,000	1832.	Curwensville.....	do.
1827.	Mifflinsburg.....	2,000	1832.	Milton.....	

COLLEGES AND HIGHER SEMINARIES.—*Dickinson College.* This institution was incorporated in 1783. It was established at Carlisle. In 1786, it received from the legislature \$1,400; in 1788, a lot of land; in 1789, \$12,000 by lottery; in 1791, \$4,000; in 1795, \$5,000; in 1803, the State lent \$6,000 on mortgage of lands; in 1806, \$4,000 on a new mortgage; in 1819, the mortgage held by the State for \$10,000 was canceled; in 1821, \$10,000; in 1826, \$3,000 annually for seven years. This institution is not now in existence.

Jefferson College, at Canonsburg. This institution was incorporated in 1802. It has received the following from the State: in 1806, \$3,000; in 1821, \$10,000 annually for five years; in 1826, \$1,000 annually for four years; in 1832, \$2,000 per annum for four years, six indigent students to be educated by this grant for four years; and after that, 24 to be prepared for school teachers. Canonsburg is in Washington county, 18 miles south-west of Pittsburg. The following are the officers:

Matthew Brown, D. D., president.

John McMillan, D. D., prof. theology.

James Ramsey, D. D., prof. Hebrew.

John H. Kennedy, prof. math. and nat. philosophy.

Jacob Green, M. D., prof. chemistry and nat. history.

William Smith, prof. languages.

George Marshall and George M. Hall, teachers.

Agreeably to a recent Act of the Legislature, provision is made for a thorough English and mercantile education, to qualify persons for teaching Common schools. Gratuitous instruction will be given to six applicants of this description. According to legislative enactment, preference will be given to citizens, and the sons of citizens of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Medical Faculty of Jefferson College, located at Philadelphia. Nine trustees residing in Philadelphia are appointed to superintend the medical department, agreeably to a special Act of the Legislature. The professors are:

Granville S. Pattison, Esq., prof. anatomy.

George McClellan, M. D., prof. surgery.

John Revere, M. D., prof. theory and practice of medicine.

Samuel Calhoun, M. D., prof. materia medica and jurisprudence.

Jacob Green, M. D., prof. chemistry.

Samuel McClellan, M. D., prof. institutes, medicine, and obstetrics.

Washington College. This institution was incorporated in 1806. It is in Washington county, in the township of Washington, 26 miles south-west of Pittsburg. The college buildings can accommodate 150 students. It commenced operations under a new organization in 1830. A professorship of English literature was established, with a view to prepare young men to take charge of Common schools. The legislature appropriated \$500 per annum to carry this design into effect. In addition to the grant mentioned, the legislature has given the college at different times, \$3,000. The number of students is 118. The faculty and instructors are:

Rev. David McManis, president.

Rev. William F. Aldrich, prof. mathematics, &c. &c.

Rev. J. H. Agnew, prof. languages.

John L. Goss, Esq., prof. English literature, &c. &c.

Mr. Robert Patton, assistant prof. languages.

Mr. James Wilson, tutor of the grammar school.

Mr. Joseph Goss, assistant teacher in the English department.

fund of the General Assembly. An additional instructor in oriental and biblical literature will probably be soon appointed. The studies of the first year are the following:—Original languages of the scriptures, sacred chronology and geography, biblical and profane history connected, Jewish antiquities, and exegetical theology. Second year: biblical criticism, didactic theology, ecclesiastical history, and Hebrew language. Third year: biblical and polemic theology, ecclesiastical history, church government, composition and delivery of sermons, pastoral care.

PENNSYLVANIA.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.—In 1682, William Penn published his Preface to the 'Frame of Government,' in which he says that, 'that which makes a good constitution must keep it, namely, men of wisdom and virtue, qualities, that, because they descend not with worldly inheritance, must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of youth.' In the 'Frame' itself, he provides that the Governor and Provincial Council shall erect and order all public schools. The Constitution of the State, adopted in 1790, contains the following provision:—'The Legislature, as soon as conveniently may be, shall provide by law for the establishment of schools throughout the State, in such manner that the poor may be taught gratis.' In April, 1831, an Act was passed providing for the establishment of a general system of education; it created a school fund, appointed three commissioners to manage it, assigned to said fund all moneys due for unpatented lands secured to the State by mortgage or lien for purchase money, and all moneys for applications, warrants, and patents for lands, fees in the Land Office, and proceeds of a tax of one mill per dollar, laid March 25, 1831. The State Treasurer is to make an annual report of the amount received for the fund. The interest is to be added to the principal until the interest shall amount to \$100,000 annually, after which the interest shall be annually distributed for support of schools. In 1730, there were at least 400,000 children in the State, between the ages of five and fifteen. Of these, not 150,000 were in all the schools in the State, during the preceding year.

ACADEMIES AND HIGH SCHOOLS.—We have compiled the following statements from two articles in Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania, of January 6th and 12th, 1833:—

Year.	Name.	Endowment.	Year.	Name.	Endowment.
1784.	Germantown Public School..	\$	1810.	Bedford.....	\$2,000
1787.	Pittsburg.....	5,000	1810.	Greene.....	2,000
1787.	Episcopal, Philadelphia.....	10,000	1810.	Butler.....	2,000
1787.	Washington.....	5,000	1811.	Meadville.....	1,000
1788.	Newark.....	lottery	1811.	Chester.....	2,000
1788.	Reading.....	10,000	1811.	Mercer.....	2,000
1789.	Lutheran Char. School.....	5,000	1811.	Williamsport.....	2,000
1797.	Washington.....	3,000	1811.	Erie.....	500 acres land
1798.	Reading.....	4,000	1811.	Waterford.....	500 do.
1798.	Pittsburg.....	5,000	1812.	Loller.....	
1798.	Hanover School, lottery.....	2,750	1812.	Mercer.....	2,000
1799.	York.....	3,000	1812.	Venango.....	2,000
1799.	Chambersburg.....	2,000	1813.	Hughesian Free School.....	
1803.	Bustleton.....	5,000	1813.	Beaver.....	
1803.	Beaver.....	500	1813.	Delaware and Beachwoods.....	2,000
1804.	Northumberland.....		1813.	Bustleton.....	500
1804.	Norristown.....		1813.	Butler.....	land
1805.	Bellefonte.....		1813.	Franklin School.....	
1805.	Norristown.....	2,000	1813.	Athens.....	2,000
1805.	Doylestown.....	3,000	1813.	Orwigsburg.....	2,000
1805.	Pennepark School.....	lottery	1813.	Allentown.....	2,000
1805.	Easton.....	2,000	1814.	Harrisburg.....	land
1806.	Bellefonte.....	6,000	1814.	Indiana.....	2,000
1806.	Greensburg.....	600	1814.	Strocksburg.....	
1806.	Beavertown.....	lands	1814.	Lewistown.....	2,000
1807.	Reading.....	2,000	1816.	Lebanon.....	2,000
1807.	Wilkesbarre.....	2,000	1816.	Huntington.....	2,000
1807.	Meadville.....		1816.	Susquehanna.....	2,000
1807.	Doylestown.....	800	1817.	Westchester.....	1,000
1808.	Uniontown.....		1817.	Alleghany.....	2,000
1808.	Northumberland.....	2,000	1817.	Erie.....	
1808.	Harrisburg.....	1,000	1817.	Wellshorough.....	2,000
1810.	Greensburg.....	2,000	1818.	Harrisburg.....	1,000
1810.	Somerset.....	2,000	1818.	Reading.....	land
1810.	Gettysburg.....	2,000	1818.	Danville.....	

Year.	Name.	Endowment.	Year.	Name.	Endowment.
1819.	Ebensburg.....	\$2,000	1827.	Union.....	\$
1830.	Erie.....	2,000	1827.	Lancaster.....	3,000
1831.	Germanstown School.....	2,000	1828.	Beachwoods.....	1,000
1831.	Erie.....	land	1829.	Smethport.....	2,000
1831.	Kittanning.....	2,000	1830.	Le Raysville.....	
1822.	Warren.....	500 acres land	1830.	Dundaff.....	
1823.	Franklin.....	land	1831.	Erie.....	not to be taxed
1823.	Strasburg.....		1832.	Warren.....	2,000
1827.	Clearfield.....	2,000	1832.	Clearfield.....	not taxed
1827.	Milford.....	2,000	1832.	Curwensville.....	do.
1827.	Mifflinsburg.....	2,000	1832.	Milton.....	

COLLEGES AND HIGHER SEMINARIES.—*Dickinson College.* This institution was incorporated in 1783. It was established at Carlisle. In 1786, it received from the legislature \$1,400; in 1788, a lot of land; in 1789, \$12,000 by lottery; in 1791, \$4,000; in 1795, \$5,000; in 1803, the State lent \$6,000 on mortgage of lands; in 1806, \$4,000 on a new mortgage; in 1819, the mortgage held by the State for \$10,000 was canceled; in 1821, \$10,000; in 1826, \$3,000 annually for seven years. This institution is not now in existence.

Jefferson College, at Canonsburg. This institution was incorporated in 1802. It has received the following from the State: in 1806, \$3,000; in 1821, \$10,000 annually for five years; in 1826, \$1,000 annually for four years; in 1832, \$2,000 per annum for four years, six indigent students to be educated by this grant for four years; and after that, 24 to be prepared for school teachers. Canonsburg is in Washington county, 18 miles south-west of Pittsburg. The following are the officers:

Matthew Brown, D. D., president.
 John McMillan, D. D., prof. theology.
 James Ramsey, D. D., prof. Hebrew.
 John H. Kennedy, prof. math. and nat. philosophy.
 Jacob Green, M. D., prof. chemistry and nat. history.
 William Smith, prof. languages.
 George Marshall and George M. Hall, teachers.

Agreeably to a recent Act of the Legislature, provision is made for a thorough English and mercantile education, to qualify persons for teaching Common schools. Gratuitous instruction will be given to six applicants of this description. According to legislative enactment, preference will be given to citizens, and the sons of citizens of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Medical Faculty of Jefferson College, located at Philadelphia. Nine trustees residing in Philadelphia are appointed to superintend the medical department, agreeably to a special Act of the Legislature. The professors are:

Granville S. Pattison, Esq., prof. anatomy.
 George McClellan, M. D., prof. surgery.
 John Revere, M. D., prof. theory and practice of medicine.
 Samuel Calhoun, M. D., prof. materia medica and jurisprudence.
 Jacob Green, M. D., prof. chemistry.
 Samuel McClellan, M. D., prof. institutes, medicine, and obstetrics.

Washington College. This institution was incorporated in 1806. It is in Washington county, in the township of Washington, 26 miles south-west of Pittsburg. The college buildings can accommodate 150 students. It commenced operations under a new organization in 1830. A professorship of English literature was established, with a view to prepare young men to take charge of Common schools. The legislature appropriated \$500 per annum to carry this design into effect. In addition to the grant mentioned, the legislature has given the college at different times, \$9,000. The number of students is 119. The faculty and instructors are:

Rev. David McConaughy, president.
 Rev. William P. Aldrich, prof. mathematics, &c. &c.
 Rev. J. H. Agnew, prof. languages.
 John L. Gow, Esq., prof. English literature, &c., &c.
 Mr. Robert Fulton, assistant prof. languages.
 Mr. James McLean, tutor of the grammar school.
 Mr. Joseph Gow, assistant teacher in the English department.

Alleghany College, at Meadville, incorporated in 1817, with a grant of \$2,000; in 1821, \$1,000 annually for five years was given; in 1827, \$1,000 annually for four years. Rev. Timothy Alden, D. D., president. The library of 8,000 volumes, was mostly the donation of Rev. Dr. Bentley, of Salem, Mass.

Western University, at Pittsburg. Incorporated in 1819. Persons of every religious denomination may be trustees, principals, or professors. In 1826, a sum of \$2,400 annually, for five years, was given by the Legislature of the State, in consideration of a relinquishment of land by the trustees; and appointing new trustees. R. Bruce, M. D., is the principal. The number of undergraduates is 50 or 60.

Western Theological Seminary, at Alleghany-town. This institution is near Pittsburg. It was commenced in 1829. The building, 150 feet long, four stories high, cost \$17,000. It stands on a fine eminence, overlooking the Ohio and Alleghany rivers, Pittsburg, and an extensive country. The number of students is 29. Efforts to combine manual labor with study have been successful. The students earned, in 1831, \$290 in work upon the theological edifice. The institution is now in debt about \$4,300.

Rev. Luther Halsey, D. D., prof. theology.

Mr. John W. Nevin, teacher of biblical literature.

Madison College. In March, 1827, a college was incorporated at Uniontown, Fayette county. The Act empowered the trustees to connect an agricultural department with the college. In 1828, \$5,000 were granted by the legislature. Its operations are now suspended.

Theological Seminary of the Associate Reformed Synod of the West. This institution was incorporated in 1828. It is connected with the Associate Presbyterian. The number of students is 19. A building is erecting 45 feet by 17 three stories high, at an expense of \$5,700.

Gettysburg Theological Seminary. Gettysburg is in Adams county, 115 miles south-west of Philadelphia, on the great road from Philadelphia to Pittsburg. It is 44 miles south-west of Harrisburg. It is remarkably central to the great body of the Lutheran church. In September, 1826, Rev. S. S. Schmucker was inaugurated Professor of Christian theology. Rev. B. Kurtz collected in Europe \$12,000, with valuable books in addition, for the library. In 1830, Rev. Ernest L. Hazellius, of the Hartwick Seminary, N. Y., was appointed professor. He gives instruction in German, Greek, and Hebrew, in church history, sacred geography, &c.; Mr. Schmucker in theology, pulpit eloquence, pastoral duties, and mental philosophy. The library contains 1,000 volumes, principally in the German language. The building is half a mile from the village, and contains two lecture-rooms, library, chapel, and rooms for 60 students. The usual number of students is about 20.

There has been, for some time, connected with the Seminary, a Preparatory School, or *Gymnasium*, in which those who are desirous of preparing for the ministry, are carried through a regular course of education. About 50 students are attached to this department, 30 of whom expect to enter the Theological Department. In April, 1832, this gymnasium was erected into a college, and incorporated by the name of the 'Pennsylvania College.' No disabilities are to be imposed on account of religious opinions. A German professorship is appointed, the incumbent of which, among other duties, is to prepare young men to become teachers in German schools. The institution went into operation on the 7th of November, 1832. Five professors have been appointed.

S. S. Schmucker, A. M., prof. of intellectual philoa. and mor. science.

E. L. Hazellius, D. D., prof. Latin language and German literature.

H. Baucher, A. M., prof. Greek language and belles lettres.

M. Jacobs, A. M., prof. math. chem. and nat. philosophy.

J. H. Marsden, A. M., prof. mineralogy and botany.

Theological Seminary of the German Reformed Church. York, where this seminary is established, is 24 miles south-east of Harrisburg, 22 miles south-west of Lancaster, in York county; population, in 1830, 4,216; the institution was established at Carlisle in 1824, and removed to York in 1829; the Rev. Lewis Mayer, D. D., was appointed Professor of theology in 1826; in 1831, it

was incorporated; on the 18th of October, 1832, Rev. F. A. Rauch, Doctor of Philosophy, of Germany, was inaugurated Professor of Biblical Literature; the number of students is about 20; the *Classical School*, under the care of Dr. Rauch, commenced operations on the 1st of January, 1833; pupils of every age are admitted; the number of scholars is 24; the tuition for those who attend to Latin and Greek is \$10 a session—for others, \$7; board, washing, and lodging are from \$60 to \$70 per annum; Dr. Rauch has published a very intelligent, and for this country, a very original view of the plan of study.

Lafayette College, at Easton. This institution was incorporated in March, 1826. No disabilities are to operate against officers or students on account of religion. A Professor of German is by the charter to be appointed. Easton is in Northampton county, on the Delaware river. Population in 1821, 2,500; in 1830, 3,529. It is under the care of Rev. George Junkin, president, three professors, besides a business agent, and a farmer. President Junkin was formerly the principal of the Germantown Manual Labor School, which, owing to its proximity to Philadelphia, and other causes, had been discontinued. The course of instruction is similar to that of other colleges. The present number of students is 67, and they are from thirteen States. They labor three or four hours in a day, or twenty hours in a week, either on a farm or in workshops provided for the purpose. During the last season, they have paid, with their labor, *three-eighths* of all their expenses, although their average age was only sixteen, and this, too, without any interference with their studies. The president and the students, between March 14, 1832, and May 9, performed the whole labor of erecting a building thirty-one feet square, and two stories high, with garret rooms finished, and the basement for workshops, and dividing it into eight lodging rooms, two school-rooms, and the shop, with the exception of the masonry and plastering, and eight days' work in the quarry.

University of Pennsylvania. This institution was established in its present form, in 1779, and in 1791. In 1807, the legislature gave \$3,000 to establish a botanic garden. In 1832, an Act was passed exempting the real estate of the University from taxation for 15 years. The University embraces a faculty of medicine, a faculty of arts, and an academical department. The faculty of medicine are:

Philip Syng Puyssic, M. D., professor emeritus, surgery, and anatomy.
John Redman Coxe, M. D., professor materia medica and pharmacy.
Nathaniel Chapman, M. D., professor institutes and practice of physic, &c.
Thomas C. James, M. D., professor midwifery.
Robert Hare, M. D., professor chemistry.
William Gibson, M. D., professor surgery.
William E. Horner, M. D., professor anatomy, and dean.
William P. Dewees, M. D., adjunct professor midwifery.
Samuel Jackson, M. D., assistant to Professor Chapman.

The number of medical students is 368, of whom 10 are from New England, 103 from Virginia, 120 from Pennsylvania. The faculty of arts are:

Rev. William H. De Lancey, D. D., professor moral philosophy.
Robert Adrian, LL. D., professor mathematics.
Rev. Samuel B. Wylie, D. D., professor Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.
Alexander D. Bache, professor natural philosophy and chemistry.
Henry Reed, assistant to Prof. De Lancey, and professor English literature.
Rev. Christian F. Crusé, assistant professor.

Augustus De Valville, instructor in French, Augustus Willis in Spanish, Hermann Bokum in German. Number of students, 105. The instructions of the college are conveyed in part by lectures, but principally by the study of the most approved text-books, aided by the explanations of the professors. The diligence of the student is tested by rigid daily examinations. The character of each recitation is recorded, and the results communicated to parents or guardians in the middle or at the end of each term. At the end of each term, public examinations of the classes are held by the faculty; and the students are classed in the order of merit. Defective students are not allowed to proceed to a higher class, and incompetent students are dismissed from the institution.

Negligent and indolent students are transferred to a lower class when unable to proceed with the studies of their own class. The terms for instruction in the regular studies of the college, already enumerated, are \$25 per term, payable in advance. The modern languages are taught by approved instructors, at a moderate additional expense. Proper boarding, including, washing, &c., can be had in the city, for from \$2 50 to \$3 per week. Among the books studied, are Whateley's Logic and Rhetoric, Mackintosh's History of England, Lardner's Mechanics, Kent's Commentaries.

Of the academical department,

Rev. Samuel W. Crawford is principal, and teacher of classics.
Thomas McAdam, teacher of English.

T. A. Wylie, Wm. Alexander, and T. McAdam, Jr., assistants. Number of scholars, 186; number in the English Charity schools, 186; total in the University, 823.

Institutions in Philadelphia. The Deaf and Dumb Asylum was established in 1820; the annual expenses are about \$11,000; it has received several grants from the legislatures of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maryland; number of pupils, 70 or 80; the City Library was commenced in 1731; the number of books, including the Loganian Library, is 35,000; the Athenaeum, commenced in 1814, has 3,500 volumes, and it receives 70 newspapers, besides English and French; the Academy of Natural Sciences has a library of 5,000 volumes, and that of the Philosophical Society, 6,000; Peale's Museum is the most extensive collection of natural objects in the United States; by the will of the late Stephen Girard, Philadelphia has received a munificent donation, amounting to several million dollars, devoted to important public objects—among these is a college, which will soon go into operation. There are various other interesting institutions in Philadelphia.

DELAWARE.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.—There is a school fund in this State, the amount of which is \$170,000; a tax is also levied for the support of schools. We are not aware of the existence of any academy in the State, except a Manual Labor Academy lately established. There is no college.

MARYLAND.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.—The whole amount of public funds, for the support of Common schools, December 1, 1831, was \$142,063 76; this sum, however, includes \$47,293 66 which belongs to different counties, for the education of indigent children, and is usually known by the name of the Free-school Fund; in addition to this, \$5,000 is annually appropriated to the University of Maryland, \$13,800 to other colleges, academies, and schools, and \$3,500 to the support of the indigent deaf and dumb; the law in relation to Primary schools was passed in 1825; it has been partially carried into effect in two or three counties. In Baltimore, in 1830, there were 14,297 children of five and under fifteen years of age; about 175 schools and 5,250 scholars; and in addition, 1,000 charity scholars; total, 6,250.

ACADEMIES AND HIGH SCHOOLS.—There are several academies, which receive \$800 a year from the State treasury.

COLLEGES AND HIGHER SEMINARIES.—*St. John's College, at Annapolis.* This seminary was incorporated in 1784, and received from the State \$1,750 per annum, on condition that the city should convey to the trustees 34 acres of land, the present site of the institution, which had been given to the corporation by Lord Baltimore. Hon. Charles Carroll, Bishops Carroll and Claggett, and Alexander C. Hanson, were among its founders. It was opened November 10, 1789, by Rev. Dr. William Smith, as president *pro tempore*. The original grant was annulled in the high party excitement of 1805. It has since received \$20,000 from a lottery. The State also give \$1,000 annually, and an effort is making to increase it to \$3,000. The first commencement was in 1793. The number of alumni is about 650, comprising many of the public men of Maryland. The building is three stories high, 90 feet long and 60 wide. It is on elevated

ground, and commands an extensive and delightful prospect. It is proposed soon to erect other buildings. The following is the list of presidents:—John McDowell, LL. D., Henry L. Davis, D. D., William Rafferty, D. D., Rev. Hector Humphreys, who has now charge of the institution.

Mount St. Mary's College, is situated in a romantic spot at the foot of a branch of the Blue Ridge mountains, two miles from Emmetsburg, in Frederick county, 50 miles from Baltimore, and 60 from Washington. It was established in 1809 by Dr. Dubois, now Roman Catholic Bishop of New York. In 1830, it was incorporated as a college. Only 20 or 30 students have been graduated. The number of pupils in July, 1831, was 130. There are 9 professors and 16 assistants. The library contains 7,000 volumes, and the philosophical apparatus is very good.

St. Mary's College, Baltimore. This is also a Roman Catholic seminary, incorporated in 1805. The buildings will accommodate 150 boarders. Board, \$140 per annum; tuition, \$60; entrance fee, \$5. The system of instruction is substantially the same with that pursued at other colleges. The institution is in the north-west part of Baltimore, and in a good location.

University of Maryland, at Baltimore. The Medical College was founded in 1807, and in 1812, received the title of *University*. Charles Williams, D. D. president, and 11 instructors.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

COLLEGES AND HIGHER SEMINARIES.—*Columbian College, at Washington*. This institution is on the high range of ground north of Washington city, a mile from the President's house, and two and a half from the Capitol. It was incorporated by Congress in 1821; the course of instruction was commenced in 1822. Its buildings are a college edifice 117 feet by 46, four stories, having 48 rooms for students and a chapel; a second edifice partly erected, 80 feet by 40, designed for a refectory; two dwelling-houses; and a philosophical hall, for lecture rooms, classical school, &c. It has 47 acres of ground, 30 of which are devoted to tillage. The library contains between 3,000 and 4,000 volumes. A Classical and Preparatory school is connected. Necessary expenses, exclusive of books and stationery, will not exceed \$167 per annum; of a pupil in the school, \$175, his time of boarding being eight weeks longer. On occasions of great interest, students are permitted to hear the debates in Congress, and arguments before the Supreme Court. The trustees are elected triennially. The faculty are:

Rev. Stephen Chapin, D. D., president and prof. belles lettres and moral phil.

Thomas Sewall, M. D., professor anatomy and physiology.

William Ruggles, professor mathematics and natural philosophy.

Alexander M'Williams, M. D., botany.

Thomas P. Jones, M. D., professor chemistry.

Wm. Boulware, professor ancient languages.

Philip Leon, teacher of French.

Washington Leverett, and D. J. Noyes, tutors.

Number of alumni, 300. Congress has given \$25,000 to the college. Considerable progress has been made in obtaining subscriptions for the endowment of the presidency, and for the support of one professor for five years.

Medical Department. This department was organized in 1824. The professors are Dr. Sewall, anatomy and physiology; Dr. Thomas Henderson, theory and practice of physic; Dr. N. W. Worthington, materia medica; Dr. Frederick May, midwifery; Dr. Thomas P. Jones, chemistry; Dr. James C. Hall, surgery. The ticket of each professor is \$15. One student from each of the States and territories is admitted free of charge, with the exception of a matriculating fee of \$5, and a graduating fee of \$20. The Medical College is in Tenth street. All the necessary anatomical preparations are furnished. The number of matriculated students has been usually about 30.

Georgetown College. This is a Roman Catholic institution under the direction of the Incorporated Catholic Clergy of Maryland. It was first incorporated in 1799, and was authorized to confer degrees by Act of Congress, in 1815. The number of students is about 160. It is the oldest Papal seminary in the United

States. Number of volumes in the library, 7,000. At Georgetown is a nunnery containing 60 nuns, and a Catholic Female Academy of 100 scholars.

Protestant Episcopal Seminary, at Alexandria. The institution is in a pleasant location, three miles from Alexandria, and six from Washington. The seminary building is of brick, 3 stories in height, 42 feet long, and 30 broad. Its cost was about \$3,000, and it will accommodate 30 students. This institution is under the care of the diocese of Virginia.

Rev. Rueul Keith, D. D., prof. systematic divinity.

Rev. Edward R. Lippitt, prof. sacred literature.

Rev. William Jackson, prof. pastoral theology.

VIRGINIA.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.—A general and complete system of public education was devised by Mr. Jefferson, and presented to the Legislature in 1779; but it appears to have been too extensive and minute for so early a period. A part of it relating to elementary schools, was adopted in 1779; yet even this was never executed, apparently in consequence of its imposing a tax on the wealthy, for the gratuitous education of the poor. No other legislative measure was adopted on the subject of education, we are told, till 1809, when an Act was passed, appropriating all fines, escheats, and forfeitures to a permanent fund 'for the encouragement of learning,' leaving its application to future legislatures. In 1816, a large claim of Virginia upon the United States, was principally applied to the increase of this fund, and commissioners were appointed to devise a system of education. Circulars were addressed by the Governor, as President of their board, to the most eminent scholars in the country, requesting facts and opinions on this subject; and, as the result, a system was proposed embracing a *Primary School* for each township, an *Academy* for each district, and a *University* for the State. This plan, however, was not adopted. The following is an account of the final appropriation of the Literary Fund, and of its results. 'At the next session, 1817-18, it was found that the Literary Fund, by the accession it had received from the grant of the legislature two years before, now amounted to upward of \$900,000, yielding an annual income of more than \$50,000, exclusive of its occasional accessions from fines and forfeitures. The legislature decided to use this revenue in providing for those species of education which were most wanted in the State; that is, the very lowest and the highest. A permanent appropriation of \$45,000 a year was made for the education of the poor, and \$15,000 a year for the erection and support of a university. The first sum was to be distributed among the several counties and corporate towns of the State, according to their free white population; and to be placed under the management and control of *School Commissioners*, who were to be annually appointed by the courts of the several counties and towns.'

'It appears, from the Auditor's Report of 1831, that the number of poor children in the State, according to the returns of the School Commissioners, amounts to 27,598, which is one-twenty-fifth part of the whole white population, 694,440, and probably about one-fifth of the whole number of children between the ages of eight and fifteen; within which limits the above 27,598 children are believed to be comprehended. It appears from the mass of testimony exhibited to the Legislature in the Auditor's Report, that although the plan has been attended with very different degrees of success in the different counties, according to the personal character of the School Commissioners, whose services are gratuitous, there has been a steady and continued improvement throughout the State in the execution of the law.'

In 1820, a law was passed authorizing the extension of the system of primary schools to all classes, but leaving it discretionary. 'This law gave authority to the School Commissioners of each county, whenever they thought the purposes of education would be thereby promoted, to lay off their county into districts, of from three to seven miles square; and as soon as the inhabitants of such district shall have raised three-fifths of the sum required to build a school-house in the district, the Commissioners are authorized to contribute the other two-fifths, so, however, as not to exceed ten per cent. of the county's annual quota

of the \$45,000. They are further authorized to pay a sum not exceeding one hundred dollars toward the salary of a teacher, provided the inhabitants of the district contribute an equal or greater amount; and, at the school thus provided, every white child in the district may be taught gratis. Each school is to be placed under the control of three trustees, of whom the School Commissioners are to appoint one, and the private contributors two.

ACADEMIES AND HIGH SCHOOLS.—Academies in Virginia are private schools, commonly established by a few public spirited individuals in a county or neighborhood, who erect suitable buildings and provide requisite teachers. The ordinary number of scholars is from 30 to 50. There are about 55 of these academies in the State. The grammar schools are conducted solely by their respective teachers. In some of them Latin, Greek, and mathematics are taught. But the largest part of the youth of both sexes are taught in domestic schools.

COLLEGES AND HIGHER SEMINARIES.—*College of William and Mary.* This College was originally projected in 1688, the year in which William and Mary ascended the British throne. The instructors are:

Adam Empie, D. D., president, and prof. moral philosophy and rhetoric.

William B. Rogers, professor chemistry and natural philosophy.

Dabney Brown, professor humanity.

Thomas K. Dew, professor hist. met. and political law.

_____, professor mathematics.

_____, law.

The property of the college amounts to about \$150,000, not, however, yielding an income in proportion to that amount. The salaries of the professors are \$1,000 each, except that the Professor of Law has \$600, and the Professor of Humanity, \$900.

Hampden Sidney College. This institution is in Prince Edward county, 80 miles south-west of Richmond, on an elevated and remarkably healthy situation. It was founded in 1755, and has a very liberal charter. The President, James Cushing, Esq., is professor of mental philosophy, rhetoric, moral philosophy, and natural law; besides which are the chairs of chemistry, natural philosophy, mathematics, and the learned languages.

Union Theological Seminary in Prince Edward county. This institution is under the immediate care of the Presbytery of West Hanover, but by its constitution is bound to report annually to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. It commenced operations in 1824. On the 1st of January, of that year, Rev. John H. Rice, D. D., was inaugurated professor of Christian theology. The instructors are:

Rev. George A. Baxter, D. D., prof. Christian theology.

Rev. Hiram P. Goodrich, prof. oriental literature.

_____, prof. church history.

Elisha Ballentine, assistant teacher.

Washington College, at Lexington. This College was endowed by General Washington, with 100 shares of the stock of James river company, which in 1821 produced an annual income of \$2,400. The two college halls, of brick, will accommodate from 50 to 60 students. The faculty are:

Louis Marshall, M. D., president, and prof. languages.

Rev. Henry Ruffner, prof. mathematics.

Joseph W. Farnum, M. D., prof. chemistry and nat. philosophy.

_____, prof. ethics.

N. R. Seabrook, tutor.

The funds of the college are large, and the course of instruction thorough.

Virginia Baptist Seminary, located four miles north of Richmond. It is well situated for the purposes of a manual labor institution, as Richmond furnishes a good market. Rev. Robert Ryland is principal; 14 scholars, all preparing for the ministry; 30 students about to be admitted. Total expenses, \$95 per annum. No student under 16 years to be received. All to labor 3 hours a day, Saturday and Sunday excepted.

Randolph Macon College, Boynton. This is in Mecklenburg county, 38 miles south-west of Richmond.

John Emory, D. D., president.

Martin P. Parks, prof. mathematics.

Lorenzo Lea, principal of the preparatory school.

Founded in 1831.

University of Virginia, at Charlottesville. The University of Virginia is located about 2 miles from Charlottesville, in Albemarle county, and very near the center of population of the State. It was founded in 1819, and went into operation in 1825. It owes its origin and its peculiar organization to Thomas Jefferson. It was erected by the State, at a cost of about \$400,000; and the State now gives an annuity of \$15,000 for its support. Degrees are granted, after very thorough and rigid examinations, in the *separate schools*. The number of the graduates, at the close of the last session, in the several schools, were as follows:—In the school of ancient languages, 2; certificates of proficiency in the Latin language, 9; mathematics, 9; natural philosophy, 14; chemistry, 3; moral philosophy, 9; certificates of proficiency in political economy, 7; law, 4; medicine,—including the school of medicine proper, (physiology, pathology, &c.) the school of chemistry and materia medica, and the school of anatomy and surgery,—the graduates receiving the title of 'Doctor of Medicine,' 5.—Students who have received separate degrees in the schools of ancient languages, mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, and moral philosophy, are declared graduates of the university, with the title of 'Master of Arts of the University of Virginia.' This title was conferred on one student at the last commencement. Number of diplomas granted in 1832, 47; number of certificates of proficiency, 16. There are no indigent students supported by the university. The library has about 8,000 volumes; but it is very valuable, having been purchased in Europe, according to a catalogue previously made out by Mr. Jefferson.

NORTH CAROLINA.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.—This State has a Literary Fund, arising from bank dividends, &c., to the amount of upward of \$70,000. When this sum has reached a sufficient amount, it is to be divided among the Common schools, according to the free population. Some vigorous efforts have recently been made to arouse the public attention to the subject of education.

ACADEMIES AND HIGH SCHOOLS.—The Baptists have purchased the estate of Gen. Calvin Jones, in Wake Forest, 16 miles from Raleigh, for the purpose of founding a Manual Labor school. It will go into operation in 1834. \$2,000 are required for this purpose. The Donelson Academy, and Manual Labor School, on Hay Mount, founded by the Presbytery of Fayetteville, has been lately incorporated. \$10,000 subscribed.

COLLEGES AND HIGHER SEMINARIES.—*University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill.* This institution was established in 1791. Joseph Caldwell, D. D., is president; 9 instructors; between 450 and 500 alumni; 1,800 volumes in the college library; 3,000 in the students' libraries.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.—The Free School system was adopted in 1821. In October, 1824, there had been appropriated on account of Free schools, \$441,176 90. The annual legislative appropriation is from \$37,000 to \$38,000. About 8,000 or 9,000 children are instructed in them.

ACADEMIES AND HIGH SCHOOLS.—The South Carolina Female Institute is two miles from Columbia. Mrs. Marks, principal; property, \$30,000; principal edifice, 134 feet long, 34 broad, 2 stories high.

The following was the list of academies in 1826:—Abbeville, Barnwell, Boiling Springs, Beaufort, Broad River, Cambridge, Chesterville, Cheraw, Camden, Cedar Springs, Edgefield, Gilesborough, Greenville, Long Town, Lancasterville, Marion, Mt. Ariel, Monticello, Minervaville, Mount Olio, Newberry, Pendleton, Pinerville, Platts Spring, Rocky Spring, Rocky Mount, Society Hill, Unionville, Willington, Winnaborough, Woodville, Yorkville.

COLLEGES AND HIGHER SEMINARIES.—*Furman Theological Institution*, under the patronage of the Baptist State Convention. Rev. Messrs. Jesse Hartwell, and Samuel Furman, principals; located at the High Hills of Santee. 30 students preparing for the ministry.

Lutheran Theological Seminary, at Lexington. Rev. John C. Hope, professor; salary, \$700, and dwelling, and firewood; 9 students. A Classical school to be attached, with a principal, at a salary of \$600. The inhabitants of Lexington gave \$5,287.

Southern Theological Seminary. At Columbia, the capital of the State; founded in 1829.

Thomas Goulding, D. D., prof. ecclesiastical history, and church government.

William A. McDowell, D. D., prof. elect. theology.

George Howe, prof. biblical literature.

Students, 22; volumes in the library, 1,800. For the Charleston Union Professorship, \$2,371 have been collected. It is under the care of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia.

South Carolina College. This institution was established in 1804, at Columbia. The entire expense of the college to the State has been more than \$420,000. Of this sum, the buildings, library, and cabinets, cost \$154,234 82. Since 1824, the legislative appropriations have been \$120,000. Its library consists of about 8,000 volumes. Its buildings have become very much dilapidated. Thomas Cooper, M. D., is president.

Charleston College. This College was originally chartered in 1785, but it was no more than a respectable grammar school till 1824, when it was organized anew, and placed on a respectable footing as a college. Among its original trustees, were C. C. Pinckney, C. Pinckney, John Rutledge, Edward Rutledge, David Ramsay. Its original funds were large, but through neglect, were very much diminished. It received some years since from Elias Horry, Esq., the sum of \$10,000, and from Thomas Hanscome, Esq., \$12,500. The principal edifice is one of the most commodious buildings of the kind in the United States. It has lately received a valuable addition to its philosophical apparatus. Its entire property is valued at \$60,000.

Rev. Jasper Adams, D. D., principal, and Horry prof. mor. and pol. philosophy.

William E. Bailey, professor languages.

Stephen Lee, professor mathematics and natural philosophy.

Charles B. Cochran, Jr., master of English department.

Henry M. Bruns, Joseph T. Lee, Geo. Hooper, tutors.

Medical College of South Carolina. This is situated in Charleston, and has for several years received an extensive patronage.

GEORGIA.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.—'There is in this State an Academic Fund of \$250,000, the interest of which is annually divided among the incorporated academies. There is also a Poor School Fund of \$250,000, the interest of which is divided among the several counties, according to their white population, and for the education of the poor. No definite plan, however, has been devised to render this fund valuable to that class for whom it was designed, and we fear thus far, much of it has not been useful.'

ACADEMIES AND HIGH SCHOOLS.—'The Richmond Academy, in the city of Augusta, is well endowed, and supports able teachers. The Chatham Academy, in Savannah, is also a very valuable institution, and has considerable funds. Two Manual Labor schools have just commenced, and promise much usefulness. One is in Green county, under the Baptist Association, and the other one mile from Athens, under the Georgia Presbyterian Education Society. Each has a large farm, and oblige their students to labor at least three hours each day. The one near Athens intends to give students an opportunity of laboring enough to pay all their expenses. Board and tuition in either of these now

amounts only to \$60 per annum. They have the preparation of young men for the ministry as their primary object. They, however, exclude no moral young man from the advantages of the schools.

COLLEGES AND HIGHER SEMINARIES.—A Baptist Manual Labor School will probably go into operation at Greensborough, in 1834.

University of Georgia, at Athens. Incorporated in 1788; endowment, 30,000 acres of unappropriated land; established in Athens in 1802, and Josiah Meigs, LL. D., appointed president. In 1808-9, Dr. Kollock of Savannah, was appointed president, as Mr. Meigs had resigned. He did not accept, and Rev. Professor Smith, of South Carolina College, was appointed. Dr. Smith accepted the appointment. It languished for want of funds till 1816, when lands were sold to the amount of \$100,000, and the proceeds placed in bank stock, which yielded eight per cent. In 1817, Dr. Finley of New Jersey, became president. He died in a few months of fever. Dr. Beman, now of Troy, N. Y., was then appointed, but declined. In 1819, Rev. Dr. Moses Waddell, of South Carolina, was appointed president and accepted. He raised the institution to a very respectable rank. He retired in 1819, and Rev. Dr. Alonzo Church, the present incumbent, succeeded. One of the buildings was burned in 1830, which cost \$25,000. It was rebuilt by the State, and a valuable library also procured. The annual income is now \$14,000; \$8,000 from bank stock, and \$6,000 from the State; tuition, \$38 for each student per annum. It was never in so flourishing state as at the present time. Alonzo Church, D. D., president and professor political economy, mental philosophy, and evidences of Christianity. James Jackson, professor natural philosophy and chemistry. Rev. S. Olin, rhetoric and moral philosophy. Henry Hull, M. D., mathematics and astronomy. James Shannon, ancient languages. Malthus A. Ward, M. D., natural history. Rev. Wm. Shannon, modern languages. B. B. Hopkins and Wm. L. Mitchell, tutors. The college has two buildings, each 120 feet by 50, three stories high, and a third building for public purposes. A botanic garden has been commenced.

ALABAMA.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.—By Act of Congress, March 2d, 1819, 640 acres of land were granted to the inhabitants of each township for the use of schools, and two entire townships for the support of a seminary of learning.

COLLEGES AND HIGHER SEMINARIES.—*La Grange Methodist College.* This is situated a few miles from Florence, Ala., at the head of steamboat navigation, on the Tennessee river; and its location is high and healthy. It has been three years in operation. The faculty consists of a professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, a professor of ancient and modern languages, and a tutor. There is also a superintendent.

University of Alabama, at Tuscaloosa. Tuscaloosa is at the seat of government, on the eastern bank of the Black Warrior, at the head of steam navigation. Population, 2,500. The University located in this place in 1827-8, is on the Huntsville road, a mile and a half from the State House. In the center is the rotundo, a large circular building of three stories; the first is a large room for public occasions; the second a circular gallery for spectators; the third for a library room. There are three three-story dormitories, building for a laboratory and recitation rooms, several professors' houses, &c. Alva Woods, D. D., president, and professor of mental and moral philosophy. J. F. Wallis, professor chemistry and natural history. H. Tutwiler, ancient languages. S. F. Bonilla, modern languages. Rev. Henry W. Hilliard, elocution and English literature. Wm. W. Hudson, mathematics and natural philosophy. C. Jones, tutor; J. G. Davenport, librarian; R. B. McMullen, chemical assistant. The institution went into operation in April, 1831. Students, 95. Board, tuition, room rent, &c., 120 dollars per annum. Library, 3,000 volumes.

MISSISSIPPI.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.—No system in regard to Primary schools has been adopted. The State has a Literary Fund amounting to \$30,000, or \$40,000, but no portion of it is available till it shall amount to \$500,000. It is supposed that 8,000 or 9,000 children of a suitable age receive no instruction. The land

allowed by Congress for schools amounts to 800,000 acres, and is worth 2,000,000 dollars.

COLLEGES AND HIGHER SEMINARIES.—*Jefferson College, at Washington.* Captain Alden Partridge, president; E. B. Williston, J. Holbrook, professors; and 7 assistants. This institution was opened December 7, 1829. It is in part a military institution; number of cadets, 98. Physical education receives special attention. The principal building will accommodate more than 100 students. Every cadet must be furnished with a Bible, and must attend public worship on the Sabbath.

FLORIDA.

Five individuals have agreed, if it can be done at an expense within their means, to purchase a small tract of land, and form a small Manual Labor School, somewhere in the neighborhood of Tallahassee. A teacher is to be employed to take charge of a limited number of pupils; suitable buildings are to be erected for the accommodation of the teacher and pupils, who are to board together, with as little connection as possible with the inhabitants in the vicinity. The pupils will be required to devote a certain number of hours daily to agricultural and mechanical employments of the simplest kinds. No pupil will be admitted except with the consent of the teacher and each of the proprietors; nor suffered to remain in the school, unless he submits to all its regulations. The studies at the commencement, are to be confined to the usual branches of a good English education, including mechanics, botany, chemistry, &c.

LOUISIANA.

The legislature appropriate about 40,000 dollars per annum for the education of the indigent in the State. The United States granted the State 46,000 acres of land for a college, and 873,000 acres for schools. At New Orleans there is a Roman Catholic College. In the town of Jackson, parish of East Feliciana, is the 'College of Louisiana,' H. H. Gird, president *ad interim*; founded in 1825 by the legislature, 3 instructors, 55 students, including those in the preparatory school.

TENNESSEE.

In Maury county, 30 miles south of Nashville, and 9 from Columbia, is a *Manual Labor School*, lately commenced. Rev. Robert Hardin, D.D., president, and professor of natural philosophy and rhetoric. Rev. B. Labaree, vice-president, and professor of ancient languages. W. L. Willeford, Esq., professor mathematics and natural philosophy. 3 assistant teachers. The course of study is liberal, and embraces 4 years. Tuition and board remarkably low. The *University of Nashville* is one of the most important institutions in the western States. The philosophical apparatus cost in London \$6,000. The mineralogical cabinet contains more than 10,000 specimens. Total annual expense of students, \$100. Theological students of all denominations admitted at half price. At *Greenville* is a college, the funds of which amount to \$5,000, all received from individuals. *Knoxville College* is in East Tennessee. *Southern and Western Theological Institution, at Maryville, East Tennessee*, established in 1819, by the Presbyterian Synod of Tennessee. Rev. Isaac Anderson, D.D., principal instructor. A boarding-house is connected, and a farm, which is cultivated by indigent students. The institution is both literary and theological.

KENTUCKY.

The *Literary Fund of Kentucky* amounts to \$140,917 44. Two or three years since, it was supposed that not more than one-third of the children between four and fifteen attend school. At *Elkton*, Todd county, is a Preparatory school of a high order, under the care of Rev. J. J. Pierce. *Cumberland College, at Princeton*, founded in 1825, under the care of the Cumberland Presbyterians. A college building has been erected, 120 feet long, 45 wide, and three stories high. Great benefits have resulted from the manual labor system. *Center College, at Danville*, incorporated 1818; managed by a Board of 11 trustees appointed from time to time by the Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky. The legislature gave up all control over its concerns, and surrendered it to the Synod in con-

satisfaction of their endowing it without legislative assistance. Rev. J. C. Young, president, and professor of mental philosophy; J. M. Buchanan, professor of mathematics; Rev. W. L. Breckinridge, professor of ancient languages; L. W. Green, professor of belles lettres and political economy; Luke Munsell, M. D., professor of chemistry, natural philosophy, and mineralogy; Rev. Joseph Huber, professor of modern languages; William G. Allen, Henry G. Cummings, tutors of grammar school. The students are required to attend a Bible recitation on the Sabbath. Expenses, exclusive of books and clothing, from \$80 to \$100 per annum. Some respectable students expend only from \$65 to \$80. Those intended for the ministry, by working on a farm two hours a day, can be supported on \$60 per annum. All students will soon enjoy the same benefits. Connected with the College is a Grammar school and a Primary school. Under the same Board is an *Institution for the Deaf and Dumb*, endowed by Congress. In Danville is a *Female school* of a high order, under the care of Rev. James K. Burch. At *Monticello* is an academy under the care of T. C. Tupper. Near Salem, C. H. Clarke county, is the *Sylvan Academy*, under the care of Rev. O. S. Hinckley. At Lexington is the *Shelby Female Academy*, under the care of J. L. and W. Tracy. A Classical school for boys, and an Infant school are connected. The Messrs. Van Dorens have a seminary which they call the *Collegiate Institute*, at Lexington. At Winchester is a Female school, superintended by Willis Collins. At Versailles, another similar institution, under the care of Miss C. A. Tillery. At Hillsborough, Samuel David Blythe instructs an English and Classical school. The *Transylvania University*, at Lexington, is nearly in the center of the valley of the Mississippi. The buildings stand on an eminence, removed from the city. Rev. Benjamin O. Peers, president; John Lutz, D. P., professor mathematics; E. Rovel, professor of languages; Charles E. Baina, principal of the Preparatory department. At Bardstown, is *St. Joseph's*, a Roman Catholic College. At Georgetown, is a Baptist institution, lately under the care of Rev. Joel S. Bacon. The professors are George W. Eaton, languages and philosophy; S. Hatch, chemistry; William Craig, tutor; and C. Lewis, principal of the Preparatory department. Expenses, \$100 per annum. It is 12 miles from Lexington, and 17 from Frankfort. *Augusta College* is a Methodist institution, in Bracken county, on the Ohio river, established as an academy in 1822, and as a college in 1829.

MISSOURI.

At St. Louis is a Catholic institution, founded in 1829. Edifice is a brick building, 60 feet by 40, about to be enlarged. It has a pleasant situation. Corporations have been formed for 9 academies. In Marion county, a college is about being commenced. Another similar institution is also contemplated.

ILLINOIS.

A thirty-sixth part of each township is granted for the support of schools; and three per cent. of the net proceeds of the United States' lands, sold within the State, is appropriated for the encouragement of learning, of which a sixth part is required to be bestowed on a College or University. A further provision has been made for a University, by the grant of two townships of land by the United States. An 'Illinois Institute of Education,' was lately formed at Vandalia. *Illinois College*, at Jacksonville. Rev. Edward Beecher, president; Rev. J. M. Sturtevant, professor of mathematics and natural philosophy; Rev. W. Kirby, professor of Latin and Greek; Erastus Colton, Preparatory department. About \$46,000 have been raised in the East and West, toward founding this institution. The building will accommodate 100 students. A philosophical apparatus, worth \$600 or \$800 has been procured. A president, two professors, and an instructor in the Preparatory department have been provided. The college stands on a rising ground, in front of which is a beautiful prairie of 13,000 acres, or 20 square miles of the richest soil. At Alton, Madison county, an institution for the Baptists is about to be commenced. The library, and other property at Rock Spring will be procured. An organized College of the first order, it is intended soon to establish. Instruction, we believe, has been already commenced. Two or three other institutions are contemplated.

INDIANA.

The thirty-sixth part of each township of land is reserved for the support of education. Reservations are also provided for the benefit of the *Indiana College* at Bloomington. The funds of this institution will amount, when the land is sold, to \$60,000. About half are now sold. Two college buildings have been erected, one 40 feet by 30, the other 75 feet by 55, three stories in height. The situation of the college is very pleasant. The course of instruction is thorough. The Cambridge mathematics are a part. *South Hanover College and Indiana Theological Seminary*. Located at South Hanover, six miles below Madison, Jefferson county, on the banks of the Ohio. The college edifice is 40 feet by 100, and three stories high. Eight dormitories 12 feet square have been erected, and a carpenter's, a cooper's, and a wagon maker's shop. It was founded in the year 1825, very much through the instrumentality of Rev. Messrs. John F. Crowe, and James M. Dickey. The president is James Blythe, D. D., who is professor of rhetoric, chemistry, natural, mental, and moral philosophy; Rev. John F. Crowe, professor of logic, belles lettres, and political economy; John H. Harney, mathematics and natural philosophy; Mark A. H. Niles, languages; Rev. John Matthews, D. D., theology; Rev. John W. Cunningham, biblical lit.

OHIO.

Three-fourths of a mill on a dollar is levied on the *ad valorem* amount of the general list of taxable property in the State, for the support of Common schools. We are not aware that there are any flourishing incorporated academies in the State. At *Marietta* is the Institute of Education, under the supervision of Messrs. Bingham, French, and Adams. It comprises four departments; Infant school, Primary school, Ladies' seminary, and Young Men's High school. The year is divided into two terms. Tuition, from \$2 50 to \$7. Students in all the departments, about 130. Provision is made for manual labor. At *Granville* is a Literary and Theological (Baptist) Institution. Rev. John Pratt, principal; Paschal Carter, professor of mathematics and natural philosophy; A. H. Frink, teacher. It commenced operations in December, 1831. A commodious building has been erected. Annual expenses, about 70 dollars. There is a Female seminary in the same place. At *New Franklin* there is a College. At Gambier, Knox county, is *Kenyon College*, an Episcopal institution, founded by Bishop Chase. Rev. Charles P. McIlvaine is now president. Rev. William Sparrow, Milnor professor of theology; Rev. C. W. Fitch, languages; John Kendrick, philosophy and rhetoric; Rev. George Dennison, mathematics and natural philosophy. It has 8,000 acres of land. It received about 13,000 dollars from England. A Diocesan Theological seminary is connected. A very large and commodious building of stone has been erected. *Miami University, at Oxford*. This institution is in Butler county, adjoining the State of Indiana. The lands of Oxford belong in fee simple to the University. The township is 6 miles square, and contains 3,000 inhabitants. The University was chartered in 1809, and went into operation in 1824. The annual revenue of the institution is more than 4,000 dollars, and it is rapidly increasing. The situation is represented to be delightful. The number of instructors is 11. *Ohio University, at Athens*. This institution is supported by two townships of land, given by Congress for the purpose. Rev. Robert G. Wilson, D. D., president, and professor of logic, rhetoric, &c.; professors Thomas M. Drake, M. D., natural philosophy and natural history; Rev. William Wall, mathematics; Joseph Dana, Latin and Greek; Daniel Read, academical preceptor. *Lane Seminary, at Cincinnati*. Rev. Lyman Beecher, D. D., president, and professor of theology; Rev. T. J. Biggs, professor of church history and church polity; Rev. C. E. Stowe, professor of biblical literature; Rev. N. H. Folsom, professor of languages; Thomas D. Mitchell, M. D., professor of chemistry; E. Whitney, teacher. In the early part of 1832, the committee commenced the erection of a seminary edifice, 100 feet long, and 40 deep, and four stories high, with a basement, which will contain more than 100 single rooms. The estimated cost of this building is 8,000 dollars. Near 40 of the rooms are now occupied, and the remainder will be finished by the close of the spring vacation. The committee have recently purchased from Mr. Elnathan Kemper all his farm adjoining that of the semin-

ary, containing about 51 acres of his most valuable land. The table has been, to a great extent, furnished from the farm with milk and butter, and with all the vegetables necessary; and as it has been the wish of the students to dispense with tea and coffee, and all articles of luxury, and to live on principles of Christian simplicity and economy, the committee have been able to furnish board at 1 dollar per week, without loss to the institution. Expenses of theological department.—Board, including the two sessions of 40 weeks, at 1 dollar per week, 40 dollars; for rent of room, from 3 to 5 dollars, average 4 dollars; those having double rooms, 2 dollars; washing, 40 weeks, 7 dollars; fuel, 5 dollars; light, 3 dollars; contingent expenses, use of library, wood for recitation rooms, sweeping, &c., 3 dollars; tuition, gratis; total, 60 dollars. Literary department.—Expenses the same as in the theological department, 60 dollars; an addition for tuition of 20 dollars; total, 80 dollars. *Medical College of Ohio, at Cincinnati.* Students, 110; professors, J. Cobb, J. Whitman, J. Smith, E. Slack, J. Moorhead, C. E. Pierson. An institution, called the *Reformed Medical College*, has lately been commenced. At Hudson, in Portage county, is the *Western Reserve College*. Rev. Charles B. Storrs, president; professors, Rev. Beriah Green, sacred literature; Rev. Rufus L. Nutting, languages; Elissur Wright, Jr., mathematics and nat. phil.; Rev. David L. Coe, assistant instructor.

MICHIGAN TERRITORY.

A Society for the Promotion of the Civilization and Christianization of the North-western Tribes, has been recently established at Detroit. Henry R. Schoolcraft, Esq., is president. It is called the 'Algic Society.'

From this comprehensive and by far the most painstaking and exhaustive survey of the educational institutions of the United States up to the time when this was made, we learn that so late as 1833:—

1. There was no national recognition at Washington by any department, or bureau, or clerk, of the importance of schools and education to the general prosperity of the country, and no information as to the manner in which the lands devoted by the general government for educational purposes had been disposed of.

2. There were only three States (New York, Maine, and Massachusetts) which had provided by law for officially authenticated returns respecting their elementary schools—their number, pupils, teachers, and means of support.

3. There was not a single State or city which had an officer whose whole time was devoted to the supervision of the educational interests of that State or city, and only one State (New York) in which an officer of any other department was charged with the general supervision of Common schools, or a Board to report on the higher institutions of learning.

4. Outside of Boston there was not a single city which had a system of public schools, culminating in a High school—all the higher instruction below the college curriculum being given in incorporated academies and seminaries in no way responsible to the public or the legislature.

5. Not a single State or city Normal school, or seminary for the professional training of teachers had been established.

GIOVANNI LUDOVICO VIVES.

HIS PEDAGOGY AND INFLUENCE ON EDUCATION.*

MEMOIR.

JOHN LOUIS VIVES—whose social position as tutor in the royal family of England, and Cardinal de Croy, as professor at the Universities of Oxford and Louvain, correspondent of Erasmus and other eminent scholars, and whose publications on the principles and methods of Education enabled him to exert a powerful influence on the pedagogy of his age—was born in Valencia in 1492, of an old but impoverished noble family. His mother, a woman of uncommon energy of character, appears to have exercised great influence upon her son, and he often speaks of her with the deepest veneration. He was educated strictly as a Spanish Catholic noble, probably with a little ascetic severity, for the absolute submission of the wife to the husband, and the unconditional obedience and reverence of the children toward the mother, were his ideal of the rule of a Christian family. When fifteen years of age he was counted among the most brilliant pupils at the new Academy of Valencia, and took part with his teacher, Armiguetus—whom Majans, the biographer of Vives, calls "*homo insigniter barbarus*"—in combating the introduction of the new grammar of the Humanists. In 1509, two years later, we find young Vives at the University of Paris, surrounded by the influence of the Dialecticians, whose theology was the most abstruse, and whose Latin the most barbarous. But even they seemed to feel the necessity of a reform, and Vives devoted himself to studying the works of ancient authors, although, as he tells us, the empty disputations of the schools occupied much of his time.

In 1513 Vives settled in the Valdura family in Bruges, then under Spanish rule. Later he married one of the daughters of his host, at that time a little girl about eight years old, and he ever afterward regarded it as his adopted home.

Two years afterward he published an allegory, "*Christi Triumphus*," the earliest of his works that has been preserved. The persons are his teachers and fellow-students in Paris, and his aim was to initiate a reform in the poetical style of the period. After revisiting Paris he returned to Bruges, and shortly afterward appears at Lou-

* Compiled from an elaborate article in Schmid's "*Pädagogische Encyclopädie*," by Dr. Lange.

vain as tutor of one of the most distinguished men in the Netherlands, the young Cardinal de Croy, nephew of the Duke of Chievres, Minister of Charles V., who, although scarcely nineteen years of age, had been nominated Cardinal-Archbishop of Toledo, and was already Bishop of Cambrai. These high dignities did not appear to have stood in the way of his studies, and Vives gave him instruction in the ancient classic authors, and it would seem in rhetoric and philosophy, in which he already pursued an independent system. His "Declamations"—written, according to Erasmus, in his best style—were composed, without doubt, for the political instruction of his distinguished pupil, as indeed he mentions in the dedication to the Archduke Ferdinand. He dwells on the advantages and disadvantages of governing,—how happy and stable a moderate rule, how wretched, on the other hand, to deal with discontented and rebellious subjects; that the prince should do nothing in which his own interests were not subordinated to those of the State. He bewails the times in which he lives, and says his only consolation is in the hope that a new and better period was approaching. We have also a small treatise from the same year, entitled "*De Inititiis, Sectis, et Laudibus Philosophiae*," which is perhaps the first plan of a history of philosophy we possess, and bears evident marks of the author's originality and independence of thought. His "Reflections on the Seven Penitential Psalms," written also for the edification of his pupil, bears evidence of a great mind, although encumbered by the scholastic phrases of the period. In his essay against the pseudo-Dialecticians—written in 1519, and regarded as one of the most important contributions to the history of the great struggle between the schools—Vives cut himself off from the party to which he at first belonged, and attacked his former associates with vigor.

In 1519, as we learn from a letter to Erasmus, he undertook a journey to Paris with the Cardinal, where, in spite of his late essay, he was warmly received by his former friends. His literary reputation seems now to have been fully established, and in letters from More and Erasmus we read high praises of the Spanish scholar. His attainments were soon to be tested. Early in 1521 the young Cardinal de Croy died, leaving, contrary to all expectation, no provision for his former tutor, and Vives was obliged to turn his labors to some practical end. On the 1st of January, 1521, he began a commentary on the "*De Civitate Dei*" of St. Augustine, but his health gave way, and he returned from Louvain to Bruges in order to be with his own country-people. Erasmus, who was editing the work, became impatient at the delay, and, indeed, since the death of Cardinal de Croy, a very perceptible change appears in the manner of the courtly Churchman toward Vives. In July of the same year, Vives writes that his health is improving, but that he intends to remain in Bruges in order to have an interview with the Emperor Charles, as

he was shortly to be there to meet the English ambassadors, Wolsey and More. These high dignitaries received him cordially; and no doubt it was owing to this interview that he went later to England, and dedicated his "*De Civitate Dei*" to King Henry. There is a report, too, that he had been already appointed to a position in Oxford; but of that nothing certain is known. The commentary, when completed, fully sustained Vives' reputation for depth and brilliancy, and deepened the excitement of the politico-religious contest of the day; but his health was exhausted by his continued application. He writes to Erasmus in August, 1522, that he dreads teaching again, although the devotion with which he speaks of his pupils would seem to indicate that it was anything but irksome to him.

His work, "*De Institutione Femenae Christianae*," dedicated to Queen Catherine of Aragon, and written, as a relaxation, after finishing his Commentary, is principally of a pedagogical character, and treats of the education and demeanor of Christian women, handling the subject decidedly from an ascetic, monastic point of view.

The winter semester of 1522-'23 was the last during which he taught at Louvain, as he seems to have made up his mind to try his fortune in England. Previous to his departure, he wrote to Pope Hadrian VI. (Oct. 12, 1522), begging him to exert his vast authority to secure peace to the Christian world, and urging the convocation of a General Council. He recalls to the Pope their former connection at the University, before the humble dean had been appointed to the highest dignity in Christendom, and urges his views with all the frankness of a friend.

In 1523 he undertook a journey to Spain, of which we have no particulars, except that he left the Netherlands in an unhappy frame of mind (letter to Erasmus, May 10, 1523), as he was disappointed in the result of the sale of his works. His way led through England, and whether his reception there induced him to return, or whether he had already received an appointment, is uncertain; but we know, from Anthony Wood's "*Athenae Oxoniensis*," that, in the fall of that year (1523), he delivered two lectures at Oxford, both of which were honored by the attendance of the King and Queen, and received the degree of D.C.L. For some time, now, he stood in close connection with the English court; probably, although we do not know with certainty, engaged as tutor of Princess Mary. He appears to have passed some portion of each year at his home in Bruges, where most of his productions of this period were composed. He wrote several letters to Henry VIII., on the occasion of the Battle of Pavia, urging him to set an example to the other princes of a peaceful policy; and also to the Bishop of Lincoln, the King's confessor, hoping thus indirectly to work upon him. In 1525 he wrote one of his most important treatises, "*De Suben-*

tione Pauperum," dedicated to the Municipal Council of Bruges, one of the first works on this subject, and which, undoubtedly, formed the basis of the English system of the care of the poor. Our space is too limited to give an analysis of this article; but the point which the author makes is, that although the motives which move us to charity are essentially religious, yet the control and administration of the poor funds is incumbent upon the Christian State, and does not fall within the province of the Church, regarding all interference of the clergy with donations for the poor with a jealous eye.

In 1526-'27 his correspondence with Erasmus appears to have been more frequent, although the tone and manner of the latter show but little of his former warm friendship. In 1528 a most unfortunate turn of affairs took place, which we can best lay before the reader in Vives' own words. It was in relation to the King's divorce from Catherine of Aragon; and it is only necessary to remark that Vives had been an especial *protégé* of the Queen. He says, in a letter to Vergara: "You must already have heard of the troubles between the King and Queen, as it is now talked of everywhere. I have taken the side of the Queen, whose cause has seemed to me just, and have defended her by word and pen. This offended his Majesty to such a degree that I was imprisoned for six weeks, and only released on condition of never approaching the palace again. I then concluded it safest to return home [to Bruges], and, indeed, the Queen advised me to in a secret letter. Shortly after, Cardinal Campeggio was sent to Britain to judge the cause. The King was very solicitous that the Queen appoint counsel to defend her side before Campeggio and Wolsey. She, therefore, called me to her aid; but I told her plainly that any defence before such a court were useless, and that it would be much better to be condemned unheard than with the appearance of defence. The King sought only to save appearances with his people, that the Queen might not appear to have been unjustly treated; that he had little regard for the rest. At this the Queen was incensed that I did not at once obey her call, instead of following my own good judgment, which is worth more to me than all the princes of the world together. So it has come about that the King regards me as his adversary, and the Queen as disobedient and opinionated, and both of them have withdrawn my pension." This letter was written some three years after the events took place, and he adds that he scarcely knows himself how he has managed to get his living, but that the gifts which God sends in silence are greater than those which we win with applause from men. In 1531 he wrote again to the King, moved, as he says, by his love for England, to which he owes so much, and making use of a different method, since he had failed before to touch the King's conscience, by show-

ing how destructive it was to the interests of the kingdom to allow parties to be formed, as they would be, by the uncertainty of the succession, etc.

From this time on, we know but little of Vives. He retired to Bruges, whence he fled with his family during the plague, and visited Paris, where he again lectured for a short time. In 1537-'39 he passed some time at Breda, in the court of the widowed Duchess of Nassau, a Spaniard by birth, and formerly a pupil of his; and he speaks of her in his book, "*De Christiana Feminae*," as a promising girl.

Ever since his return from England, he complained of gout, and, indeed, had struggled against a weak constitution all his life. In spite of his illness, he worked harder than ever, and his best productions date from this period. He had scarcely finished a great work, "*De Veritate Fidei Christianae*," on which, his biographer says, he devoted more thought than any other, than he succumbed to a complication of diseases, on the sixth day of May, 1540, in the forty-eighth year of his age.

The work of Vives which entitles him to a place among pedagogical reformers, is called "*De Disciplinis*." It appeared in 1531, with a dedication to the King of Portugal, and is divided into three principal parts. In the Introduction, he justifies the position he assumes in regard to Aristotle. While he reverences Aristotle as a great master, he declared that the world had gained in experience since he wrote, and sees no reason why the minds of that day should not discard his teachings, if not found correct, as he himself set aside the teachings of his predecessors. Vives does not doubt but that later generations will find theories better adapted to their ends than those he himself advances, and greets as a friend the one who shall expose his errors.

The first book treats of the causes of the decline of the sciences. Many of them, he says, are coexistent with the origin of the sciences, others are attributable to moral causes,—as, for instance, pride, the desire to shine as the discoverer of some new theory; and he relates, as an example, how a fellow-student in Paris had declared to him that, sooner than not distinguish himself by founding some new doctrine, he would defend one of whose falsity he was convinced.

The historical and material causes of the decay of the sciences is next treated. One of these was the migration of nations, by which the existing order of civilization was annihilated; then, the obscurity of the ancient manuscripts, which is so great, he says, that it takes less time to discover from nature the truths they contain, than to decipher the meaning of the parchment; then, again, the imperfection of the manuscripts themselves. Another cause is the ever-increasing use of commentaries, instead of the study of the originals, by which the various opinions of the commentators only lead further

from the original sense; again, he laments the practice of scholastic disputation, "which is taught the pupils before they know what they are disputing about." Other reasons are, that teaching is regarded rather as a trade than a vocation, and that the office of teacher is not sufficiently respected, so that many great minds refuse to undertake a calling which would bring them into contempt, and it is thus left to incompetent and coarser minds to instruct our youth.

The second book treats of the decline of grammar, by which Vives means Philology, the old, comprehensive definition. He inveighs against the purist who would banish every word not found in their model authors, by which means a vast number of words, absolutely indispensable in the sciences, have been discarded. We pass over the remainder of this portion of the work to that which has a more direct bearing upon the art of teaching. The last five books of "*De Disciplinis*" are entitled "*De Tradendis Disciplinis*," and open with an especial introduction, in which the author reviews the inner causes of the origin and growth of knowledge. The first book treats of the origin of the Sciences, much in the same train of thought that Bacon pursued. In the second, he gives his views on what should be taught, who should be teacher, and where schools should be erected. He begins with the latter. Schools, he says, should above all other things have a healthy situation, but not so agreeable as to offer greater attractions to the students than their books. It should not be too near commercial or industrial centres, where the noise might be inconvenient, but at the same time should not be too secluded from the world; after a long list of requisites he adds that it should not be thought strange that so much attention be devoted to choosing a place where learning was to be cultivated, when we devote such care to the proper situation even of a beehive. Teachers should not only have the necessary attainments, but they must have the faculty of imparting knowledge. Their morals must be good, and their first care be to do nothing which could give a bad example to their pupils, or, if they have bad habits, they should at least abstain from them before the school. They must be prudent and cautious in rewarding, and especially in punishing. They should be animated by paternal feelings toward their pupils, and be happy to impart instruction without regard to the material advantages which may accrue to them. Above all things, covetousness and ambition should be unknown to them, for what care, he says, can scholars hope, from a man who hopes to make either fortune or reputation out of them. All opportunities of making money should be banished from the schools, and the State should fix such salaries as would be sufficient for an honest man without being an inducement to such as had no call for the profession. Every opportunity for display should be avoided, therefore he recommends the limiting of the public dis-

putations, as the applause is seldom bestowed on those who defend the truth. He would also control the conferring of academic grades.

On placing the boy at school—this refers especially to younger pupils—the parent should impress upon his son that he is not to study in order to be able to lead a life of idleness. He must understand that the aim of his education is to make him a wiser and a better man. The boy should remain one or two years in the school in order that his capabilities may be developed,—four times a year the teachers should hold a private conference, and assign to the scholars such branches as they may be most fitted to pursue. Those who appear to have no taste for study should not be allowed to proceed, as it would be a loss of time, and they would only be further disgraced by their failure. But above all, the teacher should be conscious of the dignity of their calling, and live worthy of it. It is often asked, says Vives, whether boys are better brought up at or away from home. If academies like the one he describes existed, he is of the opinion they should be sent there, and from their earliest childhood; but as they exist, it is a difficult question to answer. Children, he says, are like apes (*sunt pueri naturaliter similes*), and imitate that which they see in their elders, and thus their character is often ruined by those who should form it and better it. Parents, he says, are clearly held responsible for their children on the authority of Holy Writ and the teachings of the Holy Fathers,—what care, then, should they not exercise in regard to the influences exerted in their families. He regards education in the family as better in many respects than sending youth to the universities, where, it is well known, instruction was given to boys of all ages. The care the children receive is better, and the parental authority better sustained by its continual exercise. The piety of the parents is an example to the children. If the children are by nature bad, and require to be governed by fear, that inspired by the position of the parent is best calculated to rule them; if they are to be led by love, surely none is greater than that which exists between members of the same family.

Vives then urges again the establishment in each city of a gymnasium (*ludus literarius*), and gives directions for organizing and directing it, particularly for ascertaining the mental capacities and characteristics of the pupils, previous to classifying them and assigning tasks. He calls attention to the necessity of assigning to each one that which nature manifestly intended him to do. Those who at first sight do not appear to have any particular tastes, should not be turned away until after efforts have been made to test their capacities; but if after that nothing can be made of them, it were better that they devote themselves to some branch of industry.

Last of all, Vives treats of the *method*, in which he clearly advises the inductive. Studies should be so arranged that one branch

seems the natural consequence of the preceding. He recommends frequent instruction in religion, in order to keep fresh in the pupils' minds the great doctrines of Christianity.

The third book treats of the study of languages. He speaks first of the importance of speech in general as being the bond of humanity, then of the importance of knowing one's native language well, as facilitating the acquirement of all others, and recommends the greatest care in this, even to choosing an educated nurse for the children. He dilates on the advantage of one universal language, and thinks Latin would meet the requirements of such a one. The study of Latin should be the principal occupation from the seventh to the fifteenth year. Greek should be learned on mastering Latin, partly on account of its own importance, partly to complete the study of Latin, which Vives thinks is derived from the Greek. Living languages are learned better and quicker through intercourse with those who speak them than from books. Teachers especially should know the mother tongue of their pupils and be versed in its literature. In interpreting the ancient authors, the teacher should first explain in the vernacular, then in Latin, pronouncing distinctly, and using gestures when necessary. He should also enliven the work by explaining the legends, proverbs, special meaning of words, and the subject which comes up in the account. He recommends written exercises in order to strengthen the memory, and also that emulation be encouraged among the scholars by prizes, etc. As to discipline, exhortation and correction, he says, are continually necessary, and no bad habits should be allowed to pass unnoticed. There are some things, however, which young pupils cannot understand, and the teacher should withhold his correction until such time as they may be able to. It may be best, too, according to circumstances, to ignore certain things,—but never any immoral behavior. The teacher should never lose his temper because the pupil does not at once understand, and those who use frightful threats and blows in order to get from young pupils what could hardly be expected of riper ones, deserve themselves to be flogged. The teacher should endeavor to overcome gently the scholars' shyness and timidity, and rather let a mistake go unnoticed than embarrass the boy by calling immediate attention to it. He should be earnest but not severe, mild but without weakness, never threaten without enforcing what they have threatened, if necessary with the rod. Corporal punishment should be seldom applied, and never to such a degree as unnecessarily to humiliate the pupil.

He would allow his pupils plenty of playtimes, and recommends hearty, romping games; the boys should not be brought to hate their studies by being driven and confined to them. "The human spirit," he says, "has a wonderful love of liberty; man will exert himself, but will not be compelled." The rest of this book is devoted to the authors which he recommends, and it is only necessary

to remark that, to finish such a colossal field of reading, would be next to impossible.

The fourth book contains but few pedagogical suggestions beyond giving an order in which the studies should be pursued; but it is especially important as showing the position which Vives takes in regard to the natural sciences, as the predecessor of Bacon. He is not, like Bacon, an enthusiastic apostle of the natural sciences; he even says that the "*contemplatio rerum naturae*" can be dangerous to one whose faith is not firm. Therefore it is impossible to speak of an art of discovery in connection with Vives as with Bacon, but, nevertheless, he treats all his subjects with especial regard for the inductive method. The relation in which he places physics, in the widest sense, to metaphysics, is exactly in the spirit of Bacon.

We have just seen that Vives recommends the inductive method in regard to grammar; the resolving of laws from the observation of the single instances, and metaphysics he founds on the perception of isolated material phenomena. Another point in which Vives resembles Bacon, is the decision with which he refers from all belief on authority, all literary speculation, and all *a priori* theories, to the immediate observation of nature as the true source of all our knowledge: "Neque enim est philosophus, qui de 'instantibus,' et de 'motu enormi,' aut 'conformi' nugatur subtiliter, sed qui generationes et naturas novit plantarum atque animantium, qui causas, cur quidquid fiat, et quomodo." . . . And this was written a hundred years before Bacon, at a time when original investigation was scarcely known! Vives now recommends some knowledge of the practical arts of life—agriculture, architecture, navigation, etc.—which, he says, can be better acquired by asking questions and independent observation, than by study. For those, he says, who would continue their studies, the path separates here; for, from this point, one mind may not master all the branches. Vives distinguishes between those "*qui corpora, et qui animos curaturi sunt*;" but while he devotes the rest of this book to medicine, he avoids meddling with theology.

The fifth and last book consists of two parts,—a dissertation on political sciences, and a treatise, "*De Vita et Moribus Eruditi*," which closes the work. "Prudentia," which forms, according to Vives, the principal virtue of the statesman, is to be acquired by a serious and profound study of history, in which he lays the greatest weight upon the "*les togatae*," and the conquests of *mind* over the inclinations of the passions. With the chronicles of wars and battles he would have as little to do as is consistent with a knowledge of the course of events, and they should be regarded as acts of depredation and robbery, except when undertaken against robbers themselves, which, he bewails, is seldom the case. After a short review of historical literature, he says such studies are best pursued in the ripper

years of one's life, after the judgment is formed and strengthened by experience. In regard to the laws, Vives would see realized the legal fiction that they be *known* by everybody. They should, therefore, be simple in form as possible, in the vernacular, and should be, like the laws of the Twelve Tables, learned by heart in the schools. He also demands that the laws be not alone just to the citizens of the State where enacted, but toward other nations.

The treatise "*De Vita et Moribus Eruditi*" is a worthy close of this great work. The moral principles which must guide the studies and manners of the scholar are nowhere better defined. Pride, vanity, and selfishness, he says, value the semblance of work as much as the reality; at a disputation, he who is obliged to yield his position to the truths advanced by the other should not be called "vanquished;" if truth is spoken, it matters not by whom. Criticism is necessary everywhere, but it should never degenerate into personal depreciation. Envy and malice, which are sure to follow every great achievement, are to be borne in silence. Should another make an important discovery, we ought to congratulate him; for truth is the property of no one, and the discoveries of others can infringe no rights of ours.

It remains to notice more at length the treatise "*De Institutione Feminae Christianae*." Vives requires of the mother, that, like Cornelia, she regard her children as her greatest treasure. Where possible, the mother should nurse her children herself, as it is not only the most natural for mother and child, but is a source of the greatest pleasure the mother can know, and the surest foundation of the child's affection. The mother's milk, he says, influences the character of the child. If, however, the services of a nurse are unavoidable, the greatest care should be exercised in her selection. If the mother can read and write, she should instruct her children in these elements, and thus be at once their mother, teacher, and nurse, which will increase their love for her, and hasten their progress. The girls she should instruct in all the affairs of the house. For the sake of her children, she should always take the greatest pains to speak correctly and with purity; she should not relate empty fables for their amusement, but rather such little stories as may instruct and edify them, and teach them to love virtue and hate vice before they know even the distinction between them. Children always come to their mother to inquire of everything, and believe implicitly all she tells them. What opportunities, he exclaims, has she not, to form their character for good or evil! They should learn from her that riches, power, praise, titles, and beauty are vain and empty things; that piety, virtue, bravery, self-denial, culture, meekness, compassion, and love of our neighbors are imperishable virtues. Every one, he says, places wealth at the summit of their desires; they fawn upon the nobility, work for positions, praise beauty, worship success, and

follow lust, while they spurn poverty, laugh at meekness, mistrust piety, hate education, and believe honesty and justice a fable. And so the majority of men are bad, even while our natures incline us more to virtue than vice. It is the duty of mothers to correct these impressions while the minds of the children are unformed; and it is for them to keep alive in their hearts the Divine spark which God has planted there. Again, mothers should be careful not to enfeeble the mental and corporeal powers of their boys by too much tenderness. There are mothers, he says, whose children never eat, drink, or sleep enough. Such care they should devote to the cultivation of their children's minds. He dwells upon the necessity of severe discipline, and would not have the mother weaken her influence over her children by showing too much fondness. Sons, he says, may be spoiled by yielding too much, but girls are utterly ruined by it. Lax discipline makes a man bad enough, but it renders girls criminal. These views are a consequence of his belief that women are more inclined by nature to sin than men, and the rule he lays down for the education of girls results from this. Even in the earliest years he would have complete separation of the sexes, even in children's games. Dolls he would banish from the nursery, as they only encourage vanity and love of dress; and he recommends as playthings, toys which represent household articles. All girls, even the daughters of princes, he would have brought up to direct the house, be familiar with all the details of its management. They should learn to cook as well; and he says the reason the Belgians spend so much time at the taverns is because their tables are so badly supplied at home. As to the actual instruction girls should receive, Vives sees no reason why they should not be as well educated as men, as far as their capabilities go, with this exception, that the studies they pursue should be directed to their moral elevation, and, therefore, be limited to such authors as elevate and refine their characters. Women learn for their own sakes, not, like men, for the good of the whole; to appear as teachers is not becoming in women, and their efforts in this direction should be limited to the circle of their own children.

The Pedagogy of Vives, regarded as a whole, has the merit of being a thorough and logically-deduced system. Although appearing in disconnected form, scattered through all his works, his system has a unity of design, of which we may briefly give the leading points.

Christianity, colored, indeed, by mediaeval scholasticism and prejudice, but, on the whole, rather a platonic, stoical Christianity, forms the basis. Honesty, justice, and purity of heart are the great virtues upon which the temporal and eternal happiness of mankind is based. The sin developed by the original fall of man is woven into society, and produces there the worst effects. Selfishness is nourished by the continual thirst for wealth and power;

temporal greatness is admired and sought for by every means. Pride, meanness of spirit, desire of power, and cowardly servility, spring from the same sources. Men who, following their better natures, would, perhaps, be virtuous, are carried away by the general tendency to wickedness, and their influence works in turn on their children. The evil must be combated in the State, in the family, in each one's own heart. The first is the duty of the man, the family is the field for the women. The most important bonds of society, the most important means of making one's influence felt in the State, is speech. Freedom of speech flourishes in free States, but is crushed by tyrants. Men should be formed by education, not only to recognize what is good, but exemplify and enforce by their lives and words. The characters of those who are destined to rule the State should not only be carefully trained, but their minds ought, by every means, to be developed, and they should be exercised in oratory. The princes, as, indeed, almost all the great dignitaries of Church and State, are ruined by selfishness and flattery. The principles of peace and obedience to authority forbid us to proceed against them other than with spiritual means; but these every honest man can and should use, so as to awaken the consciences of those in power, and supplant, by truth, hypocrisy and flattery. No means should be neglected to work on the consciences of the heirs of princes, nor should the people be neglected, as they often receive such instruction more gratefully than the others. The law, which, as it is at present, only encourages litigation and hate, stands in need of a vigorous reform. It should be simplified and modelled in the spirit of the people, on strict principles of equity and natural justice. It follows that the culture, both of the family and school, should not only aim at overcoming these false ideas of greatness and splendor, and producing, in their stead, true principles of virtue, but that all the influences of the school, and the general intercourse between teacher and pupil, should be such as to edify and ennoble the latter. No distinction should be accorded to the scholar because of the wealth and position of its parents; they should be taught to love one another as brothers.

The sciences are ruined from the same causes as society. The desire to be an authority in the literary world corresponds to the lust for power in the State; and the blind reverence for the words of the master to the cowardly servility before authority. The same spirit which leads to war and ruins States, causes no less devastation in the liberal arts. The disputes of parties resound in the academic halls, and render the quiet acquisition of knowledge impossible. Triumphant over others, and winning an empty title, are not worthy objects of our endeavors. It should be all the same to us by whom truth is discovered. The interest in the subject itself, and the pure consciousness of acquiring knowledge, are better than the praises of

the schools. But the sciences stand in need of a material reform. For example, history is so obscured by a mass of tradition and falsehood, that it is difficult to find out the real truth; and thus it is with many other branches of learning. To remedy this, we must cut ourselves off from the noisy wrangling of the schools, and treat the subject with unprejudiced minds.

Vives saw clearly the evils which were threatening Church and State in his day, and endeavored to combat them in the manner we have briefly shown. He founded no school, but the influence of his powerful mind has been clearly felt, although not always acknowledged by those who have profited by his teachings.



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JOHN S. BROWN

A detailed black and white illustration of a small, rustic cottage. The house features a steep gabled roof with a chimney on the left side. The exterior walls are made of wood, with some sections showing a half-timbered style. There is a small porch on the left side of the house. The cottage is surrounded by trees and foliage, giving it a secluded, rural appearance.

A VILLAGE SCHOOL

PLANS FOR VILLAGES AND RURAL DISTRICTS IN MASSACHUSETTS,
WITH REMARKS ON THE CONDITION OF SCHOOL-HOUSES IN 1873.

The following Remarks are taken from the Special Report of Mr. Phipps, General Agent of the Board of Education, published in the Annual Report of the Board to the Legislature in 1873.

In 1837, when the Board was established, the condition of the public school-houses throughout the State, taken as a whole, was disgraceful, and for years had been growing worse and worse. Upon churches, court-houses and jails, houses and stables and other buildings, public and private, money had been freely expended to secure comfort, neatness, and even elegance. The school-houses alone were neglected, and "suffered to go where age and the elements would carry them." Not one-third part of the public school-houses in Massachusetts were considered tenable by any decent family, out of the poor-house, or in it.

When Mr. Mann entered upon his duties as the first secretary of your Board, the deplorable condition of the school-houses attracted his attention, and his earliest and most earnest efforts were directed to their improvement. The "Supplement" to his first annual report (in March, 1838) was devoted to this subject, and was instrumental in awakening an interest, which, strengthened by his own earnest and persistent efforts in this direction, and by those of his successors and their associates, has culminated in the present greatly improved condition of the school-buildings in our own and other States.

In previous reports I have spoken of the wretched school-buildings which I have found in many parts of the State, sparsely populated, and remote from the centers of wealth, and although they are from year to year giving place to new and greatly improved ones, very many still remain. Need I say that these are mostly to be found in those towns that still cling to the "district system," and that so long as that continues to exist, little or no improvement in school accommodations can be expected of them? When the law was passed in 1839, abolishing the district system, and thus transferring the ownership and control of the school-buildings to the several towns, in very many places the improvement of the school-buildings was entered upon at once. Old buildings were sold or thoroughly repaired and remodeled; new ones were erected, and furnished with modern furniture and many other needed appliances. In some towns, having numerous district schools, containing frequently less than a dozen children, and continued for unequal periods, of in some cases less than the minimum time required by law, a few large buildings were erected in such localities as would accommodate large numbers of children, who being distributed in the different rooms according to their proficiency in study, could be taught much more efficiently in these graded schools, and enjoy equal privileges in point of time. I cite one or two out of numerous instances in confirmation of this statement:

In 1838-9, the Committee in a districted town, speaking of the school-houses, say: "Most of them are old, out of repair, and badly constructed, and in some instances about the only remains of a once flourishing neighborhood. They have stood up and battled with time and progress

about as long as they can, and what vitality they now have seems to be taking a new direction, and instead of trying to stand, they are trying to tumble down, and would doubtless feel grateful to the first high wind for relief." Immediately on the abolishment of the district system, they "set about to establish a new condition of things, choosing a committee to examine locations for school-houses, make estimates and furnish plans, &c." The next year a large school-building was erected in the center of the town for the accommodation of five graded schools, with six well-furnished, convenient rooms, besides a hall in the upper story, and a basement for heating apparatus, etc.

The Committee of another town, in a report just before the district system was abolished, in speaking of one district school-house, say that "twenty-five children sat upon the floor for lack of benches, because the people did not care enough to provide them;" and that there were "four other districts, where school-houses were uninhabitable from dilapidation." Two years after the legislature abolished the system, the Committee say: "The liberal sums voted *by the town*, the past and present year, for building and repairing school-houses, is another evidence of a growing interest on the part of the people."

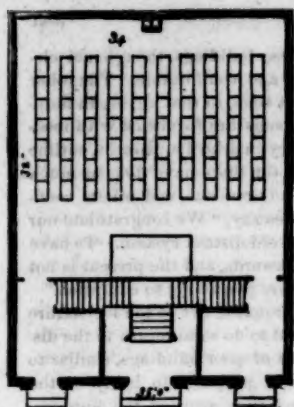
From the report of the committee of another town, in April, 1869, just before the abolishment of the district system, it appears that many of their school-houses were in a most deplorable condition. Of one, valued at \$50, it is said that "the doors and windows are so aged and loose as to admit the air so freely that it is almost impossible to warm it," and "we value it merely because, being of wood, it may be useful for fuel if taken down. It is really cruel to keep children and teachers in it." Another was valued at \$100. Others from \$300 to \$2,000. The valuation of one school-house, *then in use*, is said to be "absolutely nothing," "as no one could afford to take it away for the materials of which it is composed." "The walls are seamed with cracks, and great fissures yawn at the passer-by." "The doors are hacked and hewed." "The desks are old-fashioned, inconvenient and badly whittled." "The benches have no backs." "There are no means provided for ventilation, except where the six-by-eight panes of glass have been broken from the sashes." "In this single room the scholars of all ages and attainments" (there were 76 registered, with an average attendance of 51) "are indiscriminately crowded together, and must be educated to habits of carelessness, unthrift and untidiness. If this were an Illinois prairie instead of an old Massachusetts town, we should have a spacious and costly building of brick and stone, with departments of various grades, and teachers adapted to each one. Shall we not have such a building here?" And *the town, after the district system was abolished*, said they should, and with wise liberality at once proceeded to erect "a neat school-house to take the place of the crazy old brick affair," which had been so graphically described by the school committee. Other houses were speedily erected, and in their report, March, 1871, the committee say, "the school-houses under our care are generally in good condition."

Of another town having a population of less than 500, and a valuation of a little more than \$200,000, the committee say that *the town* voted in 1870 "to build three new houses, and to make extensive repairs upon

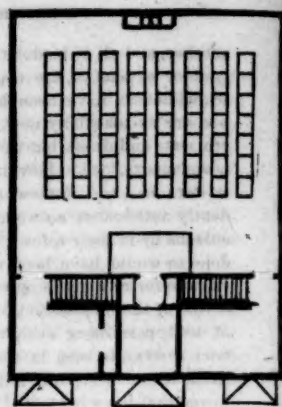
another, and all to be done this year. These buildings, though not elegant or expensive, are neat, commodious and comfortable. The other school-houses have been built but a short time, so that all, six in number, are substantially new. The school-rooms are furnished with modern seats and desks, but there is a deficiency in school apparatus, outline maps, charts," &c. Few, if any, towns in the State have done as much as Peru has, and in view of benefits already realized, and others confidently anticipated, no wonder the committee say, "We congratulate our citizens upon their refusal to return to the old district system. To have done so would have been an advance backwards, and the present is not the age for retrograde movements in matters pertaining to education."

One of the most serious evils resulting from the Act of the legislature of 1871, permitting such towns as desired to do so to return to the district system, is seen in the large number of poor buildings, similar to those above described, still used for school purposes, in many of the towns that have readopted the system, and thus arrested the improvement of their school-buildings, which the town is so much more able to effect than the district. Here is a case in point, and it is one of many that might be given. In 1867-8, the school committee of a certain town speak of "the dilapidated state of some of the school-houses." They say, "they may at some remote period have been an ornament to the hills or hollows they now disfigure, but that was a remote period, and they have outlived their beauty and their usefulness. There may be pleasant associations still lingering in the minds of the aged, which render them almost sacred; but the propriety of sacrificing the interests of the present generation to the sentiment of the past is doubtful. In some of the school-houses it is almost impossible for a pupil to keep comfortable in cold weather, except by an effort that leaves no thought or time for study; and their condition is such as to make him feel that he has, for some unaccountable reason, been confined in them as a punishment." In 1870, the school-houses are again spoken of as "a dishonor to the town," and the opinion was expressed that "the much-needed improvement of the school-houses would be one of the many advantages to be derived from the doing away with the district system." But, alas! after expending \$35 in 1869, and \$80 in 1870, for repairing their ten school-houses, very soon after the legislature passed the Act above alluded to, the town voted to return to the district system, and thus "the much-needed improvement of the school houses" was indefinitely postponed. Without prolonging this part of my Report, I cannot refrain, in closing it, from expressing the earnest conviction that if it had not been for the unfortunate Act, this "advance backward" in our educational interests by the legislature of 1871, I should not be compelled to speak of so many relics of the past which exist as "a dishonor to the towns" in which they are found, but could with great pleasure, and pride even, report to you that throughout the length and breadth of our good old Commonwealth "the condition of its school-houses" has everywhere been greatly improved, and is entirely satisfactory.

We are indebted to Mr. Phipps for the use of the following Plans, which illustrate his Special Report:



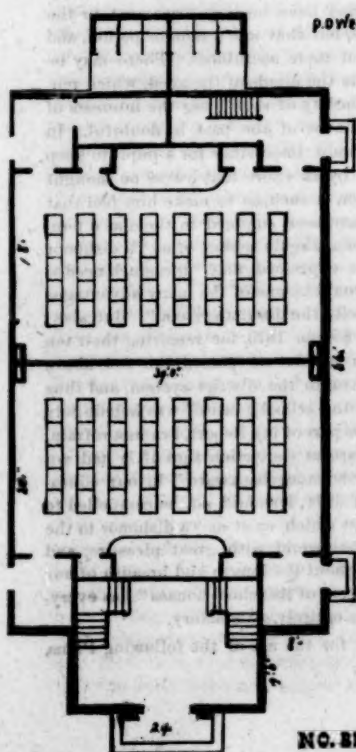
FIRST FLOOR



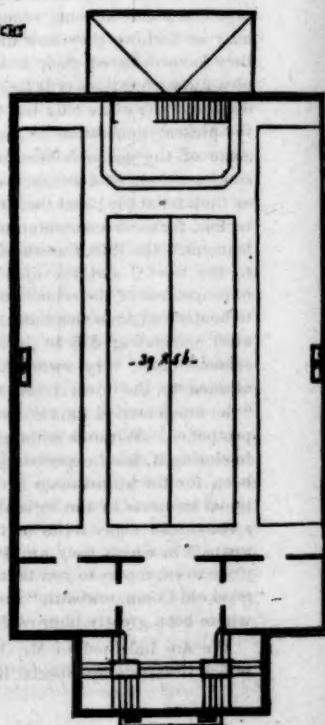
SECOND FLOOR

WHITINSVILLE

P. WEST. ARCHT



NO. BILLERICA



PLAN OF GRADED SCHOOL IN WHITINSVILLE (NORTHBIDGE).

This building is constructed of wood; exterior dimensions being forty-five feet by thirty-five feet, finished in two stories; the first arranged with school-room receiving its light from three large double windows on either side; measures thirty-two feet by thirty-four feet, and has seventy single desks for primary department; this story has also a separate entrance for pupils on either side of main vestibule, with conveniently arranged staircases to cellar-room.

The second story is reached by means of a wide double-staircase, and has accommodations for fifty-six pupils, the school-room being of same dimensions as the one below, with convenient clothing-rooms or entries and also teacher's private room, with book-closets directly in the rear of platform.

PLAN OF UNGRADED SCHOOL IN NORTHBIDGE CENTER.

This school-house is thirty-five feet by forty-five feet, located on a commanding lot of land, one hundred feet by one hundred and fifty feet, which is laid out with creditable skill. The building is of wood, with slated roof, finished in bracketed style. The school-room is thirteen feet high, arranged with single desks for sixty-four pupils; the disposition of light is like that of the building at Whitinsville, the windows being in the side walls; the internal walls are lined up to a convenient height with wood, and plastered above; the building can be readily enlarged by the addition of another story. The matter of ventilation and heating has been attended to in the most careful manner. The usual conveniences in the way of blackboard, tablets, entrances, cellar-stairs, closets, etc., are as presented in the plan.

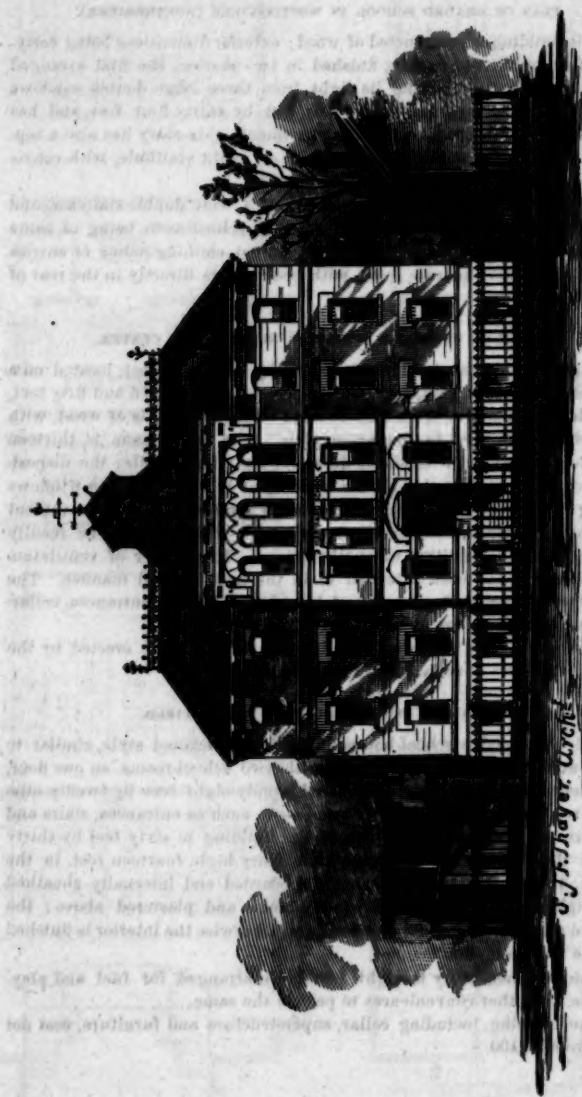
The contract for the three school-houses of this style erected by the town, exclusive of cellar and furnishing, was \$3,000.

PLAN OF UNGRADED SCHOOL IN BRIMFIELD.

This is a wooden school-house finished in bracketed style, similar to that at Whitinsville; is arranged with two school-rooms on one floor, eighteen feet by twenty-nine feet and twenty-eight feet by twenty-nine feet respectively; the other conveniences, such as entrances, stairs and closets, make up the dimensions of the building to sixty feet by thirty feet; the building is at present one story high, fourteen feet in the clear; the walls externally being clapboarded and internally sheathed throughout to the height of window-stools and plastered above; the school-rooms are sheathed overhead, and otherwise the interior is finished in the most complete manner.

The basement-story is eight feet high, arranged for fuel and play-rooms, and other conveniences to perfect the same.

The building, including cellar, superstructure and furniture, cost not far from \$3,100.



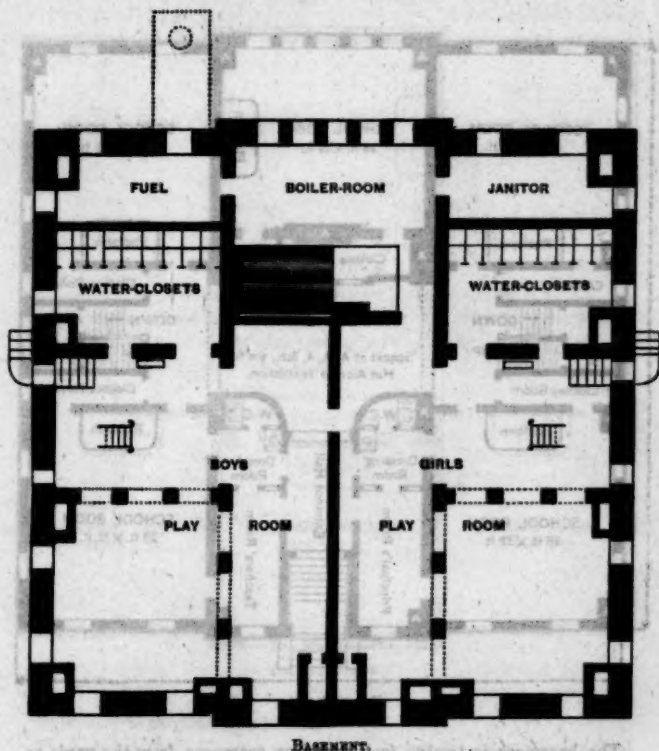
HARVARD GRAMMAR SCHOOL, CHARLESTOWN, MASS.

PLANS FOR CITIES.

THE HARVARD GRAMMAR SCHOOL IN CHARLESTOWN.

The building for the Harvard Grammar School in Charlestown* was dedicated Feb. 23, 1872, and cost, with site and equipment, \$130,835.

From whatever point it may be viewed, the exterior presents a very solid and substantial appearance, it being the object of the architect to

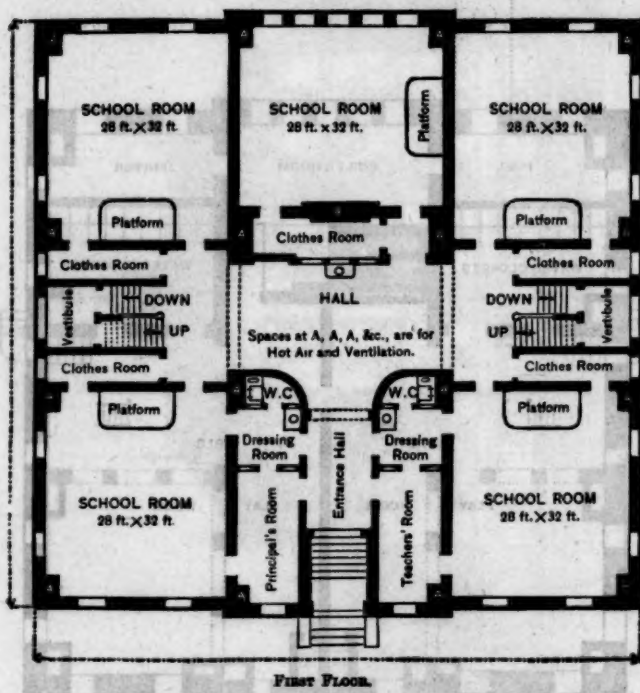


produce a building elegant and symmetrical in its proportions, without incurring useless expense in meretricious ornamentation; it is three stories in height, exclusive of a high basement. The walls are faced with pressed bricks and trimmed with granite from Maine.

* By action of the legislature, and the concurrent vote of the legal voters of the cities of Charlestown and Boston, the city is now included in the chartered limits of Boston.

The roof is "hipped," covered with slate, and surmounted by an iron cresting of pleasing pattern; the cornice of the front central projection is carried above the general level of the cornice of the main building, covered with a roof of steeper pitch and longer rafter, and crowned with an iron finial and vane of bold design, making this a striking and emphatic feature of the building when seen from any point on Bow Street.

The building is set in the middle of a lot, which allows of spacious yards in front and on each side for play-grounds.

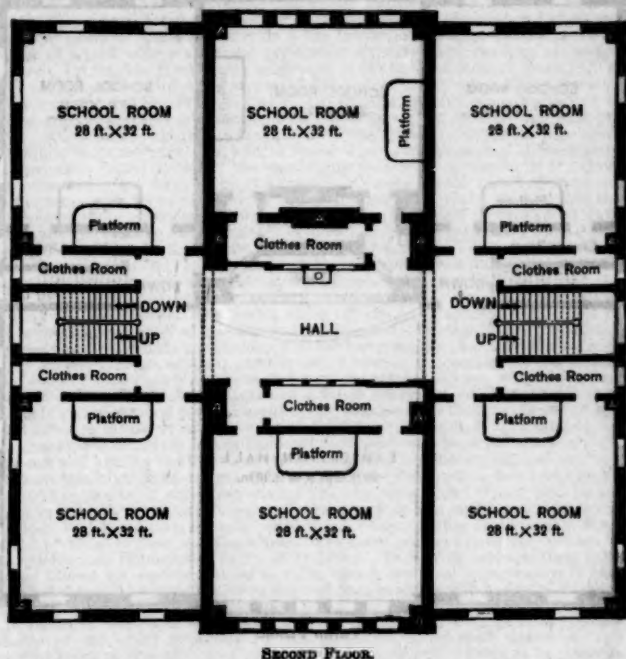


The basement is twelve feet high, has entrances from the yards on either side, and contains, in addition to the heating apparatus and fuel-rooms, light, spacious and well-ventilated play-rooms for the boys and girls—for use during inclement weather—with which are connected the water-closets; from each play-room is a flight of stairs leading to the first floor.

Entering the building from the front we find on either side of the entrance-hall, comfortable and commodious rooms for the use of the

principal and committee, with which are connected dressing-rooms and water-closets for the male and female teachers.

There are also on this floor five school-rooms, each twenty-eight by thirty-two feet, having in connection the requisite clothes-rooms. Transversely through the building runs a corridor fourteen feet wide, from each end of which start broad flights of stairs of easy ascent, leading to the second floor, and down to the vestibules connected with the entrances from the yards. This corridor is well lighted by means of a large mulioned window at each end.



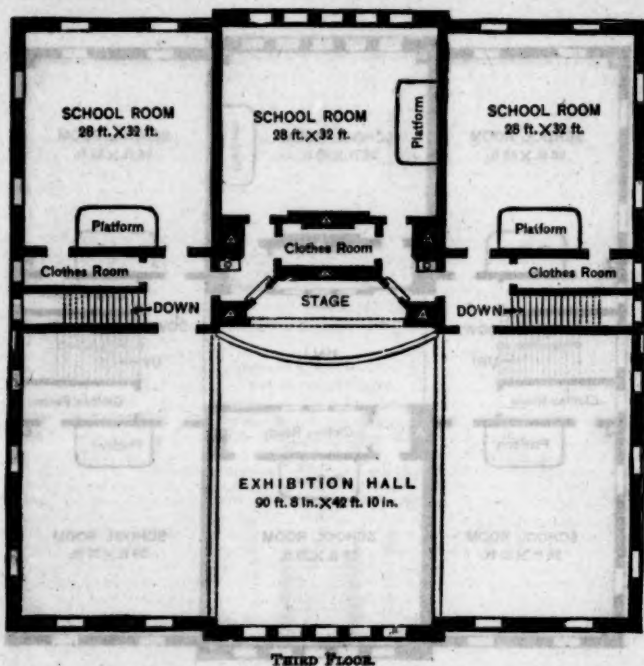
This story is thirteen feet high.

The peculiarity of the plan of this floor is that the space usually used for a sixth school-room is devoted to a front entrance, committee and principal's rooms as described above.

The second story is of the same height as the first, and contains six school-rooms of the same dimensions, with clothes-rooms. The corridor is in every respect similar to that on the first floor.

The third story contains three school-rooms of the same dimensions as those in the first and second stories, and thirteen feet high, with

clothes-rooms. The exhibition-hall is in the front portion of the building, and occupies its whole width and about half its depth, being ninety feet eight inches by forty-two feet ten inches, and nineteen feet six inches in height; it is well-lighted on three sides by large windows, among which is an arcade of lancet-shaped windows of liberal height, which is introduced with admirable effect; at the other side of the hall and directly opposite this arcade is a recess for the stage, which is of ample dimensions.



The principal partitions throughout are of solid brickwork, the inside finish is of soft brown ash, with hard-pine floors, platforms and stairs, and every arrangement is made for the comfort and convenience of the teachers and pupils which experience could suggest. The building is warmed by steam, and the ventilation received the most careful study and attention from the architect, Mr. Samuel J. F. Thayer, of Boston.

The classrooms are flooded with pure air, heated to the requisite temperature in winter, and the air which has lost its vitality and purity is drawn off into flues, whose exhaustive power is increased by their position in the building.

II. MILITARY EDUCATION IN 1870.

The London *Times* of August 23, 1876, comments on the nature and extent of the changes introduced into the military schools and education of officers by the Council of Military Education since 1860, following the second Report of the Director-General issued in 1876:

Staff College.

To begin with the Staff College, it is satisfactory to find that the more practical direction given to the course of studies at that institution in 1870, when the compulsory study of mathematics was largely replaced by a more extended reading and practice of military history, military administration, fortification, and reconnaissance, has been attended with the best results. More officers have come forward for examination, and experience has shown that the present course of study is a far better preparation for the work required of a staff officer than the previously existing high reading of mathematics. During the three years embraced in the present Report (from 1873 to 1875 inclusive) 124 candidates presented themselves at the competitive entrance examinations for the Staff College. Of this number 86 were examined at home, and 38 at foreign stations; 45.3 per cent. of the former, and 52.6 per cent. of the latter, obtaining admission to the College. Of those who were examined at home only 17.4, and of those who were examined abroad only 13.1 per cent. failed to obtain the qualifying *minimum* of marks in the three subjects which are held to be obligatory. Comparing the result of these examinations with those held during the preceding four years, we find that the average number of competitors per annum has increased from 37.5 to 41.3; while the percentage of candidates disqualified in the obligatory subjects is only 16.1 as compared with 20.7 in the former period. Turning to the Final Examinations, we find that 54 officers who had undergone the whole course of study prescribed by the Regulations, were examined at the College during the years 1873-5, and that of these, while two passed with "honors," none failed. During the same period, also, seven other officers have availed themselves of the opportunity afforded by the revised Regulations of 1870, for presenting themselves at the final examination without having gone through the course of study at the College, and all passed; one, however, succeeding at his second trial only. With regard to the studies pursued at the College, we observe that the execution of reconnaissances on a large scale, an exercise which was strongly recommended by the Royal Commission, and which forms one of the most favorite means of education in all Continental armies, is continued under the immediate direction of the Commandant, and also that the study of military art and history has been largely developed. The more extended reading of these latter subjects cannot fail to bear good fruit, since there can be no doubt that lessons of vital importance may be thus learnt which will be applied practically in time of need. Another step in the right direction is the practice, which has been recently introduced, of employing in succession for a period of three or four months officers who have passed out of the College in the Intelligence Department of the War Office. During this service their individual fitness for various duties is fully tested, and an opportunity is also afforded them of acquiring a knowledge of details which will be useful to them in their after career as staff officers.

In the same way that the special mission of the Staff College is to prepare officers of the army generally for the performance of staff duties, so the peculiar work of the advanced class of Royal Artillery officers is to prepare officers of the latter branch of the service for appointments in the Royal Arsenal, the Small Arms Factories, Gunpowder Factories, Royal Laboratory, &c. Owing to various circumstances, the class was, a few years ago, temporarily suspended; but on the 1st of October, 1874, it was reopened at the Royal Artillery Institution, eight officers joining it, only three of whom were lieutenants. Here, as at the Staff College, very material alterations have been made in the course of study; in this case, in consequence of recommendations made by a special committee appointed to thoroughly investigate the subject, the regular course of study has been reduced from two years to 18 months' duration, and officers are now allowed to pursue their studies in their own quarters, although they are required to attend, as a class, the lectures on metallurgy, chemistry, physics, and mechanism, and the instruction in professional subjects. As at the Staff College, the final examination is also now open to all officers of the Royal Artillery, and an opportunity of undergoing a higher examination is offered to all those who pass, whether they have gone

through the prescribed course of study or not, should they be desirous of obtaining "honors" in any particular subjects.

Royal Military Academy.

Turning now to the establishments for the education of the junior officers of the Army—the Royal Military Academy and the Royal Military College—we find that in the former institution only very slight and unimportant alterations in the details of studies have been made. As was to be expected, however, the abolition of purchase and the introduction of the open competitive system of examination for first appointments to the other branches of the service has lessened both the number and the quality of the candidates for admission to the Royal Military Academy, the long and expensive course of study there naturally not being so attractive as the immediate commission, with pay, offered to successful candidates for the line. Since, however, as we shall presently see, it is now intended to remodel the College at Sandhurst on a basis similar to the Academy, it may be expected that candidates for the Royal Artillery will be once more forthcoming in as great numbers as before. The total number who have presented themselves at the entrance examinations during the last three years amounts to 1,113—namely, in 1873, 347; in 1874, 454; and in 1875, 312. Of these numbers, again, in 1873, 186 candidates qualified, and 191 were admitted into the Academy. In 1874, 242 qualified, and 109 were admitted; and in 1875, 193 qualified, and 101 were admitted. Of the aggregate number, therefore, 621 qualified and 324 were admitted, the proportion of disqualified candidates being 44.2 per cent.

Royal Military College.

In the meantime, the sister establishment of the Academy, the Royal Military College, has passed through a period of continuous change. In December, 1870, the cadet system, which had existed since the foundation of the College, was abolished, and the institution was reorganized to serve as a place for the instruction in certain professional subjects of sub-lieutenants of Cavalry and Infantry after they had, by serving 12 months with their regiments, acquired such a knowledge of drill and soldiering generally as would enable them to benefit fully by the proposed course of more theoretical study. The first division of these sub-lieutenants joined the College from their regiments in January, 1873; the establishment having been utilised during the period which had elapsed since the abolition of the cadet system for the instruction of certain young gentlemen who had passed the examination for direct commissions, but for whom there were not as yet sufficient vacancies upon the general list of sub-lieutenants. The plan of military education, however, thus introduced in January, 1873, did not succeed. Difficulties arose in maintaining the discipline necessary in an educational establishment among a large assemblage of young officers who had already enjoyed the comparative freedom and liberty of regimental life; and the consequence was that, early in 1875, a fresh set of regulations for the government of the College was issued, by which it was provided that the establishment should be in future used for the purpose of affording a special military education to sub-lieutenants before joining their respective regiments, and to other successful candidates in the competitive examination who might be waiting for vacancies. But this system of admitting to the College sub-lieutenants, who, although they have not actually joined their corps, are already commissioned officers, has not been found to work much better than the one it superseded, and consequently instructions have now been issued to the effect that after the end of the present year the students at the College shall be young men, whose commissions will be entirely dependent upon their conduct while undergoing instruction there, and upon their reaching a certain standard of professional knowledge. Moreover, not being gazetted as sub-lieutenants, the new class of students will not receive pay, but, on the contrary, will be required to pay a fixed sum yearly to defray the cost of their subsistence. Thus a return will be made, except as regards the nature and duration of the College course of study and the age of admission, to the cadet system which was in force up to the end of 1870. The course of study will continue to be limited, as now, to two terms, extending from the 10th of February to the 30th of July, and from the 10th of September to the 15th of December. The course of instruction will be confined, as it is at present, to the following subjects—namely, the Queen's Regulations and Orders for the Army, military law, tactics, field fortification, and the elements of permanent fortification, military topography and reconnaissance, drill, riding, gymnastics. With regard to the numbers who have passed through the College during the last three years, it appears that an aggregate of 330 sub-lieutenants have been

examined during that period—namely, 50 in 1873, 34 in 1874, and 236 in 1875. Of these 330, 36 succeeded in obtaining a first-class certificate, 110 were granted a second, and 57 a third-class certificate; while 17 failed to reach the necessary standard, and have, consequently, now to pass a similar examination within two years of the date of their commissions as sub-lieutenants, failing which they will be removed from the service. Besides these 330, however, 190 other sub-lieutenants have been examined on the Sandhurst course during the last three years. These were officers who were serving the required 12 months with their regiments prior to joining the Royal Military College when the system at that institution was changed. There being no longer any place for them at Sandhurst under the new plan, the task of preparing them for examination devolved upon the garrison instructors. Eight months were allowed for the preparation of each class, and the result of the examinations has been that 48 have obtained a first-class certificate, 43 a second, 19 a third, while 16 failed.

But the preparation of these sub-lieutenants has not been by any means the only work performed by the garrison instructors during the last three years. Forty-eight sub-lieutenants, who had failed in the several examinations at the Royal Military College, or who had been removed therefrom for breaches of discipline, also came to them for further instruction, and all, save nine, succeeded eventually in passing the prescribed examination. Of the nine, six having failed twice, have been required to resign their commissions. During the three years also 614 lieutenants have undergone instruction in the Special Army Examination Course, and 478 have passed the prescribed examination. In addition to the above, 111 officers, generally of superior rank, attended the garrison instructor's classes voluntarily, and, with one exception, obtained from the superintending officer certificates of qualification, and, finally, 37 sub-lieutenants of West Indian regiments have gone through the instructor's classes, and, with one exception again, were reported qualified. The issue of the General Order of the 1st of November, 1875, has also added largely to the work of garrison instructors. By this order, captains, before they can be considered eligible for promotion to the rank of major, are required to pass such an examination in tactics as shall show that they are acquainted with the standard works relating to the attack and defence of positions, advanced and rear guards and outposts, and that they can read a military map correctly, and dispose thereon a combined force of Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery under given conditions.

Such, then, is a brief summary of the nature and extent of the military education which has been imparted to the officers of the army during the last three years; and, from the review, it is evident that English officers now enjoy opportunities and facilities for acquiring professional knowledge fully equal to those possessed by officers of Continental Armies, while the result of the several examinations shows very clearly that they fully appreciate and are minded to largely avail themselves of the advantages offered them for perfecting themselves in the theory as well as in the practice of modern warfare.

The Report of the Royal Commission on Army Promotion, 1876, contains valuable information, and the opinions of prominent officers on the various modifications which have been recently made in the military system of England.

ARMY PROMOTION.

His Royal Highness (Duke of Cambridge), the Field Marshal Commanding-in Chief, says:

The power of filling any vacancy, since the abolition of purchase, belongs to the Secretary of War, or the Commander-in-Chief. The power is not exercised to the extent of doing away with seniority in regimental appointments. Practically, seniority regulates regimental promotion, but with rejection or selection wherever it is found advisable not to promote the regimental senior officer. That is the way at present; but if his Highness were succeeded by anybody who took a different view, it would be quite within his competency to have nothing but selection if he thought fit—so, at least, the witness understood. Regimental seniority, tempered and varied by selection (the expression is Lord Penance's), is the best system we can adopt at present, and it is a fair system. The regimental sentiment and feeling are really the backbone of all our Army arrangements. It must most decidedly be seniority in the regiment, and not in the Army. A change to the latter mode of reckoning service would simply destroy the regimental system. For exercising the discretion

which they have, the military authorities possess the confidential Reports, which now come in very regularly, of every officer; not the old Reports, which were in very general terms, but regular and distinct Reports upon the character and conduct of every officer in every regiment of the service.

Confidential Reports of Commanding Officers.

The great difficulty of selection is that each commanding officer looks upon cases from a different point of view. One man is extremely lenient, and another man is extremely the reverse; one man is very susceptible, perhaps, of any little slight, and of course all that comes out in the confidential views which he gives. The difficulty is to steer clear of injustice, and therefore, even when there are Reports against an officer, they would never be taken without making inquiries as to whether they are borne out by instances and circumstances which could be detailed. There is not the same danger with regard to Reports of merit as in the case of demerit. With demerit, the witness would always be extremely cautious. If he were well satisfied with the general officer's Report, which was in the same sense as the commanding officer's, he should not hesitate to act upon the joint Report; but if it were merely the commanding officer's Report, and the general officer said he could not give a decided opinion, his Highness would certainly, before acting to the detriment of an officer, take some measures to ascertain the facts of the case. The annual Reports have been kept ever since the abolition of purchase. They are all posted up and kept in volumes in a continuous history. A good many modifications have been made since the system was commenced, and there is one thing now introduced to which, his Highness thinks, the general commanding officer or the inspecting officer rather objects, but it is essential. It is now ordered that the officer who inspects is to have the answers filled in, or, at all events, explained, in the commanding officer's presence, at the inspection, so that the inspecting officer has an opportunity to judge as far as he can of the ground upon which such statements are made. Some General officers object to that, but it is extremely important, because you have the chance of seeing whether there is any favor or affection in anything that is stated. The system of reports is satisfactory.

While his Royal Highness thought that the power of rejection based upon the reports is an efficient method of securing promotion to the best man, he considered that the attempts to establish a system which, quite independent of demerit, should give promotion to marked merit would be open to very grave objection. You might, while intending to do the right thing, do injustice to officers who really are just as well worthy of consideration as those you select. There are about 6,000 officers in the Army, and it would be quite impossible for the Commander-in-Chief to investigate the comparative merits of those 6,000. Our service is so varied. Supposing it were like the German Army, where the whole service is at home, you might have much more facilities. With our Army one man may be engaged in beneficial and acceptable service in the field in India or elsewhere. Another may be serving in a bad climate in the West Indies. Yet the merits of the latter may be as great as those of the man who is serving very agreeably to himself in the field. Now, if you give all the profit and all the advantage to the field service and to favorably circumstanced corps, those unfortunate men who are in other parts of the world and have not the same advantage will be entirely left in the background. His Royal Highness admitted, in answer to a question, that active service is a means of disclosing merit; but he went on to say that during the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny, there were certain regiments that had not the advantage of being in either of them, and the career of the officers of those regiments would have been completely destroyed if you only looked at those who were serving in the field. Those who were doing garrison duty, by not having the opportunity of disclosing the merit which they possess in common with others, would suffer, and you could not maintain the Army on a just footing. Our service is so very varied and so very peculiar, we have so many incidents of service to deal with that even if you could work out such a system in any other Army, he was sure you could not in ours. There will always be cases in our Army where an individual has shown great merit and is worthy of selection, and by that the Service derives great benefit. But you would cause great injustice if you made that the rule. One set of men would by accident get the whole benefit, and others, who perhaps were quite as good men, would not have a chance. He therefore adhered to seniority in the regiment, though in selecting officers to become captains the senior lieutenants in other regiments had generally been taken.

Seniority is, no doubt, the most popular system in the Army. Of course you

will always have individuals who think that there is something about them that may bring them more prominently forward, and that they would get on quicker by selection, but the great bulk of the officers would prefer seniority.

Rapid Promotion by Special Capacity.

Lord Penzance now took his Royal Highness's opinion upon certain suggestions for pushing forward young men desirous of making the Army their profession, who had shown capacity. If they passed the Staff College, or in Indian languages, or if they served as adjutant, &c., might an artificial addition be made to their years of service which would give them a practical seniority in their regiment? The Duke of Cambridge thought that would be very objectionable. He was not at all sure that the officers who pass the Staff College were the best to be promoted. He should prefer taking the best regimental officers he could pick out, and would certainly give the class suggested no special advantages. They get already Staff appointments by going to the Staff College. The junior Staff appointments are always given to officers who have passed the College. As to the rest, it does not follow that because an officer passes in Hindustani, for instance, he is a good officer. Many great bookworms are very moderate officers. The Commander-in-Chief prefers a man who has led his company or his squadron well, and who is known by the testimony of the commanding officer to be a man to be relied upon at the outposts. No doubt, said Lord Penzance, mere literary acquirements form but one qualification for a good officer; and his Royal Highness replied that he did not object to them at all, but still he did not think you ought to rely on them solely. You ought not to give undue preponderance to them over really military requirements. Assenting to a different suggestion from the chairman in reference to the younger officers of a regiment, his Royal Highness said you would always be able to pick out the best man in a regiment from the feeling of a regiment. He would himself infinitely prefer to pick out the best man by regimental intuition than by any test examination. If he were to ask the commanding officers to recommend the best man for the Staff, he would get the best.

Appointment from the Staff College.

The principle of appointing from the Staff College has not been carried out hitherto to the full extent in the upper grades, the officers not having been of the rank to justify it; besides which, His Royal Highness prefers to have the power of putting his own hand on a man who he is satisfied would make a good Staff officer, rather than merely to look to those who have passed the College examination. Returning to promotion by "regimental intuition," his Royal Highness said that if by selection you promote men in the same regiment, you will destroy the regiment entirely. You can only promote out of the regiment. For instance, there were a great many lieutenants who went to Ashantee, and whenever you can you would give them a pull if they have been well thought of. You would select them for promotion on occasions when you do not want to give promotion in the regiment. The promotion was for service in the field and not merely for success in examination. His Royal Highness did not think the system could be carried out through the medium of unattached promotion. The difficulty would be to get an officer who was once promoted to unattached rank back into the service, because, of course, when promotion goes in a regiment, all the officers expect to have the benefit, unless there is some default. To take the case of the Crimean War. It was at one time the rule, and it was in the Warrant, that a man who got brevet rank in the field had a right to claim its conversion into substantive rank. That gave him positive rank in the Army; but some majors who then took substantive rank have never been brought back to this day, and, it is feared, never can be. They thought they were doing themselves a good turn in taking substantive rank, but there really has never been an opportunity of bringing them back. Good men have been lost and made discontented and unhappy. It would be just the same now, because if you are to have, as a rule, regimental promotion with rejection, very few, indeed, would be brought back from the Unattached List.

With regard to Staff appointments his Royal Highness thought the five years' rule ought to be maintained, but the military authorities ought to have very large powers to reappoint men who have shown themselves very capable of Staff appointments. They have, in fact, at present unlimited power. In the higher grades, the appointments are all made now by the selection of his Royal Highness in conjunction with his Staff, but he holds himself responsible. As a rule, he would not reappoint, but on emergencies he would look for men

who had been on the Staff, and he would select them at once, without any hesitation, whether they had had a Staff appointment lately or not. On the contrary, he should prefer them, and the feeling of the Army would be in favor of such a course. In ordinary times of peace a Staff appointment of five years is a good rule, and one which is to the advantage of the juniors; but he should never allow it to prevent him from reappointing a man who really showed very great merit in preference even to a man who had not been on the Staff. In the event of pressure he would take the man who would be most likely to prove himself an efficient Staff officer.

Brevet Promotion.

Officers now often imagine, when going on foreign service, that they are sure to get brevet. It is a great mistake. Unless they get some brevet promotion, they think they are discredited. Brevet should be the exception and not the rule; whereas the feeling appears to be now that brevet should be the rule, and non-brevet the exception. Brevet should, in general, be confined to distinguished personal service.

He wished he could say brevet promotion was not essential, but he did not see how we are to get out of it. Some have thought, and he himself thought, that in many cases, if you had a larger power of giving good service rewards, that would take the place of brevet in some respects, say £100 a year additional pay, or £50 additional pay to a captain, and so on, that would, to a certain extent take the place of brevet; but that would not give the man the pull that he has in Army rank, because, of course, the advantage in Army rank is very great. Take the case of an officer who had recently distinguished himself very much. He had very good luck, and he knew how to avail himself of it, but he was only a substantive major when he was promoted to general officer, and if he had not had his Army rank by brevet he would not have been where he was now. If you do away with brevet a good many men could never come to the front at all. It is much less objectionable than the selection of men for a higher substantive rank, which would be hurtful to many officers. This injures no one, and yet puts a man forward. A good service pension would not give the advantage gained in that way. The reason why unattached promotion would not be so good lies in the difficulty of getting the man back to full pay. A man who receives brevet rank remains on full pay.

Entrance by Competitive Examination.

The system of entrance into the Army through a competitive examination has not as yet produced much change. If there is any at all, perhaps it is that it has excluded some men whom otherwise we should be glad to see in the Army; but it is very early to give any decided opinion. Competitive examination is, however, most objectionable. The only good system is a qualifying examination. You may put the qualifying examination as high as you like; you may make it higher than the competitive even if you like; but by competitive examination you lose some of the very best officers you could possibly have in the Army. It is quite a mistake to suppose that because you are to have a qualifying examination it is not to be a high one. It rests with the authorities to decide how high it should be. But the moment you make it competitive, you exclude a large number of men who have not had the same instruction as some of their neighbors. You give a commission to the highest intellectual acquirements, and no other considerations are taken into account. These acquirements are by no means the only quality wanted in an officer. "I am all for examination," his Royal Highness continued, "but I am for a qualifying examination, which, according to the circumstances of the day, you can put as high or as low as you like." The moment you make it competitive you are obliged rigidly to adhere to the results of that system. A certain amount of acquired knowledge should be a *sine quâ non*, but a competitive examination gives you a great many men whose actual scientific acquirements are higher than you would get if it was only a qualifying examination, while it is very doubtful if you would get as good officers. Some of the men with the highest qualifications in respect of acquirements, the most skilful in languages, have indeed had other qualities combined, and they are just the men you would like to have; but you would not lose those men if you had a high qualifying examination, whereas, when you come down to men of rather lower acquirements, you may find a very fine fellow who has not the same ability for study, and although the man who studied with him may be a very inferior man in physique, yet he gets the preference. The two conditions, mental and physical, might be combined.

PROFESSIONAL STUDIES—LITERATURE.

AMERICAN AUTHORITIES.

JAMES A. HILLHOUSE.

PROFESSION OF LETTERS PAST AND PRESENT.*

WHILE comparing the opinions prevalent at different periods, the question sometimes rises in the mind, whether the profession of Letters be not fallen from the rank it once held in the estimation of mankind. If the spectacle presented by the Ancient world of Philosophers, Orators, and Poets, worshiped in their own day, as well as canonized by after times;—of Lyceums, Academies, and Philosophic gardens, so illustrious as to decide the nomenclature of their age;—of literary contests before ten thousand auditors;—of histories and tragedies, pronounced before assembled Greece;—of the greatest conqueror of antiquity, avowedly manifesting his conception of the Iliad by his life and actions;—if these be deemed allusions to times too remote, turn to the Middle Ages. Behold all Europe, arrayed under the banners of Plato and Aristotle, combating for subtleties, which neither party understood, with the animosity of Guelfs and Ghibellines: consider the universities of Paris and Oxford, with their twenty-five and thirty thousand students: enumerate in the halls of Cambridge, Salamanca, Bologna, Orleans, Bourges, Montpellier, and Salerno, the eager and enthusiastic multitudes. Follow those, who first caught the irradiation of reviving letters, in their painful and dangerous pilgrimages through Italy, France, and Spain;—ransacking the dusty receptacles of monastic lore for classic treasures. Mark their exultation; and hear the answering acclaim on the discovery of a manuscript. See sovereign Princes defending the Faith with peaceful weapons, and disputing the prize with their own poets, and prowess Knights defying Trouvères and Troubadours to literary strife.

* From an Address by James A. Hillhouse (son of James Hillhouse, New Haven, Conn., eminent for his practical ability in public affairs as member of the State and National Legislature, and as Commissioner of the School Fund), author of *Hedad, Discourses on Lafayette*, and other publications (from 1812 to 1830) which were issued in a collected form in two volumes in 1830. He was born in 1780 and died in 1841—exhibiting, in his quiet literary studies and activity, a beautiful example of the professional man of letters.

These, and similar indices of the times, are too familiar to need enumerating: but the world at large lay in the shadow of ignorance. Knowledge was the purchase of prodigious toil, and they who achieved its honors were regarded with envy and admiration. The famished intellect once roused, however, to a sense of its necessities, grew clamorous for supplies. A book became a treasure,—feasted on,—ruminated,—kept in contact with the feelings,—and thus into the fused and heated mind could transmit its coloring and vitality. No multiplicity of entertainment paralyzed curiosity,—no skimming of magazines, themselves the skimmings of things as worthless,—no trumpery annuals, no frothy monthlies, troubled mankind:—no *light reading* then filled with fumes and vapor the receptacle of knowledge.

But though fewer books, more lovingly mastered, may have formed more vigorous and thinking intellects; and though the wreath of genius darted intenser splendor through the surrounding gloom; it is far from following, that the profession of letters enjoyed a greater amount of honor. More idolatry may have been lavished on its chief ornaments; but its aggregate respect and consideration must be in some degree proportioned to the *numbers* who can appreciate its claims. Measuring in this way, a comparison can not stand. Instead of a few long-lost volumes, rescued from the ruins of ancient learning, and transferred to the cabinets of Kings, or the collections of the wealthy, we see books multiplied into household articles. Knowledge no longer glimmers like the streaks of the far-off dawn; but, like the risen luminary, penetrates the casement of the cottage as well as cloistered windows. Instead of tens and hundreds, thousands and millions now gather the fruit of learning, and feel the electric stroke of genius.

RELATIVE RANK OF LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.

Were we to weigh systems of intellectual philosophy, histories, and poems, against the scientific applications of steam, and the necromancy of chemistry,—a chapter of Locke against a party pamphlet,—the richest portion of the Faerie Queene, against the maps, sections, submarine, and subterranean, wonders of the Geologists, and accept the decision of the multitude, such anticipations might not seem fantastic. Were there no transient tastes,—no exhausting of all things that relate to mere matter,—could science proceed in affecting changes for centuries to come with the same success as during the last fifty years;—could we hope indeed to pry into the planets, and regale ourselves like *Bergerac* or *Astolpho* amidst the wonders of the Moon,—it would be excusable to fear

the utter absorption of studious minds in scientific researches, and of the world's curiosity in watching their astonishing results. But for gifted men, who see as through an optic tube the instructive past, and are able to reach an independent estimate of the value and dignity of human pursuits; to despair of those which relate to the mind itself,—which feed its essence, preserve its purity, and impart its radiance,—is a pusillanimous desertion of their own convictions, and a denial of the lessons of experience.

Is it not glaringly unphilosophical, to rank secondary to its mere instruments what is coëssential to the moving agent!—to sink to the level of the laws of matter, the interests of the very power by whose restless searchings they were brought to light!—Shall we indeed admit the classifications of the mineral and vegetable kingdoms;—theories respecting the structure of the globe;—disputed dogmas for the accumulation of wealth;—or mooted points of politics,—to bind, as to its noblest task, that principle which can expound its own interior mysteries;—which can disclose the secrets and draw the moral of departed ages;—which can climb up into heaven, and go down into hell, and can take the wings of the morning?

That, on which individual refinement and social happiness depend,—which humanizes the heart, embellishes the imagination, acquaints reason with its objects, and conscience with its duties,—is a higher pursuit than naked science. The great Masters of Literature need not shrink from the comparison. They administer in things invisible, and not made with hands; but they belong to a mightier dispensation, and the relations they establish can not terminate with material worlds.—Let not these remarks be misunderstood. Science is the pivot, and axis, of the machine of life;—many of its lessons are wonderful and sublime; and we have all had the good fortune to see united in its professors the graces of letters with the utmost intellectual exactness. Nothing more is intended than to place the cause of Literature on its true elevation, and to answer the reproaches so often cast upon it by men of one idea, or of unreflective habits, as unprofitable to its followers, and useless to society,—not seeming to be aware that society itself, in their acception of the term, could not subsist, if its treasures and spirit were swept away.

LITERATURE AS A TITLE TO RESPECT.

Wealth, talents, and high birth, with its usual concomitants, have heretofore divided the homage of mankind. One of these titles to respect, namely, ancestral distinction, we have deemed inconsistent with weightier interests. But, among our British progenitors, it

was recognized in its fullest extent, and guarded by privileges that erected the Anglo-Norman Aristocracy into the most powerful and high-spirited class in feudal Europe. Participators with the Conqueror in the hazards and glory of his enterprise, they were rewarded with ample territories. Drawing around them their battlements, and discharging amidst their own feudatories the functions of independent princes, their spirits grew too haughty to brook the arbitrary sway of their acknowledged sovereigns. Singly or combined, they remonstrated, resisted, imposed restrictions, extorted charters,—till the Nimrods who griped the English scepter were tamed, and paled in by ordinances. Though turbulent and quarrelsome when without weightier occupation, under a popular, that is, a warlike monarch, and against a foreign foe, the Aristocracy were foremost in danger and prodigal of their blood. But the People were made of the same thews and sinews as their nobles. They, too, felt the Teutonic stream bounding in their veins: they bethought them of rights, and began to parley with their hands upon their hilts. By degrees, they framed an organ, and through it have persisted in making themselves heard, till the whisper of the *Commons* has become formidable to their once lawless masters.

This 'old and haughty nation' is our progenitor; and under the influences above described, were born and educated the Patriarchs of the American States. These remarkable men have received their meed too often to leave a trait to be disclosed. You know their primitive and martyr-like faith, their abhorrence of tyranny, and their resolution to encounter every hazard, for a greater share of political and religious freedom. Parting, in dissatisfaction, with their native land, suffering every physical extremity, and the rupture of bonds that wound deeper than the flesh; they naturally resolved,—if human courage, and human will, under the favor of Heaven, could do it,—to *secure their objects*. When, therefore, in process of time, principles which they deemed subversive of these objects, were pressed upon them, the spirit in which they had ever acted sprang into distincter action. The father found it necessary to abandon his natal soil; the descendant found it necessary to abandon the parent government. As domestic quarrels are bitter, and we are the sons of men who participated in that with Britain, it would not be strange if we had grown up with an exaggerated and rather unphilosophical dislike of some of her outward forms, and with a blind admiration of the faultless excellence of our own. That we, abstractly as men, are superior to our English forefathers,

would be hard to prove. If, as members of a political community, we excel them in virtue, or juster notions of human rights, we owe that superiority to circumstances. The Anglo-Norman Government has endured nearly eight centuries: under it have appeared examples of genius, virtue, and valor, not surpassed in the annals of our species; and, with an handbreath of territory, it is still great and glorious among the nations.

Our history *begins* with the abandonment of time-honored things, and the disruption of old attachments. We have no antiquity, no ancestral prejudices, to honor. We have, as it were, built an empire in a day, and *one* of our dangers is indicated by symptoms of too slightly reverencing the work of our own hands. Reformers by trade,—despisers of things cumbrous, or antiquated,—to alter,—to build anew—are our amusement and delight; and we flatter ourselves, that in these matters, we excel all ancient and modern architects. Having no *bias* toward a state of rest,—no anchoring feelings,—is there not risk of some day drifting before wild opinions, or steering by some less faithful instrument than that which we have heretofore trusted?—We present the spectacle of a people risen suddenly to the dignity of a primary Power, without an individual among the millions who can call himself, in a political sense, better than his neighbor. There is before our eyes no order of men whose birth places them, at once and for ever, on the summits of life, whence they can calmly view the complex scene of human action. Among us, all are breathless and pursuing; all mixed in the dust and conflict of the course. None stands, like our national emblem on the cliff,

'and rolls his eye,
Clear, constant, unobscured, unabased,
In the cold light above the dews of morn.'

Hence, no examples of *character* can be formed among us wholly exempt from popular influences. The vantage of instructed leisure,—the power and dignity of immense wealth as a natural birthright,—a noble theatre of action insured by the laws, where patriotism can act, and eloquence persuade, without asking leave of the multitude,—the impulse to high, perhaps to proud sentiments, which a name transmitted through a long and glorious line tends to inspire,—all these are influential *causes*; and have shot downwards through the gentry and people of England a tone of sentiment salutary in that commercial nation.

We are far from regretting, that some of these influences are not found here; for there is a *reverse* to the picture; and we have

chosen to look to other conservative principles. Our allegiance is sworn to a Mistress of higher than regal lineage, and more than Queenly beauty;—whose cheek reveals the dawn, that many martyrs have died to hasten;—whose adorning jewels, are the tears of the oppressed, worn in remembrance of a day of liberation. To assert that allegiance, these States would rise, we firmly believe, against the World!—With this declaration of political faith, and the assurance, that no allusion will be had to any individual, or party, we hope to be indulged in the utmost freedom of remark.

With no constitutional superiors; responsible only to magistrates of their own choosing; being the fountains of power, and the dispensers of office, and therefore flattered by the venal, as *all-wise, all-good*; is there no danger lest the People become heady? aspire to dictate in things they can not understand? mistake lawlessness for freedom, and licentiousness for liberty?—Whence proceed the out-breakings of popular violence through the land?—Whence comes the fierce, the deepening clamor for the *People's* right,—namely, men whose skill is with the plowshare, and the workman's hammer,—to *instruct* their legislators,—to govern, like automata, those whom they have selected, or *ought* to have selected, for their integrity and wisdom, and whose decisions common sense would leave to judgment and conscience, enlightened by debate?

Many of our faults, much of our danger, are chargeable on a *reckless Press*. No institutions, or principles, are spared its empiric handling. The most sacred axioms of jurisprudence, the most unblemished public characters, the vital points of constitutional policy and safety, are dragged into discussion, and exposed to scorn, by presumptuous scribblers, from end to end of the nation, simply because bread is a necessary of life to them, and politics to the people. Made masters, as they imagine, of the gravest interests by these shallow and mischievous disquisitions, some become puffed up with a dangerous conceit of their own intelligence;—others, misled, by falsities, err with right intentions;—and thousands corrupted by the abuse heaped, in turn, on all men and all measures, lose their belief in political virtue, and cease to reverence any thing.

So torpid in our moral sense, and so short-sighted our policy, that, from trivial motives, we patronize public prints, whose conductors we *believe*, and *admit*, to be profligate; we help to diffuse their pestilential matter through the land, and then murmur, and tremble, at the plague-spots which break out upon the people. No

other nation has passed in so short a time from the use, to the abuse, of this tremendous engine.

The standard of national taste and acquirement is thus exposed to depreciation. Men lose their intellectual ardor, their sensibility to glory; they are paralyzed by an atmosphere whose influence they can not resist, and will not yield to,—in which laurels wither, and garlands fade.—Look around and look back: compare the public men of our later, with those of our earlier day; and be yourselves the judges. Number the illustrious heads whom you would now bow down to with irresistible respect. Where are they!—Whom do we trust or reverence!—Where is our cohort of civic wisdom! where is the solitary example of unslandered patriotism!—Yet with our physical increase, extending fame, and independent rank, one would suppose *motives* might be found, inspiring enough to carry us onward in intellectual and moral glory.

The passion for office, and the parties which it combines and inspires, fills the country with disquiet, the villages with dissension, the cities with violence; it troubles our hearts with bitterness, our firesides with disputes, and the universal atmosphere with conflicting falsehoods. It frightfully expedites that corruption, which all history teaches to be sufficiently inseparable from a nation's growing wealth. It engenders heart-burnings in these States, whose smothered embers will break out in future mischief. It has struck alarm into the hearts of the most sagacious statesmen, and drawn from them bodings which ought to sink deeply into ours.

Politics and the *Love of Money* control our hearts, and direct our energies, with an exclusiveness not elsewhere found. In Greece, literary and intellectual distinction, in Rome, military glory, in Europe, political privileges and noble blood, left mere wealth a secondary title to consideration. *Here*, there is nothing to refine, nothing to limit, its injurious influence. This is our *other Demon*. He is an arrogant, yet a base spirit. In his need,—he boweth,—he subserveth,—he waiteth to take advantage,—he speaketh double meanings,—he hath a covetous eye upon his neighbor,—he pincheth,—he hoardeth. Over the wheels of his splendor, he crieth to Learning, to Genius, to Philanthropy:—‘What have ye been about all your days, unfortunate foot passengers!’—Precluded, as we are, from founding families, the desire is aggravated to accumulate rapidly while there is a span of life to enjoy: possessing no touchstone of rank, all imagine, that wealth will admit them, especially in the cities, to upper seats, and they are impatient to occupy. But alas!

no sooner are we transferred from dust, toil, and parsimony to the far-off and brilliant firmament of Fashion, than cruel apprehensions assail us, lest our stellary position should lose its luster by fresh intruders from our native sphere!

CORRECTIVE FORCE OF LITERATURE.

But how can this excess be reclaimed? To whom shall it be resigned? What force can now unclench the giant grasp of the People!—The young Titan has risen up, and shaken his 'invincible locks,' and proved his surpassing strength.—Though he can not be deprived of his power, may not his eyes be enlightened, his heart be refined, his purposes and aims made beneficent and wise? Therein lies our hope!—And in casting about for the means of opposing the *sensual, selfish, and mercenary* tendencies of our nature, (the real Hydra of free institutions), and of so elevating man, as to render it not chimerical to expect from him the safe ordering of his steps, no mere human agency can be compared with the resources laid up in the great TREASURE-HOUSE OF LITERATURE.—There, is collected the accumulated experience of ages,—the volumes of the historian, like lamps, to guide our feet:—there stand the heroic patterns of courage, magnanimity, and self-denying virtue:—there, are embodied the gentler attributes, which soften and purify, while they charm, the heart:—there lie the charts of those who have explored the deeps and shallows of the soul:—there, the dear-bought testimony, which reveals to us the ends of the earth, and shows, that the girdle of the waters is nothing but their Maker's will:—there stands the Poet's harp, of mighty compass, and many strings:—there hang the deep-toned instruments through which patriot eloquence has poured its inspiring echoes over oppressed nations:—there, in the sanctity of their own self-emitted light, repose the Heavenly Oracles. This glorious fane, vast, and full of wonders, has been reared and stored by the labors of Lettered Men; and *could* it be destroyed, mankind might relapse to the state of savages.

MOTIVES AND OBJECTS FOR YOUNG MEN OF WEALTH AND LEISURE.

A restless, discontented, aspiring, immortal principle, placed in a material form, whose clamorous appetites, bitter pains, and final languishing and decay, are perpetually at war with the peace and innocence of the spiritual occupant; and have, moreover, power to jeopard its lasting welfare; is the mysterious combination of Human Nature! To *employ* the never-resting faculty; to *turn off* its desires from the dangerous illusions of the senses to the ennobling

enjoyments of the mind; to place before the high-reaching principle, *objects* that will excite, and reward, its efforts, and, at the same time, not unfit a thing immortal for the probabilities, that await it when time shall be no more;—these are the legitimate aims of a *perfect education*.

Left to the scanty round of gratifications supplied by the senses, or eked by the frivolous gayeties which wealth mistakes for pleasure, the unfurnished mind becomes weary of all things and itself. With the capacity to feel its wretchedness, but without tastes or intellectual light to guide it to any avenue of escape, it gropes round its confines of clay, with the sensations of a caged wild beast. It riseth up, it moveth to and fro, it lieth down again. In the morning it says, Would God it were evening! in the evening it cries, Would God it were morning! Driven in upon itself, with passions and desires that madden for action, it grows desperate; its vision becomes perverted; and, at last, vice and ignominy seem preferable to what the great Poet calls '*the hell of the lukewarm*.' Such is the end of many a youth, to whom authoritative discipline and enlarged teaching might have early opened the interesting spectacle of man's past and prospective destiny. Instead of languishing,—his mind might have throbbed, and burned, over the trials, the oppressions, the fortitude, the triumphs, of men and nations:—breathed upon by the life-giving lips of the Patriot, he might have discovered, that he had not only a country to love, but a head and a heart to serve her:—going out with Science, in her researches through the universe, he might have found, amidst the secrets of Nature, ever-growing food for reflection and delight:—ascending where the Muses sit, he might have gazed on transporting scenes, and transfigured beings; and snatched, through heaven's half-unfolded portals, glimpses unutterable of things beyond.

The mischievous, and truly American notion, that, to enjoy a respectable position, every man must *traffic*, or *preach*, or *practice*, or *hold an office*, brings to beggary and infamy, many who might have lived, under a juster estimate of things, usefully and happily; and cuts us off from a needful, as well as ornamental, portion of society. The necessity of laboring for sustenance is, indeed, the great safeguard of the world, the *ballast*, without which the wild passions of men would bring communities to speedy wreck. But man will not labor without a *motive*; and successful accumulation, on the part of the parent, deprives the son of this impulse. Instead, then, of vainly contending against laws, as insurmountable as those of physics,

and attempting to *drive* their children into lucrative industry, why do not men, who have made themselves opulent, open their eyes, at once, to the glaring fact, that the *cause*,—the cause itself,—which braced their own nerves to the struggle for fortune, does not exist for their offspring! *The father has taken from the son his motive!*—a motive confessedly important to happiness and virtue, in the present state of things. He is bound, therefore, by every consideration of prudence and humanity, neither to attempt to drag him forward without a cheering, animating principle of action,—nor recklessly to abandon him to his own guidance,—nor to poison him with the love of lucre for itself; but, under new circumstances,—with new prospects,—at a totally different starting-place from his own,—to supply *other motives*,—drawn from our sensibility to reputation,—from our natural desire to know,—from an enlarged view of our capacities and enjoyments,—and a more high and liberal estimate of our relations to society. Fearful, indeed, is the responsibility of leaving youth, without mental resources, to the temptations of splendid idleness! Men who have not considered this subject, while the objects of their affection yet surround their table, drop no seeds of generous sentiments, animate them with no discourse on the beauty of disinterestedness, the paramount value of the mind, and the dignity of that renown which is the echo of illustrious actions. Absorbed in one pursuit, their morning precept, their mid-day example, and their evening moral, too often conspire to teach a single maxim, and that in direct contradiction of the inculcation, so often and so variously repeated: 'It is better to get wisdom than gold.' Right views, a careful choice of agents, and the delegation, *betimes*, of strict authority, would insure the object. Only let the parent feel, and the son be early taught, that, with the command of money and leisure, to enter on manhood without having mastered every attainable accomplishment, is more disgraceful than threadbare garments, and we might have the happiness to see in the inheritors of paternal wealth, less frequently, idle, ignorant prodigals and heart-breakers, and more frequently, high-minded, highly-educated young men, embellishing, if not called to public trusts, a private station.

With such a class ornamenting the circles of our chief cities, we should soon see a modification of claims. The arrogance of simple wealth would stand rebuked, before the double title of those who supersadded intellectual distinction. Accomplished minds, finding the air of fashionable assemblies more respirable, would more fre-

quently venture into them. Society might be lively, various, and intelligent;—an alliance of wit, learning, genius, and fortune, on terms of just appreciation. Meanwhile, the higher standard of public sentiment in relation to intellectual pursuits would thrill along the nerves of literature and the arts,—to thousands, who now act in the belief, that money is the true and only Kalon. With the juster recognition of mental claims, and the increasing honors paid to letters by the *few*, would follow an increase of respect in the *many*. Thence would ensue rectified perceptions as to man's true aims; a calmer and righter mind; and less subserviency to our passions.

The People (meaning the mass) have been sharper sighted to their true interests than the rich. The means of elementary education are scattered every where; munificent funds are established in many of the States, which insure the benefit of common schools to all. Those inferior departments of knowledge, whose utility is more obvious to the multitude, and within their aims, have been provided for. But where are the great foundations of the affluent? where the evidences of their high appreciation of a noble education? The sons of the laborer and mechanic are pushing forward; the distance is growing less and less between them and the heirs of the wealthiest citizen:—nay, often, privation and seclusion have done for the heart and the intellect of the one, what the amplest means and opportunity have failed to purchase for the other,—failed because misapplied, or not applied at all. Blindness to the real value of intellectual accomplishment lies at the root of common opinion; and must first be cured. The possessors of wealth may, then, be disenchanted of the notion, that their sons, if not installed in the counting-room, or distributed among the professions, must be blotted from the roll of useful citizens.—They must and can be convinced, that our greatest want is the want of an order combining superior means with illuminated minds; and that the two especial testimonies, required by their country, at the hands of the opulent, are,—building towers of light to preserve rational liberty, amidst the fogs and shallows of democratical fanaticism; and bequeathing to her their sons equipped, either for public or private life, by a consummate education.

EXAMPLES IN THE PAST AND PRESENT.

Cast your thoughts backward, and say, What transpired in Egypt, between Sesostris and Nectanebis? what in Assyria, between Ninus and Sardanapalus? what in Persia, between Rustan and Cyrus?—Yet these were predominating Empires. We see dimly, through the mists of antiquity, vast shapes wearing kingly crowns, moving in

the twilight, with power in their hands, and violence in their hearts; we hear the indistinct tread of their innumerable armies; and, here and there, a pillar remains to indicate the conqueror's foot. Their pyramids, their mighty rock-hewn sepulchres, the fragments of their gigantic temples, bespeak their industry, superstition, and despotism. But the lessons which their minuter history might have taught, are for ever lost. They, and others like them, were not *lettered nations*, and they have passed away, with all their vast and complex interests, with all their glory or ignominy, with all that could instruct and influence after ages. How different with that little people,—whose emblem, the image of either of the Empires just named might hold in the hollow of his hand,—who, for only about three centuries, bustled, fought, wrote, built, declaimed, and colonized; and then were swallowed up by vulgar conquest! To the present hour, their philosophy instructs, their poetry inspires, their heroism nerves, their great men are our types, their temples are our models, their artists are our wonder, their battle-grounds are holy, their name, fame, and influence are bounded only by the cope of heaven, and by noble sensibility in the breast of man!—Therein, see the power of mind:—mark, how pervading intellect surpasses barbaric splendor and vast dominion:—acknowledge, when Time has done his office, how the halo round the head of genius transcends the bauble of a King.

Direct your thoughts, once more, to our maternal Island.—Compare her colonial expansion, her impregnable stations, her Neptunian armament, her viceregal empire, with the cloudy spot amidst the northern seas, where is the hiding of her power. She ransacks the Desert, and ransacks the Pole:—she sifts for the gems of the Decan, she pumps for the ore of Mexico:—her warehouses and looms supply the world:—her treasury pays the conflicts of nations. Yet, true to her glory, she has studied and discovered the secrets of the starry heavens; she has fathomed and revealed the laws of the mind; she has carried up natural and moral truth to the Great Source itself of all; she has shadowed herself with poetic laurels, which Greece might envy.

With such precedents, such a parentage, what must be *our* future estimate, unless we take in the strong conviction, that gain is not glory, or physical increase moral greatness? The field of our duties is wide, beneficent, and noble. It is ours, to put the crowning hand to the institutions of Liberty, and to prove their entire adequacy to safety, tranquillity, and justice:—to show, that Religion can flourish without human enactments; Government be strong

without an army; property respected, where the many rule; personal dignity revered without aristocratic rank; and that *the highest intellectual attainment* can coexist with Republican equality. To satisfy the world on these and such-like points, by our happy example and philosophical comments, is a godlike trust.—Its triumphant discharge would probably banish Despotism from the civilized earth.—How magnificent our position for these and other purposes, not now to be discussed, which Providence may design to unfold, through our agency, to myriads who know as little of the light of Salvation, as of that of Liberty. Seated between the seas, on a nobler territory than was ever the portion of one kindred and language; divested (fortunately, we hope,) of old systems and prejudices, the operation of present causes, if not arrested, must at no distant period arm this Union with *unrivalled power!* If her intelligence and virtue could be made commensurate with her responsibilities, she might sit like the Viceregent of Eternal Justice among the children of men. A calmer grandeur, less astonishing energy, (because less *needed*,) would characterize her, than have distinguished the tiny England; whose ascendancy rests, not on numbers and territory, but on bright, immaterial pillars, which we dread to see vanishing from beneath her, like the departing rainbow. *Should* that day of eclipse and sorrow come,—should the ancestral spirit, which has so long disdained to meet its foes except beyond the sea-mark, find its vigor spent, its star declining,—may We have the happiness to interpose the filial buckler, and teach the danger to Autocrats of any air sweetened by the language of our fathers!

How easy to sketch, how difficult to realize!—difficult, only, because man is selfish, reckless, and corrupt. The possibility is ours,—the staff of power is in our hand:—no foreign foe can take it from us. It may be broken by domestic quarrels; it may be cast away by levity, or a short-sighted policy. Disunion may reduce to fragmentary parts what would have been the greatest Commonwealth, and the most transcendent political spectacle, ever witnessed.

An important agency in averting these disasters, and bringing out the true results of Liberty, devolves on men of Letters. In the axiom of a sagacious writer, Instructed Reason is the necessary conservator of free institutions. From men who realize the magnitude of the *principles* involved in ours, but who despise the squabble for *trusts* under them;—who appreciate the power conferred by national and individual wealth, but who disapprove the insensibility to reputation engendered by excessive thrift;—who are apprized by an examination of many forms of polity of their general relations

to human nature,—who know how the strong have fallen, and the wise have erred;—unfettered by the dogmas of any party, and wearing the badge of no profession;—from such men, *if such there be*, we have a right to expect comprehensive views of national interests, profound expositions of fundamental questions, and a just sensibility to national glory. If such men do *not* exist among us, then are we destitute of an order indispensable to the dignity and safety of a free state. Is it not undeniable, that men in office stand in a perilous dilemma between their convictions and their constituents? What is the essential difference to the *public* between statesmen without the second sight, and those, whose position entails on them the perpetual curse of unbelief?—Is it not plain, that the nation will *not* assent, with unity, to any theorems of political philosophy thrown out amidst the peals and flashes of debate?—A great debater is charged with the double and opposite properties of the magnetic poles. Without able *writers*, who identify themselves with no section, sect, or party, there can be no incorruptible tribunal of public opinion, no high test of principle or men. All is left to the wild, conflicting jargon of the party press,—where each side confirms itself in error, and denies and discredits whatever is repugnant to its interests or its prejudices.

An immediate advantage from elevating the literary standard, would show itself in the diurnal prints. We should have the intelligence required by the age served up with more elegance and skill; with less coarse invective, less personal abuse, more argument, and less clamor. Decency accompanies refinement, refinement springs from knowledge. Moreover, with a literary arena, a recognized and honored field for the exercise of every species of talents, ambitious and ardent minds would feel less the necessity of seeking glory at the hands of the people.

The observer of the last twenty years, notwithstanding the engrossments of party strife, and the universal hurry to grow rich, deserves, here and there, minds of clearer substance, springing up like lights in a dark place, growing visible at a distance, and beginning to touch our vanity as a people. Names could now be cited, in the ranks of science and literature, which the nation cherishes.—We advert to them, as omens, that keep hope alive.

If considerations like the foregoing administer any spur to their national pride, any motives to their sense of duty, any concentration to their secret wishes for personal distinction, let literary men press forward:—greater wonders have been achieved than to bring this nation to a juster estimate of the claims we are urging. First

of all, let them lift every voice, unite every influence, never desist from importunity, till *one change* is effected. Cottons and woollens have felt our protecting care, and all the interests of the spindle and the loom. Not so the native fabrics of thought, not so the sparkling woofs of fancy. Careful by our treaties and tariffs to place physical industry on an equal footing with competitors, we have left the lettered *intellect* of our country, under the difficulties incident to a new people, under the natural discouragements of a commercial spirit, under the derisive sneers of foreign nations, to struggle with great and wholly *unnecessary* disadvantages. The regions which acknowledge the English language, whether on this or that side the sea, constitute the great theater on which every writer of that language is entitled to fair play. Why, then, leave our reciprocal laws on their present basis?—It is, now, the interest of every American Publisher to reprint, by thousands, English books, because a remuneration to the Author forms no item in his account. To place our countryman, therefore, on his own soil, on a par with English writers in the estimate of American Publishers, his labor must be gratuitous. Few will consent to that.

Let men, whose reflections have made them sensible how wanting this Union has been to herself, lose no opportunity to impress on others their own convictions. Let the Lyceums, and Athenæums, and every other literary forum, occasionally hear cutting truths and mortifying comparisons, instead of abstract discussion and elegant flattery; till the national sensibility is touched, and a blush called forth for the desolation of the high places of Letters. Where is the library in this powerful Empire (with one partial exception), that a sixpenny German Palatine would honor with the name?—Where are the archives in more than a single state, from which its own history could be written?—Where are our observatories?—Where are our fellowships?—Where are the sums paid out for exploration and discovery?—What national care or favor, as a people, have we extended to any *high* department of knowledge? The consequences have not falsified common laws. We have effected—much that it would be wrong to discredit,—some things excellent of their kind, but *nothing great*. We have no literary corps,—few thoroughly educated men. *Have* we a master capable of rising, in a learned and eloquent system of political ethics, to the height of even our *own* 'great argument,' of instructing while he delights, and cautioning

* Since the delivery of this address in 1836, the Library of Congress has expanded to 250,000 volumes; the Astor Library to 150,000 volumes; the Boston Public Library to 300,000 volumes, and there are now (1875) 50 Public Libraries with an aggregate of 3,000,000 volumes.

while he animates, the nations who are girding up their loins for the Day of Freedom!

In metaphysica, truly, we boast a writer whose position (assigned by more instructed judges than ourselves) is second to few that ever reasoned of 'fate, fixed fate, *free will*, foreknowledge absolute.' Yet so strange is our insensibility, that it may be doubted whether more than one-half of any miscellaneous audience would understand the plainest allusion to their immortal countryman.

It is impossible to expand the subject further. True-hearted earnestness, concentration, and perseverance would effect a change. The sincere coöperation of the rich alone would put causes in action, that would soon pervade and stimulate the whole community.—But, whatever present disappointment may await hopes like these, literary men ought never to relax their efforts, never to undervalue their noble calling. Overlooked they may be, in the busy world, or beside the political idols of the hour; but they have sources of cheerfulness, and sustaining dignity, within, which neither fickle fortune, nor fickle party, can take away. Their peace of mind is not laid up in vessels which a demagogue can shatter; their honors are not transitory as the tenure of office; their independent thoughts are not tortured to conformity by the machinery of party; their soul's vital aspiration is not staked on the issue of a canvass; old age is not, to them, the 'pining atrophy' of worn-out or disappointed statesmen. A living fount of mental gladness sparkles in their bosom. Solitude is not solitude to them: the shadows of the past, the wide-spread, every-varying Universe, are passing before them, and visions of the future beckon them on. Sometimes, perhaps, amidst the glare and hurry of a great metropolis, struck with the results of her confederated minds, the man of letters may feel useless and alone. Let him reflect, that all usefulness, and all happiness, are a compromise; and that periodical eclipses are the price of habitual enthusiasm. Let him ponder, and compare;—but never mistake so widely as to link, even in wish, his immortal part to the drag-rope of the world's affairs. His pursuits refer to higher, though less obvious things; to ideal beauty,—abstract truth,—universal interests,—enduring principles: they bring wealth to the soul, and transport to the mind: they drop seeds which shoot up a growth for perpetuity: they collect radiance for the torch which Faith waves to man, contending with shadows and billows on this world's shore, ere his eye catches that fixed and purer beam, which burns always on the battlements of his final home.

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COTTON MATHER AND BONIFACIUS.

MEMOIR.

COTTON MATHER, D.D. (from the University of Aberdeen), and member of the Royal Society, London, was born in Boston, Feb. 12, 1663, the son of Dr. Increase Mather, and Maria, daughter of Rev. John Cotton. He was a pupil of the Latin school under Mr. Ezekiel Cheever, and graduated at Harvard college in 1678—before he was sixteen years of age, a youth of prodigious industry and retentive memory. For six years after graduation he continued a hard student, and fitted young men for college. At the age of twenty-one he was ordained colleague of his father over the South Church, where he continued pastor after his father's death, until his own death in 1728, aged 65. His publications, including numerous Sermons and Tracts, number 382—all of them evidencing vast industry, his ardent desire to do good, and his extensive reading; but the best in point of style and extensive research are weakened by strange conceits and peculiarities, and overloaded with Latin quotations of the most commonplace sentiments. But with all these drawbacks we have met no other writer of his age who had so exalted an estimate of the worth and power of the office of teacher, or the necessity of good schools to the well-being of society.

Dr. Mather's indiscriminating eulogy of the fathers of New England and has caused his zeal to preserve memorials and traditions of their character and services to be overlooked even by those who profit most by his labors; and in our condemnation of his errors of opinion in the matter of witchcraft, and the interference of magistrates, and ministers with the manners of private life, we too often forget that he only expressed the opinions of many men still regarded among the wisest of their generation. He was undoubtedly one of the most learned men of his day, and one who strove conscientiously to do good to every body in any way open to him. But his indiscreet zeal, and lack of common sense, greatly diminished his influence, and deprived him of positions for which his learning and love of letters eminently qualified him—such as the presidency of Harvard college. He died Feb. 13, 1728.

BONIFACIUS; OR, ESSAYS TO DO GOOD.

Mather's '*Essays to Do Good*,' by which title it is referred to by Franklin as having had an influence on his conduct through life, and inspired him with a desire to be a doer of good—was originally published by the author in 1710, with the following title-page: 'BONIFACIUS: An Essay upon the good that is to be derived and designed by those who desire to answer the great end of life, and to Do Good while they live. A book offered first, in general, unto all Christians in a personal capacity or in a relative. Then more particularly unto magistrates, ministers, physicians, lawyers, schoolmasters, gentlemen, officers, churches, and unto all societies of a religious character and intention; with humble proposals of unexceptionable methods to do good in the world,' without the name of the author. It has gone through many editions, or reprints, but in all which have come under our notice the title has read: "ESSAYS TO DO GOOD: Addressed to all Christians, whether in Public or Private Capacities. By the late Cotton Mather, D.D., F.R.S." In the elaborate Preface the author turns to Sir William Ashurst as the type of a Public Spirit, which delights in doing good, and makes the doing of good every day and to everybody, as opportunity offers, a duty. He cites the Koran, which again and again asserts, 'God loves those who are inclined to do good,' and enforces a Christian duty by a Pagan proverb, that 'a good man is a common good.' The book proper opens with three chapters, to show that there is much occasion to do good, as well as of excellence in well-doing, and rewards for doing so. The true nature of good works consists in the motive, which is to glorify God and to justify our faith. Our opportunities to do good are our talents. Our capacity to do good makes the doing of it a duty. To develop this capacity, inward piety and frequent self-examination are necessary. Having made ourselves good, or at least put ourselves into favorable conditions for doing good, our author goes into particulars, which we present in the order of his treatment, numbering the same for the sake of distinctness.

1. On doing good to our relatives, children, and domestics. Once or twice every week 'let us call over our several relations and devise something that may be called heretical goodness in our discharging them,—the duties of husband and wife—each in their sphere.

PARENTS! How much ought you to be devising for the good of your children. Often consider how to make them "wise children;" how to carry on a desirable education for them, an education that may render them desirable; how to render them lovely and polite, and serviceable to their generation. Often consider how to enrich their minds with valuable knowledge; how to instill into their minds generous, gracious, and heavenly principles; how to restrain and rescue them from the "paths of the destroyer," and fortify them against their peculiar temptations.

I would betimes do what I can to produce a temper of benignity in my children, both towards one another and towards all other persons. I will instruct them how ready they should be to communicate to others a part of what they have; and they shall not want for encouragement when they discover a loving, courteous, and benevolent disposition. I will give them now and then a piece of money, that with their own little hands they may dispense something to the poor. Yea, if any one has hurt or vexed them, I will not only forbid all revenge, but will also oblige them to do a kindness, as soon as possible, to the vexatious person. All coarseness of language or behavior in them, I will discountenance.

I would be solicitous to have my children expert, not only at reading with propriety, but also at writing a fair hand. I will then assign them such books to read, as I may judge most agreeable and profitable; obliging them to give me some account of what they read; but will keep a strict eye on what they read, lest they should stumble on the devil's library, and poison themselves with foolish romances, novels, plays, songs, or jests, "that are not convenient." I will direct them also to write out such things as may be of the greatest benefit to them; and they shall have their blank books neatly kept, on purpose

to enter such passages as I recommend to them. I will particularly require them now and then to compose a prayer, and bring it to me, that so I may discern what sense they have of their own everlasting interests.

I will never use corporeal punishment, except it be for an atrocious crime, or for a smaller fault obstinately persisted in. I would ever proportion chastisements to faults; not punish severely for a very small instance of childishness; and only frown a little for some real wickedness. Nor shall my chastisements ever be dispensed in passion and fury; but I will first show them the command of God, by transgressing which they have displeased me. The slavish, boisterous manner of education too commonly used, I consider as no small article in the wrath and curse of God upon a miserable world.

I wish that among all the branches of a polite education, which I would endeavor to give my children, each of them, the daughters as well as the sons, may have so much acquaintance with some profitable avocation (whether it be painting, or the law, or medicine, or any other employment to which their own inclination may the most lead them), that they may be able to obtain for themselves a comfortable subsistence, if by the providence of God, they should ever be brought into destitute circumstances. Why should not they be thus instructed as well as Paul, the tent-maker? Children of the highest rank may have occasion to bless their parents who made such a provision for them. The Jews have a saying on this subject which is worthy to be mentioned: "Whoever teaches not his son some trade or business, does in reality teach him to be a thief."

2. On doing good to our servants. My servants are in some sense my children. While we impress on them lessons and lives of obedience, honesty, industry, and piety, we must teach them to read and to write—be solicitous about the company they keep.

3. On doing good to our neighbors. 'Pure religion and undefiled is to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction'—'to deliver the orphan who has no helper, and cause the widow's heart to sing for joy.' Once a week at least would it be too much to think—'What neighbor is reduced to pinching and painful poverty, or impoverished with heavy losses? What neighbor is languishing with sickness, or afflicted with the loss of a dear relative? and then consider what can be done for them? What assistance can be rendered by expression of sympathy or direct pecuniary aid? If there are any poor children totally destitute of education, do not suffer them to continue in that state. Let care be taken that they may be taught to read, to know their catechism, and the truth of their only Saviour. But you must not only do good as a neighbor in reciprocal ways, but you must 'love your enemies, if you have any; bless them that curse you, and do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you.'

4. Private meetings for religion. Families of a neighborhood should visit at each other's houses for prayer, for religious conversation, for psalm singing, and reading of sermons and religious literature. The men who compose such an association should privately meditate and ask themselves certain test questions as to the good that can be done at and by such conferences.

There should be another sort of society—that of *Young Men*. These will become nurseries of the churches. [In the suggestions under this head we find the germs of many of the doings of Franklin's *Junro*—with less of prayers and psalm singing, but in the same spirit of self and mutual improvement. Here, too, we find the *Young Men's Christian Association* of this period.]

5. Proposals to Ministers of the Gospel. They are specially set apart to do good—by example, by visitation, by exhortation, by prayer, by studying and writing sermons with an inward conviction of the vital importance of each to the best good of the people, so that the words will go direct from the heart to the heart; by catechising in their pastoral visit on the subjects preached upon; by distributing little books of piety. And also all alms for the poor, and medicine for the sick.

Pastors, uphold and cherish good schools in your towns! And be prevailed upon occasionally to visit the schools. That holy man, Mr. Thomas White, expressed a desire "That able and zealous ministers would sometimes preach at the schools; because preaching is the converting ordinance; and the children will be obliged to hear with more attention in the school than in the public congregation; and the ministers might here condescend to such expressions as might work most upon them, and yet not be so fit for a public congregation." I have read the following account of one who was awakened by this advice to act accordingly: "At certain times he successively visited the schools. When he went to school he first offered a prayer for the children, as much adapted to their condition as he could make it. Then he went through the catechism, or as much of it as he thought necessary; making the several children repeat the several answers; but he divided the questions, that every article in the answers might be understood by them; expecting them to answer Yes or No to each of these divisions. He also put to them such questions as would make them see and own their duties, and often express a resolution to perform them. Then he preached a short sermon to them, exceedingly plain, on some suitable scripture, with all possible ingenuity and earnestness, in order to excite their attentive regard. After this he singled out a number of scholars, perhaps eight or ten, and bid each of them turn to a certain scripture, which he made them read to the whole school; giving them to see by his brief remarks upon it that it contained something which it particularly concerned children to take notice of. Then he concluded with a short prayer for a blessing on the school and on the tutors.

[The author's 'Proposals for Schoolmasters,' whom Dr. Mather ranks only below ministers of the Gospel, we present without abridgment at the close of this summary.]

6. *Proposals to Churches for doing good.* Such as days of prayer—days for special meditation in private by Church members—special collections for certain desirable objects, such as sending Bibles and Catechisms among the poor, and missionaries to destitute places, and assisting weak congregations to build and repair their meeting-houses and support their minister.

7. *Proposals to Magistrates.* This is a special field for doing good. Government is the ordinance of God.

Rulers who make no other use of their superior station than to swagger over their neighbors, command their flatteries, enrich themselves with spoils, and wallow in sensual pleasures, are the basest of men. How much good can be done by the chief magistrate of a country who will make the doing of good his chief intention—witness a Constantine, a Theodosius, or a Gratian. A magistrate exemplary for piety, like the sun shining in his meridian strength, sheds the rays of heaven with a penetrating force upon the people, rejoicing under his wings.

If only good men were put into commissions, and all men of vicious character removed avowedly because of their vices, such action on the part of a chief magistrate would improve an afflicted nation more than a thousand proclamations against vice. The enactment of good laws, the upholding by example and word of mouth of faithful ministers, and the administration of justice without discrimination of rich or poor, and without the taking of a bribe, or resorting to tricks, are primal duties with all in authority.

8. *Proposals to Physicians.* They enjoy many opportunities of doing good. They are admitted into the homes of the rich and great—they are men of learning, and can instruct the ignorant—they can assist the poor without fee—they can carry a cheerful countenance into the chamber of the broken spirit—they can minister to minds diseased and darkened—they can look after the spiritual health of their patients.

9. *Proposals to Rich Men.* It is an article in my commission, 'Charge them that are rich in this world that they do good, that they be rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate.' A tenth is the least portion of a man's income to be devoted to pious uses, and the blessings of Heaven are promised to those who honor the Lord in their substance, and cast their grain into the moist earth. To relieve the necessities of the poor is lending unto the Lord, to be repaid fourfold.

10. *Proposals to Ladies.* Your alms and your prayers should go up together. The etymology of the word by which you are known—*Leafdian*—*Leaf* a *loaf of bread*, and *d'ian* to *serve*—*lady* reduced to *lady*—*one who distributes bread*—indicates your mission to visit the sick, help the needy, and relieve the miserable.

11. *Miscellaneous Proposals to Gentlemen.* 'The hands of the poor are the treasury-box of Christ.' 'Blessed is he that considereth the poor, the Lord will preserve him.' Disperse with your alms food for the spiritual wants of your fellowmen—Bibles, catechisms, and documents of piety.

To take a poor child, especially an orphan, left in poverty, and to bestow a liberal education upon it, is an admirable charity; yea, it may draw after it a long train of good, and may interest you in all the good that shall be done by him whom you have educated.

Hence, also, what is done for schools, for colleges, and for hospitals, is done for the general good. The endowment or maintenance of these is at once to do good to many.

Bishop Sanderson says: 'Idle gentlemen and idle beggars are the pests of the commonwealth.' Find out some friend of good ability, warm affections, and excellent piety, and entreat him to suggest to you opportunities for doing good.

12. *Proposals to Church, Civil and Military Officers.* Under this head elders, deacons, legislators, selectmen, grand jurymen, constables, tithingmen, militia officers, commanders at sea are specified, with particular 'proposals' for each.

13. *Proposals to Lawyers.* 'Gentlemen of the law' are set apart as a class because their ability and opportunities to do good are large. An *honest* lawyer should not be known by his *rarity*. Your preparation for usefulness must be laid in your piety, and your work should be dedicated to the most high and gracious God. He cites with approbation the 'Examen Miscellaneum.'

"A lawyer who is a knave deserves death more than a man that robs on the highway; for he profanes the sanctuary of the distressed, and betrays the liberties of the people." To avoid such a censure, a lawyer must shun all those indirect ways of "making haste to be rich," in which a man cannot be innocent; such ways as provoked the father of Sir Mathew Hale to abandon the practice of the law, on account of the extreme difficulty of preserving a good conscience in it. Sir, be prevailed upon constantly to keep a *court of chancery* in your own breast; and scorn and fear to do anything but that which your conscience will pronounce consistent with and conducing to "glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, and good will towards men."

I remember that Schusterus, a famous lawyer and counsellor who died at Heidelberg in the year 1673, has an admirable passage in his epitaph:

"Mortis proximus vocem emisit;
Nihil se unquam suavisere consilio,
Cujus jam-jam morituri penitet."

"When at the point of death he could say, I never in the whole course of my practice gave an opinion of which I now repent." A lawyer who can leave the world with such language as this, proves a greater blessing to the world than can be expressed.

Excessive fees must be disgorged by restitution.

In the life of Mr. John Cotton, the author relates the following concerning his father, who was a lawyer: "That worthy man was very remarkable in two most admirable practices. One was, that when any one of his neighbors wishing to sue another applied to him for advice, it was his custom in the most persuasive and affectionate manner imaginable to attempt a reconciliation between both parties; preferring the consolation of being a peace-maker to all the fees which he might have obtained by blowing up the differences. Another was, he was accustomed every night to examine himself with reflections on the transactions of the past day; and if he found that he had neither done good to others, nor got good to his own soul, he was as much grieved as Titus was when he complained in the evening, "My friends! I have lost a day."

If you administer justice be governed by the rules of Chief Justice Hale:

"That justice be administered uprightly, deliberately, resolutely.

"That I rest not on my own understanding, but implore the direction of Almighty God.

"That in the execution of justice I carefully lay aside my own passions, and do not give way to them, however provoked.

"That I be wholly intent on the business I am about.

"That I suffer not myself to be prepossessed with any judgment at all till all the business and both parties are heard."

14. Societies for the Reformation and Suppression of Vice. Their work should be to co-operate with the authorities to obtain and enforce wholesome laws, to aid the election of faithful officers, and defeat the success of such as have proved unfaithful; to erect, inspect, and support charity schools, and schools of various kinds; to disseminate books and tracts. Here follow *points of consideration* to be read at the meetings of the society to elicit suggestions:

1. Is there any remarkable disorder in the place which requires our endeavors for the suppression of it? and in what good, fair, likely way may we attempt it?

2. Is there any particular person whose disorderly behavior may be so scandalous that it may be proper to send him our charitable admonition? or are there any contending persons whom we should exhort to quench their contentions?

3. Is there any particular service to the interests of religion which we may conveniently request our ministers to take notice of?

4. Is there anything which we may do well to mention and recommend to the magistrates for the further promotion of good order?

5. Is there any sort of officers among us who are so unmindful of their duty that we may properly remind them of it?

6. Can any further methods be devised that ignorance and wickedness may be chased from our people in general; and that domestic piety in particular may flourish among them?

7. Is there any instance of oppression or fraudulence in the dealings of any sort of people which may call for our efforts to prevent it in future?

8. Is there any matter to be humbly recommended to the legislative power to be enacted into a law for the public benefit?

9. Do we know of any person languishing under heavy affliction, and what can we do for the succor of that afflicted neighbor?

10. Has any person a proposal to make for the further advantage, assistance, and usefulness of this society?

15. A Catalogue of Desirable Things. In this list is included the propagation of the Gospel by Protestant missionaries 'after the example of the Popish idolaters, who have sent six hundred clergymen into China within a few years.' 'O my God, I am ashamed and blush to lift up my face to Thee, my God!' when I think what pains they have taken to carry on their work, and how little is done for many parts of the British dominions.

Poor sailors and poor soldiers call for our pity. They meet with great troubles, and yet their manners seldom discover any good effects of their trials. What shall be done to make them a better set of men? Besides more books of piety distributed among them, other methods must be devised.

The *Tradesman's* library should be more enriched. We have seen "husbandry spiritualized;" the employment of the "shepherd spiritualized;" "navigation spiritualized;" and the "weaver," also, furnished with agreeable meditations. To spread the nets of salvation for men in the way of their personal callings, and to convey pious thoughts in the terms and branches of their personal callings, is a real service to the interests of piety.

Universities which shall have more *Collegia Pietatis* in them, like those of the excellent Franckius in the Lower Saxony. O that such institutions were more numerous! Seminaries in which the scholars may have a most polite education, but not be sent forth with recommendations for the evangelical ministry, till upon a strict examination it be found that their souls are fired with the fear of God, the love of Christ, a zeal to do good, and a resolution to bear poverty, reproach, and all sorts of temptations, in the service of religion.

Let *charity schools* also "increase and multiply;" Charity schools which may provide subjects for the great Saviour, blessings for the next generation; Charity schools not perverted to introducing a defective Christianity.

We give below the rules which Dr. Mather laid down for his own guidance in laying out work for himself for the several days of the week:

Sabbath Morning.—What shall I do, as a pastor of a church, for the good of the flock under my charge?

Monday.—What shall I do in my family and for the good of it.

Tuesday.—What shall I do for my relations abroad?

Wednesday.—What shall I do for the churches of the Lord, and the more general interest of religion in the world?

Thursday.—What good may I do in the several societies to which I belong?

Friday.—What special subjects of affliction and objects of compassion may I take under my particular care, and what shall I do for them?

Saturday.—What more have I to do for the interest of God in my own heart and life?

To the above should be added his general notice to all who interviewed him when engaged in study—'Be short.'

In his autobiography, begun when on a visit to the Bishop of St. Asaph at Tuford in 1771, Dr. Franklin, in speaking of the books in his father's library and his passionate fondness of reading in his youth, says: 'There was also a book of Defoe's called *An Essay on Projects*,* and another of Dr. Mather's called *An Essay to Do Good*, which perhaps gave me a turn of thinking that had an influence on some of the principal events of my life.'

In a letter to Rev. Samuel Mather, the son of Dr. Cotton Mather, Dr. Franklin writes:

The last time I saw your father was the beginning of 1724, when I visited him after my first trip to Pennsylvania. He received me in his library; and, on my taking leave, showed me a shorter way out of the house, through a narrow passage, which was crossed by a beam overhead. We were still talking as I withdrew, he accompanying me behind, and I turning partly towards him, when he said hastily, 'Stoop! stoop!' I did not understand him till I felt my head hit against the beam. He was a man who never missed any occasion of giving instruction; and upon this he said to me: 'You are young, and have the world before you; stoop as you go through it, and you will miss many hard thumps.' This advice, thus beat into my head, has frequently been of use to me; and I often think of it, when I see pride mortified, and misfortunes brought upon people by their carrying their heads too high.

In another letter, dated Passy, Nov. 10, 1779, referring to a paper of 'Advice addressed to the People of the United States,' by the same son, Dr. Franklin says:

Such writings, though they may be lightly passed over by many readers, yet, if they make a deep impression on one active mind in a hundred, the effects may be considerable.

Permit me to mention one little instance, which, though it relates to myself, will not be quite uninteresting to you. When I was a boy I met with a book entitled '*Essays to Do Good*,' which I think was written by your father. It had been so little regarded by its former possessor that several leaves of it were torn out; but the remainder gave me such a turn of thinking as to have an influence on my conduct through life, for I have always set a greater value on the character of a doer of good than any other kind of reputation; and if I have been, as you seem to think, a useful citizen, the public owes the advantage of it to that book.

* For a summary of the contents of this remarkable Essay, see Barnard's *English Pedagogy—Old and New*. Defoe in this Treatise anticipates some of the great social and educational reforms of the 19th century.

HOW SCHOOLMASTERS MAY DO GOOD.

From the tribe of Levi, let us proceed with our proposals to the tribe of Simeon; from which there has been a frequent ascent to the former. The *Schoolmaster* has many opportunities of doing good. God make him sensible of his obligations! We read that "the little ones have their angels." It is hard work to keep a school; but it is God's work, and it may be so managed as to be like the work of angels; the tutors of the children may be like their "tutelor angels." Melchoir Adams properly styled it "An office most laborious, yet to God most pleasing."

Tutors! will you not regard the children under your wing, as committed to you by the glorious Lord with such a charge as this? "Take them, and bring them up for Me, and I will pay you your wages!" Whenever a new scholar comes under your care, you may say, "Here my Lord sends me another object, for whom I may do something, that he may be useful in the world." Suffer little children to come unto you, and consider what you may do instrumentally, that of such may be the kingdom of heaven.

Sirs, let it be your grand design to instil into their minds the doctrines of piety. Consider it as their chief interest, and yours also, that they may so know the Holy Scriptures as to become wise to salvation. Embrace every opportunity of dropping some honey from the rock upon them. Happy the children, and as happy the master, where they who relate the history of their conversion may say, "there was a schoolmaster who brought us to Christ." You have been told, "certainly, it is a nobler work to make the little ones know their Saviour, than know their letters. The lessons of Jesus are nobler things than the lessons of Cato. The sanctifying transformation of their souls would be infinitely preferable to anything in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*."

Catechising should be a frequent, at least a weekly, exercise in the school; and it should be conducted in the most edifying, applicatory, and admonitory manner. In some places the magistrate permits no person to keep a school, unless he produces a testimonial of his ability and disposition to perform the work of religious catechising.

Dr. Reynolds, in a funeral sermon for an eminent schoolmaster, has the following passage, worthy to be written in letters of gold: "If grammar schools have holy and learned men set over them, not only the brains, but also the souls of the children might there be enriched, and the work both of learning and of grace be early commenced in them." In order to this, let it be proposed that you not only pray with you scholars daily, but also take occasion, from the public sermons, and from remarkable occurrences in you neighborhood, frequently to inculcate the lessons of piety on the children.

Tutors in the colleges may do well to converse with each of their pupils alone, with all possible solemnity and affection, concerning their internal state, concerning repentance for sin, and faith in Jesus Christ, and to bring them to express resolutions of serious piety. You may do a thousand things to render your pupils orthodox in sentiment, regular in practice, and qualified for public service. I have read of a tutor who made it his practice in every recitation to take occasion, from something or other that occurred, to drop at least one sentence that had a tendency to promote the fear of God in their hearts. This method sometimes cost him a good deal of study, but the good effect sufficiently recompensed him for it.

I should be glad to see certain authors received into the grammar schools as classical, which are not generally admitted there, such as *Castalto* in the Latin tongue, and *Posselius* in the Greek; and I could wish, with some modern writers, that "a northwest passage" for the attainment of Latin might be discovered; that instead of a journey which might be dispatched in a few days,

they might not be obliged to wander, like the children of Israel, many years in the wilderness. I might recite the complaint of Austin, "that little boys are taught in the schools the filthy actions of the Pagan gods, for reciting which," said he, "I was called a boy of promise;" or the complaint of Luther, "that our schools are Pagan rather than Christian." I might mention what a late author says, "I knew an aged and eminent schoolmaster who, after keeping a school about fifty years, said with a sad countenance, that it was a great trouble to him that he had spent so much time in reading Pagan authors to his scholars; and wished it were customary to read such a book as Duport's verses on Job, rather than Homer, &c. I pray God to put it into the hearts of a wise parliament to purge our schools; that instead of learning vain fictions and filthy stories, they may become acquainted with the word of God, and with books containing grave sayings, and things which may make them truly wise and useful in the world." But I presume little notice will be taken of such wishes as these. It is with despair that I mention them.

Among the occasions for promoting religion in the scholars, one in the *writing schools* deserves peculiar notice. I have read of an atrocious sinner who was converted to God by accidentally reading the following sentence of Austin, written in a window: "He who has promised pardon to the penitent sinner, has not promised repentance to the presumptuous one." Who can tell what good may be done to the young scholar by a sentence in his copy-book? Let their copies be composed of sentences worthy to be had in everlasting remembrance, of sentences which shall contain the brightest maxims of wisdom, worthy to be written on the fleshly tables of their hearts, to be graven with the point of a diamond there. God has blessed such sentences to many scholars; they have been useful to them all their days.

In the grammar school, also, the scholars may be directed for their exercises to turn into Latin such passages as may be useful for their instruction in the principles of Christianity, and furnish them with supplies from "the tower of David." Their letters also may be on subjects which may be friendly to the interests of virtue.

I will add, it is very desirable to manage the *discipline* of the school by means of rewards, rather than of punishments. Many methods of rewarding the diligent and deserving may be invented; and a boy of an ingenious temper, by the expectation of reward (*ad palmæ cursurus honores*), will do his best. You esteem Quintilian. Hear him: "Use stripes sparingly; rather let the youth be stimulated by praise, and by the distinctions conferred on his classmates." If a fault must be punished, let instruction both to the delinquent and to the spectator accompany the correction. Let the odious name of the sin which enforced the correction be declared; and let nothing be done in anger, but with every mark of tenderness and concern.

Ajax Flagellifer may be read in the school; he is not fit to be the master of it. Let it not be said of the boys, they were brought up in the "school of Tyrannus." Pliny says that bears are the better for beating. More fit to have the management of bears than of ingenious boys, are those masters who cannot give a bit of learning without giving a blow with it. Send them to the tutors of the famous Lithuanian school at Samourgan. The harsh Orbilian way of treating children, too commonly used in the schools, is a dreadful curse of God on our miserable offspring, who are born "children of wrath." It is boasted sometimes of a schoolmaster, that such a brave man had his education under him; but it is never said how many, who might have been brave men, have been ruined by him; how many brave wits have been dispirited, confounded, murdered by his barbarous way of managing them!

[The same estimate of the schoolmaster's mission, the same educational spirit, pervades his Funeral Discourse on the death of Mr. Ezekiel Cheever in 1708.]

Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather "improved the occasion" of the death of this "faithful, successful, venerable, and beloved teacher," by preaching a Funeral Sermon, in which he set forth in his own peculiar pedantic manner and style, the duty of towns and parents to provide schools, employ, pay, and honor competent teachers, and look diligently after the good education of children. This sermon, which the author pronounces *A doing of Justice*, was printed with the following title page.

Cordatus Americanus.
AN ESSAY

UPON
The Good EDUCATION of CHILDREN.
And what may Hopefully be Attempted, for the *Hope of the FLOCK.*

IN A
FUNERAL SERMON

UPON
MR. EZEKIEL CHEEVER

The Ancient and Honourable MASTER of the FREE-SCHOOL in Boston.

Who left off, but when Mortality took him off, in August, 1708,

the Ninety Fourth Year of his Age.

With an ELEGY and EPITAPH upon him.

By one that was once a Scholar to him.

Vester [CHEEVERUS], cum sic moris er, non meritis

BOSTON, Printed by John Allen, for Nicholas Boone, at the Sign of the Bible in Cornhill, near the Corner of School-street. 1708.

From this pamphlet, now rarely to be met with even in the collections of antiquarians and Historical Societies, we proceed to give some extracts, both for the light they throw on the character and services of Ezekiel Cheever, and for the substantial and wholesome doctrine, which is as good now as it was a hundred and fifty years ago, when it was uttered by Dr. Mather. His motives for publishing the Sermon and Essay, are thus set forth in the "Historical Introduction":

"DUTY to the Merit and Memory of my Departed MASTER, is now in its Operation. The Fifth Commandment well considered will demand such a Duty. When Quirinus made a Marble Monument for his Master, there was this Effect of it, *Invisitum Locum Studiosi Juvenes frequenter, ut hoc Exemplo Edocti, quantum Discipuli ipsi praeceptoribus suis debeant, perpetuo meminisse velint.* Scholars that saw it, Learnt from the Sight what Acknowledgments were due from Scholars to their Masters. I with my little feeble Essay for Mine, may in any measure animate the Gratitude of any Scholars to their Well-deserving Tutors.

A due Care about a Funeral for the Dead, among the Jews had that Phrase for it; *A Bestowing of Mercy*. But the Sermon which I have Employ'd on the Funeral of my Master, must be called; *A Doing of Justice*. And I am very much misinformed, if this were not the General Voice of all the Auditory.

After apologizing for the imperfection of his work, and giving the principal incidents in the life of Cheever, he concludes the Introduction as follows:

"It is a Common Adage in the Schools of the Jews; *A just man never dies, till there be born in his room, one that is like him.* So Grown a Town as Boston, is capable of honourably Supporting more than one Grammar-School. And it were to be wished, That several as able as our CHEEVER, might arise in his room, to carry on an Excellent Education in them. Our Glorious LORD can make such men. But, Oh! That SCHOOLS were more Encouraged, throughout the Country!

I remember, the Jewish Masters have a Dispute about the Reasons of the Destruction of Jerusalem. And among the rest the Judgment of R. Menona, was; *It had not been destroy'd, but for their not minding to bring up their Children in the School.* Verily, There cannot be a more Threatning Symptom of Destruction upon us, than there would be in this thing; If we should fall into the Folly of Not Minding to bring up our Children in the School.

"The Pastors of the Churches must more bestir themselves. O Men of God, Awake, And let the Cares of our ELIOT* for his Roxbury,† be a pattern for you!"

The doctrine of the Discourse [*That saving wisdom is to be fetched from the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and that the early knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, is the way to be betimes made wise unto salvation.*] is drawn from 2. Timothy, iii chapter, and 15th verse—*From a child thou hast known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation.* The preacher enlarges on the "inexplicable consequence" of the right education of children. "Unworthy

* Dr. Mather, in the Magnalia, in his Life of Eliot, speaking of "his cares about the children of his people," remarks: "I have cause to remember with what an hearty, fervent, zealous application, he addressed himself, when, in the name of the neighbour, pastors, and churches, he gave me the right hand of their fellowship, at my ordination, and said, *Brother, art thou a lover of the Lord Jesus Christ? Then, I pray, feed his lambs.*" Besides his labours direct and abundant for the catechetical and direct religious instruction of children by himself, as their pastor, and, through their parents, "he showed his regard for the welfare of the poor children under his charge by his perpetual resolution and activity to support a good school in the town that belonged unto him. A grammar-school he would always have upon the place, whatever it cost him; and, he importuned all other places to have the like. I cannot forget the ardour with which I once heard him pray, in a synod of these churches, which met at Boston, to consider how the miscarriages which were among us might be prevented; I say, with what fervour he uttered an expression to this purpose, *Lord, for schools every where among us! That our schools may flourish! That every member of this assembly may go home and procure a good school to be encouraged in the town where he lives! That, before we die, we may be so happy as to see a good school encouraged in every plantation of the country.* God so blessed his endeavours that Roxbury could not live quietly without a free school in the town; and the issue of it has been one thing which has made me almost put the title of *Schools* illustre upon that little nursery; that is, that Roxbury has afforded more scholars, first for the colleges, and then for the publick, than any town of its bigness, or, if I mistake not, of twice its bigness, in all New-England. From the spring of the school at Roxbury, there have run a large number of the streams which have made glad this whole city of God. I persuade myself that the good people of Roxbury will for ever scorn to begrudge the cost, or to permit the death of a school which God has made such an honour to them; and, this the rather because their deceased Eliot has left them a fair part of his own estate, for the maintaining of the school in Roxbury; and, I hope, or, at least, I wish, that the ministers of New-England may be as ungainably importunate with their people as Mr. Eliot was with his, for schools which may seasonably tinge the young souls of the rising generation. A want of education for them is the blackest and saddest of all the bad evils that are upon us."

* Under the lead of the Rev. John Eliot, sundry inhabitants of Roxbury, in 1645, only fifteen years after the first settlement of the town, bound themselves and their estates for ever for the payment of a certain sum yearly for the support of a Free School. In 1660, Mr. Thomas Bill bequeathed a large estate, in Roxbury, to Mr. John Eliot, "in trust for the maintenance of a school-master and a Free School, for the teaching and instructing of poor men's children." From these beginnings grew up the "Grammar School in the Easterly Part of Roxbury," whose interesting history has been written by Richard G. Parker. This school numbers among its early teachers several men who afterwards became eminent among the divines, lawyers, and statesmen of the country. Among them we find, in 1700, the name of Joseph Warren, who, in 1776, went up on Bunker Hill, to die for his country. In 1716, in a Preamble to an order relating to this school, in the House of Representatives, it is set forth "that the said Free School is one of the most ancient famous schools in the Province, where by the favor of God more persons have had their education, who have been and now are worthy Ministers to the everlasting Gospel than in any town of the like bigness." In 1674, the Piousness covenant with John Prudden to keep the school, in which said Prudden on his part engages "to use his best endeavors, both by precept and example, to instruct in all scholasticall, morall, and theologicall disciplines," and the Piousness, on theirs, to allow him in recompence for teaching their children (he being at liberty to receive other scholars on pay, twenty-five pounds, "to be paid three quarters in Indian Corn or peas, and the other fourth part in barley, and good and merchantable, at price current in the country rate." In sitting up the school with "benches and formes, with tables for the Scholars to sit on," in 1692, "a desk to put the Dictionary on" was provided for.

to be parents, most worthy to be esteemed rather monsters than parents are they, who are not solicitous to give their children an agreeable and religious education." That children may "learn to read the Holy Scriptures; and this as early as may be," he exclaims energetically, in capitals and italics—"to school therefore with them! Let them not be loitering at home, or playing abroad, when they should be at school. Be more concerned for their schooling than for their cloathing. If there be any, as I suppose there cannot be many so necessitous, as to call for it, let us in this town go on with our CHARITY SCHOOL." In reply to inquiry who it is that is to teach the children—"Come all hands to the work!" "The Pastors must not neglect the children of the flock. The charge of our Lord unto them is—*Feed my Lambs*. It is thrice proposed as if it were at least one third part of the pastoral charge." Is there not a disposition in our day to throw this whole charge upon teachers?

"The MASTER and MISTRESS, in the SCHOOL, may do much in this Noble Work. We read, *The Little Ones have their Angels*. Truly, to Teach the Little Ones, the Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and make them Wise unto Salvation, it is a stately work; I had almost call'd it; *A Work for Angels*. It is an *Hard Work* to keep a School; and hardly ever duly Recompensed. I suppose, it is easier to be at the Plough all day, than in the School. But it is a *Good Work*: It is *Gods Plough*; and *God speed it*! I would not have you weary of it. *Melchior Adam* did well to call it, *Molestissimum, sed Deo longe gratissimum Functionem*; A work, tho' very Tiresome, and Troublesome to the Flesh, yet most highly *Acceptable* to God. Go on with it *Chearfully*; And often Teach the Children something of the *Holy Scriptures*; often drop some *Honey out of that Rock* upon them. Who can tell, but you may Teach them the Things that shall save their Souls, and they shall bless God for you and with you, throughout Eternal Ages? Every time a New Child comes to the School, Oh! why should you not think! *Here my glorious LORD sends me another Object, on which I may do some thing, to advance His Kingdom in the World!*

But; *Lastly*, and yet *First of all*, O PARENTS Arise; *This matter chiefly belongs unto you; we also will be with you*. None, I say, None, are so much concerned, as Parents to look after it, that their Children be taught the *Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*. Our famous King *Elfred*, procured a Law, That every man who had but as much as *Two Hides of Land*, should bring up his Children to Learning, till Fifteen Years of Age at least; that so they might *Know Christ, and Live Happily*; Else, he said, *They were but Beasts and Sots*. I am to press it, That Parents give their Children all the Learning they can; especially that which will bring them to *Know Christ, and Live Happily*."

After addressing himself particularly to the children and teachers of his auditory, he concludes his discourse by the following "lengthy" but "reasonable corollary:"

"Worthy of Honour are the TEACHERS that Convey Wisdom unto our Children; Worthy of Double Honour the Happy Instruments that Convey Saving Wisdom to them! There are some whose peculiar Profession it is, to assist the Education of our Children; and it is therefore their Endeavour to give them a Religious Education. Their Employment is to bestow Useful and Various Learning on our Children; but they make their Employment, a precious Advantage to Learn them the *Holy Scriptures*, and make them *Wise for Eternity*.

Those our SCHOOL-MASTERS, deserve a great Encouragement. We are not *Wise for our Children*, if we do not greatly Encourage them.

The PARTICULAR PERSONS, who have their Children, in the Tutelage of Skillful and Careful School-Masters, ought to make them suitable *Recompences*. Their Stipends are generally far short of their Deserts. They deserve

Additional Compensations. Their pains are not small. What they *Do* is very Great. And surely our Children are very dear to us; I need not quote *Euripides* to tell you, That they are as the very *Life and Soul*, unto all Mankind. I can't but observe it with a just Indignation; to *Feed* our Children, to *Cloath* our Children, To do any thing for the *Bodies* of our Children; or perhaps to Teach them some *Trifles* at a *Dancing School*, scarcely worth their Learning, we count no Expense too much; At the same time to have the *Minds* of our Children Enriched with the most valuable *Knowledge*, here, *To what purpose?* is the cry: a little *Expense*, how heavily it goes off! *My Brethren, These things ought not so to be.* Well-taught Children are certainly very much to be accounted of. When the Mother of the *Gracchi* was ask'd for the sight of her *Ornaments*, how instructively did she present her *Two Sons* brought up in Learning and Vertue, as the brightest of all her *Ornaments*! If we were duly sensible, how vast a comfort it is, how vast a Concern, to have *Well-taught Children*, we should study all the ways imaginable, to express our *Thankfulness* unto the *Teachers* of them. And it will not be complain'd, That a *Mecenas* is to be no where found, but in *Horace's* Poetry. The Christian Emperour *Gratian*, One of the Best men, that ever Sway'd the *Roman Scepter*, conferr'd Riches and Honours on his Master *Ansonius*, and he sent him that agreeable Compliment with them; *Sir, I have paid what I Ow'd, and I still owe what I have paid.* Language agreeable to the Spirit of *Christianity*! Yes, a *Zeno*, that was a Stranger to it, yet has this recorded in his Commendation, *That he would give his Master as much again as the wages he ask'd of him.* I hope, he won't be the only One, that shall have such a thing spoken of him!

And the more *Liberal Provision* the PUBLICK does make for Industrious, Well-accomplished, Well-disposed *School-masters*, the more is the *Publick Wisdom* Testified & Propagated! *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the Historian, tho' a great Admirer of *Julian* & of Paganism, yet condemns his prohibition of *School-masters* unto the *Christians*: *Illud autem inclemens obruendum perenni silentio, quod arcebat docere, Magistros Rhetoricos et Grammaticos, Ritus Christiani Cultores.* But, *Sirs*, If you do not *Encourage* your *School-masters*, you do a part of *Julianism*, and as bad as *Prohibit* them. Certainly, If something of *Julianism* did not prevail too much among us, (which among a People of our Profession is highly scandalous,) we might ere now have seen, besides the petty *Schools* of every Town, a *Grammar-School* at the *Head Town* of every County, and an *Able School-master* with an ample *Salary*, the *Shepherd* in it; a Thing so often, so often unsuccessfully petition'd for! We hear Good Words now and then spoken for the *Tribe of Levi*. I desire, to speak one for the tribe of *SIMEON*. The *Simeonites* were the *School-masters* that were *Scattered in Israel*. I assure my self, That *Ours*, do watch against the *Anger* which is *fierce*, and the *Wrath* which is *cruel*; and that they use not *Instruments of Cruelty in their Habitations*; but prudently study the *Temper* of the Children, they have to deal withal. Tho' *Moses* left them out of his *Blessing*; [the Tribe not having then done any thing since *Jacobs* dying Oracles, to signalize them.] Yet our Glorious *JESUS*, has a *Blessing* for them. They Serve Him wonderfully. His People will also Bless them, and Bless God for them. And so will I this Day do for MY MASTER, in this Congregation of the Lord.

SCHOOL-MASTERS that have *Used the Office well, purchase to themselves, a Good Esteem to Out-live their Death*, as well as Merit for themselves a good *Support* while they *Live*. 'Tis a Justice to them, that they should be *had in Everlasting Remembrance*; And a *Place* and a *Name* among those *Just men*, does particularly belong to that *Ancient and Honourable Man*; a *Master in our Israel*; who was with us, the last Time of my Standing here; but is lately Translated unto the *Collage* of Blessed *Spirits*, in the *Mansions*, where the *FIRST RESURRECTION* is Waited and Longed for. Allow me the Expression; For I Learn't it of my Hebrew Masters, among whom, 'tis a phrase for the Death of Learned and Worthy men, *Requisiti sunt in Academiam Caelestem*.

Verrius the Master to the Nephews of *Augustus*, had a *Statue* Erected for him; And *Antonius* obtained from the Senate, a *Statue* for his Master *Fronto*. I am sorry that Mine has none. And *Cato* counted it more glorious than any *Statue*, to have it asked, *Why has he None?* But in the grateful memories of his *Scholars*, there have been and will be Hundreds Erected for him.

Under him we Learn't an *Oration*, made by *Tully*, in praise of his own Master; namely that, *Pro Archia Poeta*. A *Pagan* shall not out-do us, in our *Gratitude*

into our Master. There was a famous *Christian* in the Primitive Times, who wrote a whole Book, in praise of his Master *Hierotheus*; Entitling it, *εὐχαριστικὸν βιβλίον* Concerning the Blessed *Hierotheus*. And if I now say a few things, Concerning the Blessed *CHEEVER*, no man who thinks well of *Gratitude*, or likes well to see the *Fifth Commandment* observed, will censure it.

In the *Imperial Law*, we read, that Good *Grammarians*, having taught with diligence *Twenty Years*, were to have Special Honour conferr'd upon them. I Challenge for MY MASTER, more than a *Treble portion* of that *Special Honour*. But, Oh, Let it all pass thro' him, up to the Glorious LORD, who made him to be what he was!

His Eminent Abilities for the Work, which rendred him so long Useful in his Generation, were universally acknowledged. The next edition of, *Tranquillus de Claris Grammaticis*, may well enough bring him into the Catalogue, and acknowledge him a *Master*. He was not a *Meer Grammarian*; yet he was a *Pure One*. And let no Envy *Misconstrue* it, if I say, It was noted, that when *Scholars* came to be Admitted into the *Colledge*, they who came from the *Cheeverian Education*, were generally the most unexceptionable. What *Exception* shall be made, Let it fall upon him, that is now speaking of it.

He flourished so long in this Great Work, of bringing our *Sons* to be *Men*, that it gave him an opportunity to send forth many *Bezaleels* and *Aholiabes* for the Service of the *Tabernacle*; and Men fitted for all Good Employments. He that was my Master, Seven and Thirty Years ago, was a *Master* to many of my Betters, no less than Seventy Years ago; so long ago, that I must even mention my *Fathers Tutor* for one of them.

And as it is written for the Lasting Renown of the *Corderius*, whose *Colloquies* he taught us; That the Great *CALVIN* had been a Scholar to him; So this our AMERICAN *Corderius* had many Scholars that were a *Crown* unto him; yea, many that will be his *Crown* in the Presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his Coming; yea, many that were got into the *Heavenly World* before him. And the mention of the *Heavenly World*, leads me to that which I would principally take notice of. His *PIETY*, I say, His *PIETY*; and his care to infuse *Documents of Piety* into the Scholars of his Charge, that he might carry them with him to the *Heavenly World*. When *Aristotle* set up a Monument for his Master *Plato*, he inscribed upon it, this Testimony, HE WAS ONE WHOM ALL GOOD MEN OUGHT TO IMITATE, AS WELL AS TO CELEBRATE. MY MASTER went thro' his Hard Work with so much *Delight* in it, as a work for GOD and CHRIST, and His People: He so constantly *Pray'd* with us every Day, *Catechis'd* us every Week, and let fall such Holy *Counsels* upon us; He took so many Occasions, to make *Speeches* unto us, that should make us Afraid of Sin, and of incurring the fearful Judgments of God by Sin; That I do propose him for *Imitation*.

Verily, If all *School-masters* would Watch for *Souls*, and wisely spread the *Nets of Salvation* for the Souls of their Children, in the midst of all their Teaching; Or, if the wondrous *Rules of Education*, lately published and practised, in that *Wonder of the World*, the School of *Glauchau* near *Hall* in the Lower *Saxony*, were always attended: Who can tell, what *Blended Effects* might be seen, in very many *Children made wise unto Salvation*? *Albertus*, who from his Great Learning had the Surname of *Magnus*, desired of God some years before he died, That he might forget all his other Learning, and be wholly *Swallow'd up in Religion*. I would not propose unto you, My Masters, That you should Forget all other Learning. By all means furnish the Children with as much Learning as ever you can. But be not so *Swallowed up with other Learning*, as to Forget Religion, & the Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. Look upon other things to be (as a Speech in Parliament once elegantly called them,) only the *Et Cetera's*, to Religion. Why should not a *School-master* be to his Children, A *School-master to bring them unto Christ*? This was the Study of our *CHEEVER*. The famous Dr. *Reynolds*, in a Funeral Sermon on an Excellent *School-master*, in the City of London, has a passage worthy to be written in Letters of Gold. Says he, 'If Grammar-Schools have Holy and Learned men set over them, not only the Brains, but the Souls of the Children might be there Enriched, and the Work of Learning and of Conversion too, be Betimes wrought in them!'

I shall not presume to Dictate, upon this matter, or to Enquire, Why *Cassiodorus's Dialogues*, be not Look'd upon as one of the best School Books, for the *Latin*

Tongue, in all the World! Or, Why for the *Greek*, there is no more Account made of *Posseltius*? Or, indeed why (to express my self in the Terms of a Modern Writer,) 'there should not be *North-west Passage* found, for the Attaining of the *Latin Tongue*; that instead of a Journey, which may be dispatch'd 'in a few Days, they may not wander like the Children of *Israel*, Forty Years in 'the Wilderness. And why they should so much converse with the Poets, at 'that Age, when they read them, with so much Difficulty, and so little Relish.' But I will venture upon it, as neither a Tedious Parenthesis, nor a needless Digression, to single out only Two passages of many this way which in my small Reading I have met withal.

The first is this; I have seen this Experiment among others recorded of one that had a Number of Little Folks under his Charge.

'Moreover, He made it his Custome, that in every *Recitation*, he would, 'from something or other occurring in it, *make an occasion*, to let fall some 'Sentence, which had a Tendency to promote the *Fear of God* in their Hearts; 'which thing sometimes did indeed put him to more than a little study; but the 'Good Effect sufficiently Recompens'd it.'

Another is this. A late Writer ha's these words; 'Many Children are 'sooner taught what *Jupiter, Mars*, & such Pagan Gods were, then what, *Father, 'Son, and Spirit* is. *Augustine* of old complain'd of this; of Learning in the 'Schools, *Jesses* Adulteries; and for giving an Account of such things, with he, 'ob hoc bona op*er*i p*er* appellabar. Luther also complained, That our Schools 'were more Pagan than Christian. I refer the unsatisfied Reader, to *Pascors* 'Preface to his *Lexicon*. I knew an aged and famous School-master; that after 'he had kept School about Fifty years, said, with a very sad countenance, That it 'was a great Trouble to him, that he had spent so much time in Reading Pagan 'Authors to his Scholars, and wish'd it were customary to read such a Book as 'Duport's Verses upon *Job*, rather than *Homer*, and such Books. I pray God, 'put it in the Hearts of a Wise Parliament, to *Purge our Schools*; that instead of 'Learning vain Fictions, and Filthy Stories, they may be acquainted with the 'Word of God, and with Books containing Grave Sayings, and things that may 'make them truly Wise and Useful in the World.'

Ye have heard, what MY MASTER was, In the School. Sir Walter Raleigh commends it as a piece of wisdom, to use great moderation when we are treating men with Commendation. I will not forget the Rule, in carrying on my Commendation of my Master. But I will say very much in a Little. Out of the School, he was One, *Antiqua Fide, priscis moribus*; a Christian of the Old Fashion: An OLD NEW-ENGLISH CHRISTIAN; And I may tell you, That was as Venerable a Sight, as the World, since the Days of Primitive Christianity, has ever look'd upon.

He was well Studied in the *Body of Divinity*; An Able Defender of the Faith and Order of the Gospel; Notably Conversant and Acquainted with the Scriptural Prophecies; And, by Consequence, A Sober Chilian.

He Lived as a Master, the Term, which has been for above three thousand years, assign'd for the Life of a Man; he continued unto the Ninety Fourth year of his Age, an unusual Instance of Liveliness. His Intellectual Force, as little abated as his Natural. He Exemplified the Fulfilment of that word, *As thy Days, so shall thy Strength be*; in the Gloss which the *Jerusalem Targum* has put upon it; *As thou wast in the Dayes of thy Youth, such thou shalt be in thy Old Age*. The Reward of his Fruitfulness! For, *Fructus Liberat Arborem*. The product of Temperance; Rather than what my Lord Verulam assigns, as a Reason for Vicious Scholars.

DEATH must now do its part. He Dy'd, Longing for Death. Our old SIMEON waited for it, that he might get nearer to the Consolation of *Israel*. He Dyed Leaning like Old Jacob, upon a Staff; the Sacrifice and the Righteousness of a Glorious CHRIST, he let us know, was the Golden Staff, which he Lean'd upon. He Dyed mourning for the Quick Apostasie, which he saw breaking in upon us; very easie about his own Eternal Happiness, but full of Distress for a poor People here under the Displeasure of Heaven, for Former Iniquities, he thought, as well as Later Ones. To say no more: He Dyed, A CANDIDATE FOR THE FIRST RESURRECTION. And Verily, our Land is Weakened, when those Fly away, at whose Flight we may cry out, *My Father, My Father, the Chariots of New England, and the Horsemen thereof.*"

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

EDUCATION AND EDUCATIONAL WORK

AUTOBIOGRAPHY.*

HAVING emerged from the poverty and obscurity in which I was born and bred, to a state of affluence and some degree of reputation in the world, and having gone so far through life with a considerable share of felicity, the conducting means I made use of, which with the blessing of God so well succeeded, my posterity may like to know, as they may find some of them suitable to their own situations, and therefore fit to be imitated.

That felicity, when I reflected on it, has induced me sometimes to say, that were it offered to my choice, I should have no objection to a repetition of the same life from its beginning, only asking the advantages authors have in a second edition to correct some faults of the first. So I might, besides correcting the faults, change some sinister accidents and events of it for others more favorable. But though this were denied, I should still accept the offer. Since such a repetition is not to be expected, the next thing most like living one's life over again seems to be a recollection of that life, and to make that recollection as durable as possible by putting it down in writing.

Josiah, my father, married young, and carried his wife with three children into New England, about 1682. The conventicles having been forbidden by law, and frequently disturbed, induced some considerable men of his acquaintance to remove to that country, and he was prevailed with to accompany them thither, where they expected to enjoy their mode of religion with freedom. By the same wife he had four children more born there, and by a second wife ten more, in all seventeen; of which I remember thirteen sitting at one time at his table, who all grew up to be men and women, and married; I was the youngest son, and the youngest child but two, and was born in Boston, New England, Jan. 6th, 1706 (o. s.) My mother, the second wife, was Abiah Folger, daughter of Peter Folger, one of the first settlers of New England, of whom honorable mention is made by Cotton Mather, in his church history of that

* Composed in 1771—abridged.

country, entitled *Magnalia Christi Americana*, as '*a godly, learned Englishman*,' if I remember the words rightly. I have heard that he wrote sundry small occasional pieces, but only one of them was printed, which I saw now many years since. It was written in 1675, in the home-spun verse of that time and people, and addressed to those then concerned in the government there. It was in favor of liberty of conscience, and in behalf of the Baptists, Quakers, and other sectaries that had been under persecution, ascribing the Indian wars, and other distresses that had befallen the country, to that persecution, as so many judgments of God to punish so heinous an offense, and exhorting a repeal of those uncharitable laws. The whole appeared to me as written with a good deal of decent plainness and manly freedom.

My elder brothers were all put apprentices to different trades. I was put to the grammar-school at eight years of age, my father intending to devote me, as the tithe of his sons, to the service of the Church. My early readiness in learning to read (which must have been very early, as I do not remember when I could not read), and the opinion of all his friends, that I should certainly make a good scholar, encouraged him in this purpose of his. My Uncle Benjamin, too, approved of it, and proposed to give me all his short-hand volumes of sermons, I suppose as a stock to set up with, if I would learn his character. I continued, however, at the grammar-school not quite one year, though in that time I had risen gradually from the middle of the class of that year to be the head of it, and farther, was removed into the next class above it, in order to go with that into the third at the end of the year. But my father, in the meantime, from a view of the expense of a college education, which having so large a family he could not well afford, and the mean living many so educated were afterward able to obtain—reasons that he gave to his friends in my hearing—altered his first intention, took me from the grammar-school, and sent me to a school for writing and arithmetic, kept by a then famous man, Mr. George Brownell, very successful in his profession generally, and that by mild, encouraging methods. Under him I acquired fair writing pretty soon, but I failed in the arithmetic, and made no progress in it. At ten years old I was taken home to assist my father in his business, which was that of a tallow-chandler and soap-boiler; a business he was not bred to, but had assumed on his arrival in New England, and on finding his dying trade would not maintain his family, being in little request. Accordingly, I was employed in cutting wick for

the candles, filling the dipping mold and the molds for cast candles, attending the shop, going of errands, etc.

I disliked the trade, and had a strong inclination for the sea, but my father declared against it; however, living near the water, I was much in and about it, learnt early to swim well, and to manage boats; and when in a boat or canoe with other boys, I was commonly allowed to govern, especially in any case of difficulty; and upon other occasions I was generally a leader among the boys, and sometimes led them into scrapes, of which I will mention one instance, as it shows an early projecting public spirit, though not then justly conducted.

There was a salt-marsh that bounded part of the mill-pond, on the edge of which, at high water, we used to stand to fish for minnows. By much trampling, we had made it a mere quagmire. My proposal was to build a wharf there fit for us to stand upon, and I showed my comrades a large heap of stones, which were intended for a new house near the marsh, and which would very well suit our purpose. Accordingly, in the evening, when the workmen were gone, I assembled a number of my playfellows, and working with them diligently like so many emmets, sometimes two or three to a stone, we brought them all away and built our little wharf. The next morning the workmen were surprised at missing the stones, which were found in our wharf. Inquiry was made after the removers; we were discovered and complained of; several of us were corrected by our fathers; and, though I pleaded the usefulness of the work, mine convinced me that nothing was useful which was not honest.

I think you may like to know something of his person and character. He had an excellent constitution of body, was of middle stature, but well set, and very strong; he was ingenious, could draw prettily, was skilled a little in music, and had a clear pleasing voice, so that when he played psalm tunes on his violin and sung withal, as he sometimes did in an evening after the business of the day was over, it was extremely agreeable to hear. He had a mechanical genius too, and, on occasion, was very handy in the use of other tradesmen's tools; but his great excellence lay in a sound understanding and solid judgment in prudential matters, both in private and public affairs. In the latter, indeed, he was never employed, the numerous family he had to educate and the straightness of his circumstances keeping him close to his trade; but I remember well his being frequently visited by leading people, who consulted him

for his opinion in affairs of the town or of the church he belonged to, and showed a good deal of respect for his judgment and advice: he was also much consulted by private persons about their affairs when any difficulty occurred, and frequently chosen an arbitrator between contending parties. At his table he liked to have, as often as he could, some sensible friend or neighbor to converse with, and always took care to start some ingenious or useful topic for discourse, which might tend to improve the minds of his children. By this means he turned our attention to what was good, just, and prudent in the conduct of life; and little or no notice was ever taken of what related to the victuals on the table, whether it was well or ill dressed, in or out of season, of good or bad flavor, preferable or inferior to this or that other thing of the kind, so that I was brought up in such a perfect inattention to those matters as to be quite indifferent what kind of food was set before me, and so unobservant of it, that to this day if I am asked I scarce can tell a few hours after dinner what I dined upon. This has been a convenience to me in traveling, where my companions have been sometimes very unhappy for want of a suitable gratification of their more delicate, because better instructed, tastes and appetites.

My mother had likewise an excellent constitution: she suckled all her ten children. I never knew either my father or mother to have any sickness but that of which they died, he at 89, and she at 85 years of age. They lie buried together at Boston, where I some years since placed a marble over their grave, with this inscription:

JOSIAH FRANKLIN,

and

ABIAH his wife,

lie here interred.

They lived lovingly together in wedlock

fifty-five years.

Without an estate, or any gainful employment,

By constant labor and industry,

with God's blessing,

They maintained a large family

comfortably,

and brought up thirteen children

and seven grandchildren

reputably.

From this instance, reader,

Be encouraged to diligence in thy calling,

And distrust not Providence.

He was a pious and prudent man;

She, a discreet and virtuous woman.

Their youngest son,

In filial regard to their memory,

Places this stone.

J. F. born 1655, died 1744, Ætat 89.

A. F. born 1667, died 1752, — 85.*

My father sometimes took me to walk with him, and see joiners, bricklayers, turners, braziers, etc., at their work, that he might observe my inclination, and endeavor to fix it on some trade or other on land. It has ever since been a pleasure to me to see good workmen handle their tools; and it has been useful to me, having learnt so much by it as to be able to do little jobs myself in my house when a workman could not readily be got, and to construct little machines for my experiments, while the intention of making the experiment was fresh and warm in my mind.

From a child I was fond of reading, and all the little money that came into my hands was ever laid out in books. Pleased with the Pilgrim's Progress, my first collection was of John Bunyan's

* The marble stone on which this inscription was engraved having become decayed, and the inscription itself defaced by time, a more durable monument has been erected over the graves of the father and mother of Franklin. The suggestion was first made at a meeting of the Building Committee of the Bunker Hill Monument Association in the autumn of 1896, and it met with universal approbation. A committee of managers was organized, and an amount of money adequate to the object was soon contributed by the voluntary subscriptions of a large number of the citizens of Boston. The corner-stone was laid on the 15th of June, 1897, and an address appropriate to the occasion was pronounced by General Henry A. S. Dearborn. The monument is an obelisk of granite, twenty one feet high, which rests on a square base measuring seven feet on each side and two feet in height. The obelisk is composed of five massive blocks of granite, placed one above another. On one side is the name of Franklin in large bronze letters, and a little below is a tablet of bronze, thirty-two inches long and sixteen wide, sunk into the stone. On this tablet is engraved Dr. Franklin's original inscription, as quoted in the text, and beneath it are the following lines:

THE MARBLE TABLET,

Bearing the above inscription,

Having been dilapidated by the ravages of time,

A number of citizens,

Entertaining the most profound veneration

For the memory of the illustrious

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,

And desirous of reminding succeeding generations

That he was born in Boston,

A. D. MDCCVI.,

Erected this

Obelisk

Over the grave of his parents,

MDCCCXXVII.

A silver plate was deposited under the corner-stone, with an inscription commemorative of the occasion, a part of which is as follows. 'This monument was erected over the remains of the parents of Benjamin Franklin by the citizens of Boston, from respect to the private character and public services of this illustrious patriot and philosopher, and for the many tokens of his affectionate attachment to his native town.'—S.

works in separate little volumes. I afterward sold them to enable me to buy R. Burton's Historical Collection; they were small chapmen's books, and cheap, 40 or 50 in all. My father's little library consisted chiefly of books in polemic divinity, most of which I read, and have since often regretted that, at a time when I had such a thirst for knowledge, more proper books had not fallen in my way.

- since it was now resolved I should not be a clergyman. Plutarch's Lives there was in which I read abundantly, and I still think that time spent to great advantage. There was also a book of De Foe's, called an Essay on Projects, and another of Dr. Mather's, called Essays to do Good, which perhaps gave me a turn of thinking that had an influence on some of the principal future events of my life.

This bookish inclination at length determined my father to make me a printer, though he had already one son (James) of that profession. In 1717 my brother James returned from England with a press and letters to set up his business in Boston. I liked it much better than that of my father, but still had a hankering for the sea. To prevent the apprehended effect of such an inclination, my father was impatient to have me bound to my brother. I stood out some time, but at last was persuaded, and signed the indentures when I was yet but twelve years old. I was to serve as an apprentice till I was twenty-one years of age, only I was to be allowed journeyman's wages during the last year. In a little time I made great proficiency in the business, and became a useful hand to my brother. I now had access to better books. An acquaintance with the apprentices of booksellers enabled me sometimes to borrow a small one, which I was careful to return soon and clean. Often I sat up in my room reading the greatest part of the night, when the book was borrowed in the evening to be returned early in the morning, lest it should be missed or wanted.

About this time I met with an old volume of the *Spectator*. It was the third. I had never before seen any of them. I bought it, read it over and over, and was much delighted with it. I thought the writing excellent, and wished, if possible, to imitate it. With this view I took some of the papers, and, making short hints of the sentiment in each sentence, laid them by a few days, and then, without looking at the book, tried to complete the papers again, by expressing each hinted sentiment at length, and as fully as it had been expressed before, in any suitable words that should come to hand. Then I compared my *Spectator* with the original, discovered some of my faults, and corrected them. But I found I wanted a stock of

words, or a readiness in recollecting and using them, which I thought I should have acquired before that time if I had gone on making verses; since the continual occasion for words of the same import, but of different length, to suit the measure, or of different sound for the rhyme, would have laid me under a constant necessity of searching for variety, and also have tended to fix that variety in my mind, and make me master of it. Therefore I took some of the tales and turned them into verse; and, after a time, when I had pretty well forgotten the prose, turned them back again.

And now it was that, being on some occasion made ashamed of my ignorance in figures, which I had twice failed in learning when at school, I took Cocker's book of Arithmetic, and went through the whole by myself with great ease. I also read Seller's and Shermy's books of Navigation, and became acquainted with the little geometry they contain; but never proceeded far in that science. And I read about this time, *Locke on Human Understanding*, and the *Art of Thinking*, by Messrs. du Port Royal.

While I was intent on improving my language, I met with an English grammar (I think it was Greenwood's), at the end of which there were two little sketches of the arts of rhetoric and logic, the latter finishing with a specimen of a dispute in the Socratic method; and soon after I procured Xenophon's *Memorable Things of Socrates*, wherein there are many instances of the same method. I was charmed with it, adopted it, dropt my abrupt contradiction and positive argumentation, and put on the humble inquirer and doubter.

My brother had, in 1720 or 1721, begun to print a newspaper. It was the second that appeared in America, and was called the *New England Courant*.*

He had some ingenious men among his friends, who amused themselves by writing little pieces for this paper, which gained it credit and made it more in demand, and these gentlemen often visited us. Hearing their conversations, and their accounts of the approbation their papers were received with, I was excited to try my hand among them; but, being still a boy, and suspecting that my brother would object to printing any thing of mine in his paper if he new it to be mine, I contrived to disguise my hand, and, writing an anonymous paper, I put it in at night under the door of the

* The 'New England Courant' was the fourth newspaper that appeared in America. The first number of the *Boston News-Letter* was published April 24th, 1704. This was the first newspaper in America. The *Boston Gazette* commenced December 21st, 1719; the *American Weekly Mercury*, at Philadelphia, December 20d, 1719; the *New England Courant*, August 21st, 1721.

printing house. It was found in the morning, and communicated to his writing friends when they called in as usual. They read it, commented on it in my hearing, and I had the exquisite pleasure of finding it met with their approbation, and that, in their different guesses at the author, none were named but men of some character among us for learning and ingenuity. I suppose now that I was rather lucky in my judges, and perhaps they were not really so very good ones as I then esteemed them.

[About this time a difference, and alienation of feeling sprung up between the brothers, the blame of which Benjamin takes to himself as one of the first errata of his life, which he would be glad to correct in a *second edition*. This alienation led to his going to Philadelphia, and his first appearance there is thus described:]

I was in my working dress, my best clothes being to come round by sea. I was dirty from my journey; my pockets were stuffed out with shirts and stockings, and I knew no soul nor where to look for lodging. I was fatigued with traveling, rowing, and want of rest, I was very hungry; and my whole stock of cash consisted of a Dutch dollar, and about a shilling in copper. The latter I gave the people of the boat for my passage, who at first refused it, on account of my rowing; but I insisted on their taking it. A man being sometimes more generous when he has but a little money than when he has plenty, perhaps through fear of being thought to have but little.

Then I walked up the street, gazing about till near the market-house I met a boy with bread. I had made many a meal on bread, and, inquiring where he got it, I went immediately to the baker's he directed me to, in Second street, and asked for biscuit, intending such as we had in Boston; but they, it seems, were not made in Philadelphia. Then I asked for a three-penny loaf, and was told they had none such. So not considering or knowing the difference of money, and the greater cheapness nor the names of his bread, I bade him give me three-penny worth of any sort. He gave me, accordingly, three great puffy rolls. I was surprised at the quantity, but took it, and, having no room in my pockets, walked off with a roll under each arm, and eating the other. Thus I went up Market street as far as Fourth street, passing by the door of Mr. Read, my future wife's father; when she, standing at the door, saw me, and thought I made, as I most certainly did, a most awkward, ridiculous appearance. Then I turned and went down Chestnut street, eating my roll all the way, and, coming round, found myself again at

Market street wharf, near the boat I came in, to which I went for a draught of the river water; and, being filled with one of my rolls, gave the other two to a woman and her child that came down the river in the boat with us, and were waiting to go farther.

Thus refreshed, I walked again up the street, which by this time had many clean-dressed people in it, who were all walking the same way. I joined them, and thereby was led into the great meeting-house of the Quakers near the market. I sat down among them, and, after looking round awhile and hearing nothing said, and being very drowsy through labor and want of rest the preceding night, I fell fast asleep, and continued so till the meeting broke up, when one was kind enough to rouse me. This was therefore, the first house I was in, or slept in, in Philadelphia.

Walking down again toward the river, and, looking in the faces of people, I met a young Quaker man, whose countenance I liked, and, accosting him, requested he would tell me where a stranger could get lodging. We were then near the sign of the Three Mariners. 'Here,' says he, 'is one place that entertains strangers, but it is not a reputable house; if thee wilt walk with me, I'll show thee a better.' He brought me to the Crooked Billet in Water street. Here I got a dinner; and, while I was eating it, several sly questions were asked me, as it seemed to be suspected from my youth and appearance, that I might be some runaway.

After dinner, my sleepiness returned, and being shown to a bed, I lay down without undressing, and slept till six in the evening, was called to supper, went to bed again very early, and slept soundly till next morning. Then I made myself as tidy as I could, and went to Andrew Bradford, the printer's.

MEMOIR Continued.—Compiled from various sources.

Franklin obtained employment in Keimer's printing house, but returned to Boston in 1724, which he soon left again, with the approbation and blessing of his parents, and the promise of help, if needed, to set him up in business, on attaining the age of twenty-one. On his way he stopped at Newport* to visit his brother John, who followed the business of a printer there; and in New York visited, by invitation, Gov. Burnet, who was interested in learning from the captain of the vessel that he had many books with him. Soon after reaching Philadelphia, he was induced by Sir William Keith to set up a printing office of his own, and for this purpose, without due consideration, on the assurance of pecuniary

* At Newport he received authority from Mr. Vernon to receive some money (30*l.* currency) due him in Pennsylvania; the money was collected but not remitted promptly—a source of much regret, one of the 'errata,' which he would correct in a second edition of his life.

aid and letters of introduction from Governor Keith, he repaired to London to purchase type and other outfit.

Finding himself in London, without friends or letters of introduction, he at once 'accepted the situation,' entered the printing office of Palmer in Bartholomew Close, and afterward of Watts' near Lincoln's Inn—earning good wages, which he spent thoughtlessly, acting as other young men are apt to do, who are away from the restraints of home and surrounding friends. But here his native superiority and his power of will asserted themselves—he put himself at the head of his fellow workmen, he broke away from bad habits when made conscious of their power over him, employed his pen in writing for the press, secured the reading of good books, and made the acquaintance of several remarkable literary characters, such as Dr. Pemberton, the friend of Newton, Dr. Mandeville, author of the *Fable of the Bees*, Sir Hans Sloane, the founder of the British Museum, and Sir William Windham, who sought his acquaintance from learning his wonderful feats in swimming, which the statesman wished his sons to learn, before they set out on their travels on the continent. Of his mode of life in London he got tired, was homesick, and gladly accepted the offer of Mr. Denham, who was his fellow passenger over, to return with him as clerk, in which capacity he served before leaving London, and for a few months after his return—acquiring thereby a knowledge of book-keeping and of trade generally.

In 1727, after the death of Mr. Denham which broke up the business, Franklin took charge of Keimer's printing office, into which he soon introduced order, and out of the most promising of the workmen and other personal friends, formed the celebrated club, or debating society, the Junto, on the plan of Cotton Mather's Benefit Societies, and the methods of his *Essays to do Good*. In the prosecution of Keimer's business, he spent several months in Burlington, acquiring as usual new friends among the members of the Assembly, and in other government positions, by his intelligence and social qualities. In 1728, he went into business first with Hugh Meredith, and after July 30, 1730, on his own account.

On his voyage homeward in 1726, aged twenty, he formed the plan of his future life based on, (1.) Frugal living; (2.) Perfect truthfulness in every word and action; (3.) Patient industry; (4.) Charity in speech toward all men—principles to which he rigidly adhered and to which he attributed his prosperity, influence, and usefulness in life.

On the 1st of September, 1730, Benjamin Franklin was married

to Deborah Reed—his first love of a serious kind, which did not run smooth in its first course, with him or her, but which made a home precious to both after each had tried the folly of living apart after being assured of each other's affection. He was a faithful, tender, and considerate husband, although he brought into his new home a child (the future Governor of New Jersey) born to him out of wedlock, the name of whose mother was never known. She proved a devoted, generous, and faithful wife, the mother of two fine children, one of whom, Francis Folger, died in his fourth year, and the other a daughter, Sarah, who became, Oct. 29, 1767, the wife of Richard Bache, and whose descendants numbered in 1886 one hundred and ten.

Franklin as a Business Man.

'Franklin was an active business man in Philadelphia for just twenty years—from 1728 to 1748. He was printer, editor, compiler, publisher, bookseller, bookbinder, and stationer. He made lampblack and ink; he dealt in rags; he sold soap and live-geese feathers. One of his advertisements of 1735, offers 'very good sack at 6 shillings a gallon;' and he frequently announces, that he has coffee for sale and other household articles. His shop was the source of news, and the favorite haunt of the inquisitive and public-spirited.*

In Dec. 28, 1728, '*the Universal Instructor in all Arts and Sciences, and the Pennsylvania Gazette*,' was begun by Keimer; and in the month following, Franklin began in Bradford's *Mercury*, a series of papers in the manner of the Spectator, entitled 'Busy-Body;' and in March of 1729 published a paper on the 'Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency,' which contains remarks on the nature of money, labor as the standard of value, and the principle of self-adjustment in commercial affairs when unobstructed by unwise legislation, worthy of Adam Smith. In October, following, he came into possession of Keimer's paper, which he published and edited for ten years thereafter with the title reduced to *Pennsylvania Gazette*—which he made for the period a model newspaper, a medium for making known wants of all kinds, with reading suitable for the counting-house, and the fireside—for old and young.

In 1731, he projected the plan of a social and subscription library. Fifty persons subscribed forty shillings each, and agreed to pay ten shillings annually; and for this were entitled to take books to their homes. In 1742, this company was incorporated by the name of 'The Library Company of Philadelphia.' The Swede, Prof. Kalm, who was there in 1748, says that then the parent library had given rise

* Parton's *Life of Franklin*.

to 'many little libraries,' on the same plan as itself. He also says that non-subscribers were then allowed to take books out of the library, by leaving a pledge for the value of the book, and paying for a folio eight pence a week, for a quarto sixpence, and for all others four pence. 'The subscribers,' he says, 'were so kind to me as to order the librarian, during my stay here, to lend me every book I should want, without requiring any payment of me.' In 1764, the shares had risen in value to nearly twenty pounds, and the collection was considered to be worth seventeen hundred pounds. In 1785, the number of volumes was 5,487; in 1807, 14,457; in 1875, 100,000.

In 1732, he began to print his Almanac, commonly called Poor Richard's Almanac, which he continued for twenty-five years. His inventive and beneficent genius imparted to this species of publication a new character—that of a code of prudentials for all classes of society, and especially for the common people. The collection of aphorisms which he prefixed to the Almanac of 1757, and which bears a title too contracted for its scope, has been styled, by an eminent writer, the best treatise extant, both of public and private economy. It had a prodigious success, was translated into many foreign languages, was spread as well over Europe as North America, and remains still unrivaled for the purposes which it was meant to promote. Franklin gave his newspaper a similar direction; he conducted it not in the spirit of a tradesman or an incendiary, but in that of an apostle of letters and morals. He wrote for it pointed ethical discourses, enriched it with literary selections, and scrupulously excluded from it 'all libeling and personal abuse.'

In 1733, Franklin began the study of languages, and soon learned to read French, Italian, and Spanish. His progress in Italian was promoted by his love of the game of chess. A friend, who was also learning the Italian, often lured him from his books by challenging him to play at this game. At length, he refused to play any more except upon condition the victor should impose a task upon the vanquished, such as learning a verb or writing a translation, which task should be performed before the next meeting. As they played about equally, they beat one another into the acquisition of the Italian language. His acquisition of Latin was in this wise: Looking over a Latin Testament, one day, he was surprised to find that his knowledge of the three modern languages, together with his dim recollection of his year's study of Latin at the Boston grammar school, enabled him to read the Latin Testament with considerable facility. He became convinced that the true order of acquiring languages is, the modern first, and the ancient afterward.

We are told,' he says, 'that it is proper to begin first with the Latin, and, having acquired that, it will be more easy to attain those modern languages which are derived from it; and yet we do not begin with the Greek in order more easily to acquire the Latin.' 'I would, therefore,' he adds, 'offer it to the consideration of those who superintend the education of our youth, whether—since many of those who begin with the Latin, quit the same after spending some years without having made any great proficiency, and what they have learned becomes almost useless, so that their time has been lost—it would not have been better to have begun with the French, proceeding to the Italian and Latin. For though, after spending the same time, they should quit the study of languages and never arrive at the Latin, they would, however, have acquired another tongue or two, that, being in modern use, might be serviceable to them in common life.' Music is mentioned by Franklin as a diversion, but he pursued it with more than the devotion of an ordinary amateur. He appears to have played on several instruments, and to have studied their nature and powers. The harp, the guitar, the violin, and the violoncello, appear to have been the instruments he most affected, until, later in life, he improved the armonica. Leigh Hunt, whose parents once lived at Philadelphia, mentions that Franklin offered to teach his mother the guitar.

In 1736, he was promoted to the office of clerk in the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, and the following year to the more lucrative one of postmaster of Philadelphia. His prosperity at this time enabled him to prosecute several schemes for the municipal improvement of the city. Among these were the reformation of the city watch, the paving and lighting of the streets, the organization of fire companies, and a fire insurance office. He had a large share in the establishment of the Pennsylvania hospital;* in his efforts to found an academy, with an English school in 1749, he may be considered the founder of the University of Pennsylvania; and his Circular in 1743 to his correspondents in different parts of the country suggesting their associating together 'for conference and correspondence on subjects that increase the power of man over matter, and multiply the conveniences or pleasures of life,' led to the establishment of the American Philosophical Society.

In 1741, he invented the open stove which bore his name, and wrote a pamphlet explanatory of its construction and utility; but

* The idea of establishing a hospital in Philadelphia belongs to Dr. Thomas Bond, who, meeting with little encouragement, came to Franklin—'For I am often asked—Have you consulted Franklin on this business? and what does he think of it?' Franklin took the work in hand, obtained subscriptions, and secured its success by a grant of 2,000*l.* from the Assembly.

refused a patent for it, on the beneficent principle, that such inventions ought to become at once common property, and be considered in the light of an interchange of good offices among mankind.

In 1744, he began to print, in addition to the Pennsylvania Gazette, a monthly magazine, entitled 'The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle for all the British Plantations in America,' which stopped with the sixth number.

His attention was first drawn to the facts of electricity in 1746. After much study of the subject with apparatus sent over by Mr. Collinson, he was the first to ascertain, in 1752, the identity of lightning and the electric fluid; and history presents few grander scenes than that of Franklin, with his son twenty-one years old by his side, on the 26th of June, 1752, in the fields near Philadelphia, with a thunder cloud expanding and darkening the sky, into which the philosopher had let fly a kite of ordinary construction—except that the covering is a silk handkerchief, and the head has an iron point, and the string of hemp terminates in his hand with a thread of silk, at the junction of which hangs an iron key,—he touches the key, and the lightning of the heavens sparkles in his hand—and the speculations of the study are proved correct. The fact is well recorded in the inscription under his portrait:—'*Eripuit fulmen calo.*'*

Public Life.

Franklin's public life in the sense of living as much for the public as for himself, began with his business career, but in the narrow sense of holding office, with his acceptance of the clerkship of the Assembly in 1736, and of the Assistant Postmastership in 1747. In 1748 the Governor appointed him Justice of the Peace, the city elected him first to the Common Council in 1750, and soon after, an Alderman, and his fellow-citizens made him their representative in the Assembly in the same year. The first position he resigned when he found he knew too little of law to discharge its duties properly; the second he made serviceable for the cleanliness, safety, and traffic of the city, and the latter for the defense of the Province against the Indians. In 1753, he was commissioned Postmaster-general by the Home Government, and in that capacity introduced improvements which made henceforward the Postal Service one of the prime civilizers and blessings of his country.

* *Eripuit Celo fulmen, sceptrumque Tyrannis.*

He snatched the thunderbolt from Heaven, and the scepter from the hands of Tyrants.

This motto was composed by Turgot in 1778, (after Franklin signed the Alliance with France,) and improved by D'Alembert by substituting the word *sceptrumque* for *max sceptris*, as originally written. It was suggested not by any thing in *Cludian*, as suggested by Lord Brougham, but by the *Anti-Lucretius, sive de Deo et Natura* by the Cardinal Maleskiör de Polignac in 1747. See *Atlantic Monthly*, Nov., 1863.

In 1754, the depredations of the Indians on the frontiers had become grievous and alarming; the colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, appointed deputies to meet at Albany, and to devise some plan of military defense. Franklin was in attendance on behalf of his province, and produced 'The Albany Plan of Union.' The supremacy of his intellect was felt and acknowledged in the Congress, and his scheme was adopted. The idea was to solicit an act of parliament for establishing a general government over the colonies, consisting of a governor, to be named by the crown, and of a parliament, to be elected by the assemblies of the provincial states, in the proportion of their respective populousness. This general government was to raise troops, build forts, and to provide for the public defense. Notwithstanding the unanimous sanction of the Albany Congress, the plan was rejected both by the provincial assemblies and by the ministry of England. By the first it was held too favorable to the influence of the crown; by the second, as being too favorable to the independence of the colonies. But the discussion served to familiarize the words *congress*, *general government*, *American army*, and thus to prepare the very form of confederacy, which was afterward resorted to during the revolution. In the autumn of the same year, he saw at Boston the English plan of union, in which provision was made for the reimbursement for all advances made by the British treasury for colonial defense by a tax to be laid on the Colonies by Parliament. To this feature he at once objected, in writing, in words which afterward became familiar as household words—'*No taxation without representation.*' '*No distinction between Englishmen living in England, and Englishmen living abroad.*'

In the spring of 1755, Franklin was of great service to General Braddock in obtaining appropriations from the Assembly and supplying the means of transportation for the supplies of the army, which was destined to encounter a disastrous defeat—a defeat which his own sagacity had anticipated, and of which he warned the General to provide against by more watchfulness. In the same year he took the field in person, and did good service as Colonel in protecting the Moravian settlements from the incursions of the Indians.

In 1755, he engaged in a charitable scheme which originated in London for the relief and instruction of poor Germans and their descendants in Pennsylvania and the adjacent colonies. His plan contemplated distributing the German emigrants among the English settlers instead of locating them together; and at once establishing English schools for adults as well as for children. He always mani-

fested special interest in the German population, and just before his death made a donation to the college at Lancaster called after his name, and whose inauguration he attended in 1789.

Dr. Franklin was deputed, in 1757, to Great Britain, there to solicit the abolition of certain exemptions from taxation, which had been conferred on the family of Penn. He succeeded in the object of his embassy; and, during his stay in London, he published a pamphlet, pointing out the advantages that would result from the retention of Canada. This pamphlet produced the desired effect, and thus delivered his country from the danger of French aggression.

During this mission, Franklin's acquaintance was courted by persons of the highest distinction in England; his cast of mind and remarks gained the admiration and esteem of the most enlightened and polished men in Europe; and he was every where honored and caressed as one of the great ornaments of the age. All the attentions that he received, however, did not estrange his heart from his family and country. The letters, written at this time to his wife, open a delightful view of his domestic and social character; and he longs, in the midst of his triumphs of his London existence, for his fireside and his family endearments. Before leaving England, he was created Doctor of Laws (LL.D.), by the universities of Aberdeen (in 1759), Oxford (in 1762), and Edinburgh. He had previously received the degree of Master of Arts from Yale College in 1752 and from Harvard in 1753. He had also the satisfaction to see his son, Mr. William Franklin, without any solicitation on his own part, made Governor of New Jersey, an appointment which probably cost the son his patriotism, as an appointment in the military service of the mother country, by the Royal Governor Wentworth, made Benjamin Thompson of Woburn, Mass., an adherent of the mother country, in the Revolutionary conflict.

In 1762, he returned to America, and was immediately greeted with the thanks of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, 'for the many important services done to America in general,' as well as for those rendered to the province; and the vote of thanks was accompanied by an appropriation of five hundred pounds as a compensation for his labors. During his absence, he had been annually elected a member of the Assembly, and, therefore, resumed his seat at once.

The year following his arrival in Philadelphia was full of local and provincial commotion, which took more of a personal character than before, and ended in his defeat in the election to the Assembly by the strenuous efforts of the adherents of the Proprietary Government, and in his appointment in 1764 as the Agent of the

Assembly to solicit from the King and Parliament a Royal Governor, and to oppose the passage of a Stamp Act.

In the agitation which grew out of the discussion of the Stamp Act, the entering wedge which finally sundered the British Empire, Franklin exerted every effort to prevent its passage and hasten its repeal—maintaining to the last the principles which he avowed when the subject of Parliamentary taxation was first broached in 1754 in the English plan of Union of the Colonies; and by his personal communications with Edmund Burke and Lord Chatham, as well as in his memorable answers in his examination before the House of Commons, achieved for himself and his cause one of those triumphs which Peace sometimes reserves for her champions.

The presentation of a petition from the Massachusetts assembly, occasioned Dr. Franklin to be called for examination before the House of Commons. 'The entire examination brought forth a body of information, so varied, and comprehensive, and luminous, communicated with such firmness and readiness, such precision, such epigrammatic point and simplicity, as to astonish even those who were most confident in his powers, and to render any immediate result, other than the one obtained, almost impossible. The interrogatories, with the answers, were printed without delay, and produced in his countrymen the liveliest emotions of gratitude and pride; for not only were their feelings, condition, and merits, thoroughly explained, but their rights elucidated and solemnly recorded.'

In 1772, Franklin came into possession of a packet of letters, written by persons in authority in New England, and principally in Massachusetts—placed in his hands without any agency of his own by Mr. John Temple, as evidence that the offensive measures of the English Ministry were suggested by native born Americans. These letters, known as the *Hutchinson Papers*, were sent by him to Boston, and finally, with the permission of Mr. Temple, became so public, that their contents were discussed in the Massachusetts Assembly, and a petition to the King for the removal of the two chief offenders, Thomas Hutchinson and Andrew Oliver from their respective offices—the former was Governor, and the latter Secretary of the Colony. The petition was presented, and on the 8th of January, 1773, he was summoned to appear before the Lords of the Council—the Committee for Plantation Affairs.

During the discussion of this petition, Franklin was assailed in the privy council by Wedderburn, (afterward Lord Loughborough), and in the house of lords by Lord Sandwich, in the most vindictive

and violent terms. Sandwich declared him to be '*one of the bitterest and most mischievous enemies Britain had ever known,*' and Wedderburn held him forth as '*a thief and a murderer.*' Franklin betrayed not the least emotion; he saw and heard with calm dignity; his countenance remained as immovable as wood, and only 'expressed his sorrow to observe that the Lords of Council could behave so indecently (who had universally laughed aloud, and enjoyed the sarcastic brutality of the attorney-general), and to find that the coarsest language could be grateful to the politest ear.'

The ministry followed up their imaginary triumph, by dismissing him from his place of deputy postmaster-general, and preventing the payment of the arrears of his salary;—but as the clouds of the revolution thickened and lowered in the political horizon, the ministry, becoming alarmed at the increasing dangers and difficulties by which they were surrounded, turned again to Franklin for aid, and underwent a severe humiliation in making anxious advances to the man whom they had covered with contumelies, and malignantly dismissed from the service of his sovereign.

They opened a communication with him by means of informal agents, commissioned to draw him into some scheme of pacification agreeable to their immediate views, and bade him '*expect any reward in the power of the government to bestow,*'—'*unlimited recompense, honors, and emoluments beyond his expectation,*'—in the event of his effecting an adjustment suited to the *dignity* of the government. The season when his country could be served by personal condescension being passed, Franklin repelled every suggestion of the kind, in the manner required by his character, his station, and his cause. To his friend Barclay, who ventured to hint something of an unlimited choice of office, he replied, with a decisive plainness, *that the ministry, he was sure, would rather give him a place in a cart to Tyburn than any other place whatever*: and when the same agent, in a conversation which was to be exactly repeated to the ministers, observed how necessary an agreement was for America, since it was so easy for Britain to burn all her sea-port towns, the aged patriot gave this answer, of which the spirit should be eternal among his countrymen:—'*The chief part of my little property consists of houses in those towns; you may make bonfires of them whenever you please; the fear of losing them will never alter my resolution to resist to the last the claims of parliament; it behooves Britain to take care what mischief she does us, for, sooner or later, she will certainly be obliged to make good all damages with interest.*'

During all the discussions in England which preceded the Declaration of Independence, Franklin was the fountain head of information and argument on the side of the Colonies. In 1774, the Earl of Chatham sought an interview with Franklin on the situation of affairs in America, which was renewed by Franklin four months later when the Petition and Address of Congress reached England—and after that interview the ‘Great Commoner’ resolved to appear in his place in the House of Lords to move for an address to the King to send orders for the immediate removal of the troops from Boston, as preliminary to any reconciliation. When the day came, he introduced Dr. Franklin into the House ‘as his presence will be of more service to America than mine.’ His speech on that occasion was worth a triumphant battle to our fathers. ‘When your lordships look at the papers transmitted us from America; when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom, you can not but respect their cause, and wish to make it your own. For myself, I must declare and avow, that in all my reading and observation—and it has been my favorite study—I have read Thucydides, and have studied and admired the master-states of the world—that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the General Congress at Philadelphia.’ The motion, although ably supported by Lord Camden, was voted down. His son, William Pitt, who was present, a youth of eighteen, wrote to his mother—‘the speech was the most forcible that can be imagined. The matter and manner both were striking.’ A few weeks later the great parliamentary orator again sought the advice of Franklin at his rooms in Craven street on a plan of reconciliation which he introduced with another powerful speech in the House. Franklin was present—and when Lord Sandwich opposed the reception of Lord Chatham’s plan, he turned toward the spot where Franklin stood, with the remark, ‘that the plan could not be the production of any British Peer. He fancied he had in his eye the person who drew it up, one of the bitterest and most mischievous enemies this country had ever known.’ To this insinuation, Lord Chatham in his reply declared the plan was entirely his own; ‘a declaration he thought himself the more obliged to make, as many of their Lordships appeared to have so mean an opinion of it; for if it was so weak or so bad a thing, it was proper in him to take care that no other person should unjustly share in the censure it deserved. That it had heretofore been reckoned his vice, not to be apt to take advice; but he made no scruple to de-

clare, that, if he were the first minister of the country, and had the care of settling this momentous business, he should not be ashamed of publicly calling to his assistance a person so perfectly acquainted with the whole of American affairs as the gentleman alluded to, and so injuriously reflected on; one, he was pleased to say, whom all Europe held in high estimation for his knowledge and wisdom, and ranked with our Boyles and Newtons; who was an honor, not to the English nation only, but to human nature!' Franklin records the fact, that he stood the abuse of Lord Sandwich without flinching, but that he found it more difficult to appear unconcerned when such language of confidence and praise was used, by one so eminent, in such an assembly.

Among Franklin's efforts at this period, 1770-74, to serve the cause of the Colonies, and of the mother country, was the publication of articles in the newspapers, which attracted much attention. One was entitled '*Rules for Reducing a Great Empire to a Small one*'—the reverse process of the ancient sage who valued himself upon this, that, though he could not fiddle, he knew how to make a great city of a little one. The Rules were simply the satirical statement of the policy pursued by England toward her Colonies. It had a great run, having been reprinted in the paper in which it first appeared, and copied into the *Gentleman's Magazine* and into the newspapers on both sides of the Atlantic. Of the same character was his squib entitled '*An Edict of the King of Prussia*.'

From year to year, since 1768, Franklin, impelled by his feelings, and the condition of his private concerns, had been on the point of returning to his native country; but emergencies as often arose, which rendered the continuation of his residence in London obviously of the utmost importance to her interests. He yielded to the dictates of patriotism and the instances of friends from America, with a reluctance of heart, of which an idea may be formed by the following amiable phrase addressed to his son in 1772:—'*A violent longing for home sometimes seizes me, which I can no otherwise subdue but by promising myself a return next spring, or next fall, and so forth.*' When, from the general aspect of affairs, in March, 1775, and his more intimate knowledge of the infatuation of the ministry, he saw the crisis to be complete, he resolved to embark at once; and little time was to be lost in executing this purpose; for, as was privately intimated to him, ministers were preparing to arrest him under color of his having fomented a rebellion in the colonies.

On the passage homeward, he wrote the history of the informal negotiations for reconciliation noticed above, which is a lasting

monument of his consummate address, his capacity, and his intense Americanism. As was his wont, he made diligent use of his eyes and hands in observing the phenomena of the sea, trying experiments with the thermometer, and making suggestions respecting the form of ships, rigging, anchors, and the principles which should govern a ship's course so as to partake of the direction of the wind at certain seasons.

The reception given to Franklin on his reappearance in Philadelphia, at the commencement of May, 1775, was suitable to his high deserts. That information and advice relating to American affairs, 'not convenient to be written,' to which he had several times referred, in his official letters from England, he then imparted for the extinguishment of all the hopes of reconciliation which were yet fondly entertained by some, even of the leaders of Congress. He breathed a holy despair into the councils of that body, to which the legislature of Pennsylvania elected him on the very day after his arrival. He looked in one direction alone, with an ardor, a fixedness, and a confidence, which must have rendered his example of the utmost efficacy, had he done no more than point the way. But he claimed a full share, at the age of seventy, in the toils of the revolution. As a member of the committee of safety, and of that of foreign correspondence, he performed the most fatiguing services; he coöperated, besides, in all the general labors of Congress, with the utmost zeal and assiduity. He was placed by that assembly at the head of the general post-office, established in the name of the colonies. The adoption of a paper money currency was one of the various measures indispensable at the outset of the war, to which he principally contributed, and exerted all his great influence on the side of the Declaration of Independence, at the time when it was so auspiciously made, and of the Committee charged with the formal drafting of that instrument, he was a member.

Almost immediately on his arrival from England, he wrote letters to some of his friends in that country, in a strain fitted to inspire lofty ideas of the virtue, resolution, and resources of the colonies. 'All America,' said he to Dr. Priestly, 'is exasperated, and more firmly united than ever. Great frugality and great industry are become fashionable here. Britain, I conclude, has lost her colonies for ever. She is now giving us such miserable specimens of her government, that we shall even detest and avoid it, as a complication of robbery, murder, famine, fire, and pestilence. If you flatter yourselves of beating us into submission, you know neither the people nor the country. You will have heard, before this reaches you,

of the defeat of a great body of your troops by the country people at Lexington, of the action at Bunker's Hill, &c. Enough has happened, one would think, to convince your ministers, that the Americans will fight, *and that this is a harder nut to crack than they imagined.* Britain, at the expense of three millions, has killed one hundred and fifty Yankees this campaign. During the same time sixty thousand children have been born in America. From these data the mathematical head of our dear good friend, Dr. Price, will easily calculate the time and expense necessary to kill us all, and conquer our whole territory. Tell him, as he sometimes has his doubts and despondencies about our firmness, that America is determined and unanimous.'

Franklin early conjectured that it would become necessary for America to apply to some foreign power for assistance. To prepare the way for this step, and ascertain the probability of its success, he had, toward the close of 1775, opened, under the sanction of Congress, a correspondence with Holland, which he managed with admirable judgment, as may be perceived by his letter to Mr. Dumas of Amsterdam, of December, 1775, contained in the fifth volume of the American edition of his works. When, at the end of 1776, our affairs had assumed so threatening an aspect, the hopes of Congress were naturally turned to Europe, and to France particularly, the inveterate and most powerful rival of England. Every eye rested on Franklin as a providential instrument for sustaining the American cause abroad; and though he had repeatedly signified, from London, his determination to revisit Europe no more, yet, having consecrated himself anew to the pursuit of national independence, he accepted, without hesitation, in his seventy-first year, the appointment of commissioner plenipotentiary to France.

In the summer of 1776, Franklin was unanimously chosen President of the Convention elected by the people to frame a Constitution for the Government of the State of Pennsylvania. His occupation as a member of Congress did not prevent his attendance in the Convention during its most important debates and exerting his influence over some of its votes. The last act of this body is a vote of thanks to their President for his 'able and disinterested advice in the debates on the most important parts of the Bill of Rights, and frame of Government.'

In the month of October, 1776, our philosopher set sail on his eventful mission; having first deposited in the hands of Congress all the money he could raise,—between £3,000 and £4,000,—as a demonstration of his confidence in their cause, and an incentive to

those who might be able to assist it in the same way. His passage to France was short but boisterous.

The personal celebrity of Franklin was of great service to his country at this important juncture; men of letters and science possessed a remarkable ascendancy over public opinion in France, and contributed to decide ministerial policy. They were not slow in remarking and admiring his caution, his patient firmness, his moderation, and the incomparable alliance in his mind of the utmost solidity of judgment, with delicacy and vivacity of wit.

When the news of the surrender of Burgoyne reached France, in October, 1777, and produced there an explosion of public opinion, he seized upon the auspicious crisis, to make his decisive effort, by urging the most persuasive motives for a formal recognition and alliance. The epoch of the treaty concluded with the court of Versailles, on the 6th of February, 1778, is one of the most splendid in his dazzling career. It decided the contest with England.

Franklin was, in himself, a principal link of the alliance. While he continued to be considered as the personification of the American cause, it seemed impossible to withhold from it any aids of which the embarrassed condition of the royal finances would allow. The quantity of military stores, and the large sums of money so speedily placed at his disposal; the free gifts of many millions of livres, obtained, as he remarks, 'from the goodness of the king, by his application;' and the resources which he commanded for the payment of the heavy bills incessantly drawn upon him by Congress and its agents abroad,—bear witness to the extent of his influence, and the alacrity of his zeal. He may be said to have been for a long time the sole banker and broker, in Europe, of the American government. He performed for several years the offices of consul; commissioned privateers; and acted, moreover, as merchant to make purchases, and direct the shipping of stores to a very great value. To appreciate duly his character and services, it should be remembered that, when he sustained, with such spirit and effect, these cumulative functions, in addition to the higher diplomatic duties, and to a most extensive, delicate, and responsible correspondence, he was verging to fourscore, and subject to an excruciating disease.

In the complicated affairs of Captain Paul Jones, when his application for a naval command in the service of the United States was discouraged by his colleagues, Adams and Lee, Franklin interposed his personal good offices, and finally secured for him the *Bon Homme Richard*—a name given by its captain in honor of one of Poor Richard's Almanacs, in which he read: 'If you would have

your business done, go; if not, send.' Under the inspiration of that advice, Jones went directly to headquarters at Versailles, and purchased the vessel originally built in Holland for the United States, to which he gave the name of his best friend.

The alliance between France and America was scarcely announced, when, as Franklin had anticipated, the British ministry made the most anxious efforts for its dissolution. They directed their attention at once to their old antagonist, as to the sentinel of the American interests, and the arbiter of any plans of reconciliation which they might propose. Their secret dread and dislike of him could be only equalled by their opinions of his stern honesty and his matchless ability. These impressions are distinguishable, in curious association, in all their proceedings. They aimed primarily at obtaining his assent to a separate peace, upon terms which should include every concession except that of independence. Some of his old friends in England, in whose integrity and moderation he was presumed to have confidence, were employed to sound and incline him; and it is not a little amusing to consider the result of this stratagem. To Mr. Hutton, the benevolent secretary of the Moravians, who went over to Paris, in the commencement of 1778, as herald and pioneer, he wrote, on the 12th of February of that year, in answer to his importunities:—'I never think of your ministry and abettors, but with the image strongly painted in my view, of their hands, red, wet, and dropping with the blood of my country men, friends, and relatives. *No peace can be signed by those hands.*'

To Mr. David Hartley, Mr. William Pulteney, Mr. Chapman, members of parliament, who were commissioned in like manner to explore and mollify his opinions, and who visited him, about this time, for the purpose, the tenor of his communications was uniformly the same:—'Get first an honest ministry; drop all your pretensions to govern us; think no more of separating us from our allies, and you will find little difficulty of making peace upon equal terms.'

When Hartley gave him a caution about his personal safety,—which was really threatened,—his tone was such as might have been expected:—'I thank you for your kind caution; having nearly finished a long life, I set but little value on what remains of it. Perhaps the best use such an old fellow can be put to is to make a martyr of him.' Among the number of the emissaries that were employed to compass their projects, was Sir William Jones, who, finding all his efforts of no avail, avowed his conviction 'that the sturdy transatlantic yeomanry were neither to be *dragoned* or *bamboozled* out of their liberty.'

At the conclusion of the great work of peace, in November, 1782, the veteran statesman, who could then plead more than fifty years of arduous and glorious public service, earnestly requested to be released. But the Congress remained deaf to his solicitations, until the year 1785, when Mr. Jefferson was appointed to succeed him. In the interval, he negotiated and signed two treaties of amity and commerce—one with Sweden, and the other with Prussia. In the latter he introduced a provision (Article 23) that on the breaking out of a war, merchants of either country then residing in the other, shall be allowed time to collect their debts and wind up their affairs; 'that all women and children, scholars of every faculty, cultivators of the earth, and in general all workers for the common subsistence and benefit of mankind' shall be unmolested;* that private property or land shall not be destroyed or seized for the use of any armed force, except for compensation; and that peaceful commerce shall continue.' This treaty, remarks Washington in a letter to Count de Rochambeau in 1786, 'marks a new era in negotiation. It is the most liberal treaty which has ever been entered into between independent powers. It is perfectly original in many of its articles, and, should its principles be considered hereafter as the basis of connection between nations, it will operate more fully to produce a general pacification than any measure hitherto attempted amongst mankind.'

His social life, during his residence in France, corresponded in brilliancy with his public career. At the village of Passy, where he had fixed his domicile, he rendered himself the idol of an elegant neighborhood; and attracted to his saloon the most distinguished members of the political and literary circles of Paris. The capital was lavish of the most refined homage to his genius and virtues; the court delighted in his presence, and may even be said to have found support, under its reverses and embarrassments, in his sanguine, facetious spirit. The king evidenced his appreciation by providing him with the Queen's litter and mules, for his journey, his malady of the stone being so severe as to disable him from bearing the motion of a carriage. 'I can testify in general,' has his successor written, 'that there appeared to me more respect and veneration attached to the character of Dr. Franklin in France, than to that of any other person in the same country, foreigner or native.'

He passed over to Southampton in England, where he was met by a number of his English friends, embarked at the end of July,

* In this spirit he addressed his letter 'To all Captains and Commanders in the Commission of the United States, to treat Capt. Cook and his people with all civility and kindness, as common friends to mankind,' &c. For this recognition of Science the Royal Society voted him a medal.

1785, for America, and entered, on the 14th of September, the harbor of Philadelphia, 'dear Philadelphia,' as he affectionately styles it in the journal of his voyage. On this passage, he made daily observations on the temperature of the sea air: he wrote, moreover, three philosophical dissertations; one on 'Improvements in Navigation;' another on 'The Cause and Cure of Smoky Chimneys,' and a third relating to 'A Stove for consuming all its Smoke.' These performances, at the age of eighty, in such a situation, and under two of the severest diseases to which the human frame is liable, denote a prodigious vigor of intellect and activity of benevolence.

His fellow citizens were resolved, that he should still have, as he expresses it, 'business enough to preserve him from ennui.' They made him President of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and afterward delegate to the Federal Convention of 1787. He filled the office of President for three years, the constitutional limit, and attended punctually in the Convention during the whole session.

Labors in the Federal Convention of 1787.

Of the part taken by Franklin in solving several disturbing question in the Convention of 1787, Madison has presented the opinions of Franklin from notes written out by himself. He thought that the Chief Magistrate should have no pecuniary compensation—'the concentration of two such motives as ambition and avarice in the struggles for that place, would in time draw into the canvass only bold and violent men, who would thus possess and pervert the government, and convert it into a monarchy.' In answer to the objection, that fit men would not be found to fill this high position without an adequate compensation—'Have we not seen the greatest and most important of our offices, that of General of our armies, executed for eight years together, without the smallest salary, by a patriot whom I will not now offend by any other praise; and this, through fatigues and distresses, in common with the other brave men, his military friends and companions, and the constant anxieties peculiar to his station? And shall we doubt finding three or four men in all the United States, with public spirit enough to bear sitting in peaceful council, for perhaps an equal term, merely to preside over our civil concerns, and see that our laws are duly executed? Sir, I have a better opinion of our country. I think we shall never be without a sufficient number of wise and good men to undertake, and execute well and faithfully, the office in question.'

In the midst of the debates, on the relative weight to be given to the small and larger states in the constitution of government, which had occupied most of the time for two months, and had

become hot and acrimonious, Franklin interposed, with some remarks, too characteristic to be omitted here, introducing a motion that thereafter their deliberations should be opened by morning prayer:

Mr. President: The small progress we have made, after four or five weeks' close attendance and continual reasonings with each other, our different sentiments on almost every question, several of the last producing as many *Noes* as *Ayes*, is, methinks, a melancholy proof of the imperfection of the human understanding. We, indeed, seem to *feel* our own want of political wisdom, since we have been running all about in search of it. We have gone back to ancient history for models of government, and examined the different forms of those republics which, having been originally formed with the seeds of their own dissolution, now no longer exist; and we have viewed modern states all round Europe, but find none of their constitutions suitable to our circumstances. In this situation of this Assembly, groping, as it were, in the dark, to find political truth, and scarce able to distinguish it when presented to us, how has it happened, sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of Lights to illuminate our understandings? In the beginning of the contest with Britain, when we were sensible of danger, we had daily prayers in this room for the Divine protection! Our prayers, sir, were heard; and they were graciously answered. All of us who were engaged in the struggle, must have observed frequent instances of a superintending Providence in our favor. To that kind Providence we owe this happy opportunity of consulting in peace, on the means of establishing our future national felicity. And have we now forgotten that powerful friend? or do we imagine we no longer need its assistance? I have lived, sir, a long time; and the longer I live, the more convincing proof I see of this truth: *That God governs in the affairs of men!* And if a sparrow can not fall to the ground without his notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without his aid? We have been assured, sir, in the Sacred Writings, that 'except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it.' I firmly believe this; and I also believe, that without his concurring aid, we shall succeed in this political building no better than the building of Babel; we shall be divided by our little partial local interests, our projects shall be confounded, and we ourselves shall become a reproach and a by-word down to future ages. And, what is worse, mankind may, hereafter, from this unfortunate instance, despair of establishing government by human wisdom, and leave it to chance, war, and conquest.

The suggestion was not received with favor. The debates on the vexed topic continued more excited and more bitter—the representative of Delaware (Mr. Dickenson) went so far as to express a preference for a union with a foreign power, than to be deprived of an equality of representation in a national union like the one proposed. Another member exclaimed—'We have now come to a full stop.' In this emergency Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut and Dr. Franklin insisted on a compromise of an equality of votes in one house, and votes by population in the other. 'The diversity of opinion,' said the latter, in his homely, familiar manner, 'turns on two points. If a proportional representation takes place, the small States contend that their liberties will be in danger. If an equality of votes is to be put into its place, the large States say, their money will be in danger. When a broad table is to be made, and the edges of the planks do not fit, the artist takes a little from both, and makes a good joint.' He proceeded to propose: 1, that all the States should send an equal number of delegates; 2, that on all questions affecting the authority or sovereignty of a State, every State should have an equal vote; 3, that in acting upon appointments and confirmations, every State should have an equal vote; but, 4, on all bills to raise or expend money, every State should have a vote proportioned to its population.' The antagonism continued when the plan was referred to a

committee of which Franklin was a member. Here he again distinctly proposed, 'that in the Senate, every State should have an equal representation; but in the other House, every State should have a representation proportioned to its population; and in that House all bills to raise or expend money should originate.' This suggestion, it is said by men conversant with the state of feeling in the Convention, saved the Constitution; and to it we owe the wonderful fact, that no ill feeling has ever existed in a State growing out of its superiority or inferiority in population and importance. Rhode Island and Delaware, New York and Pennsylvania, were thus made equal members of the same confederacy, without peril to the smaller, and without injustice to the larger. Of political expedients this was, perhaps, the happiest ever devised. Its success in gaining the objects aimed at has been simply perfect—so perfect that scarcely any one has remarked it. Thanks to Ellsworth and Franklin!

Franklin favored the proposition, since much discussed, fixing the Presidential term at seven years, and declaring a President ineligible for a second term. 'It seems to have been imagined,' said he, 'that returning to the mass of the people was degrading to the magistrate. This, he thought, was contrary to Republican principles. In free governments, the rulers are the servants, and the people their superiors and sovereigns. For the former, therefore, to return among the latter was not to degrade but to promote them. And it would be imposing an unreasonable burden on them to keep them always in a state of servitude, and not allow them to become again one of the masters.'

He opposed the limitations on the right of suffrage, and making distinctions between the possessors of wealth and the common people. 'If honesty was often the companion of wealth, and if poverty was exposed to peculiar temptation, it was not less true that the possession of property increased the desire of more property.' 'Some of the greatest rogues he was ever acquainted with were the richest rogues. We should remember the character which the Scripture requires in rulers, that they should be men hating covetousness. This Constitution will be much read and attended to in Europe; and if it should betray a great partiality to the rich, it will not only hurt us in the esteem of the most liberal and enlightened men there, but discourage the common people from removing to this country.'

He opposed giving the President an unqualified veto, and favored impeachment. 'Where the head of the government can not be lawfully called to account for his conduct, the people have no resource against oppression but revolution and assassination.' He strongly opposed investing the President with an absolute veto, citing the conduct of the Penn governors of Pennsylvania, whose assent to the most unobjectionable bills had to be bought. He opposed the requirement of a fourteen years' residence before admitting foreigners to citizenship. He thought four years sufficient. The article upon treason, defining it to be an 'overt act,' and requiring the evidence of two witnesses to the overt act, had his emphatic approval. He took a leading and laborious part in the long debates upon the powers of the two houses of Congress; and his ideas on this difficult subject were substantially embodied in the Constitution. And when the final vote was to be cast, he said with great solemnity:

'I confess that I do not entirely approve of this Constitution at present; but, sir, I am not sure I shall never approve it; for, having lived long, I have experienced many instances of being obliged, by better information or fuller consideration, to change opinions even on important subjects, which I once thought

right, but found to be otherwise. . . . In these sentiments, sir, I agree to this Constitution, with all its faults,—if they are such; because I think a general government necessary for us, and there is no *form* of government but what may be a blessing to the people, if well administered; and I believe, further, that this is likely to be well administered for a course of years, and can only end in despotism, as other forms have done before it, when the people shall become so corrupted as to need despotic government, being incapable of any other. I doubt, too, whether any other convention we can obtain, may be able to make a better constitution; for, when you assemble a number of men, to have the advantage of their joint wisdom, you inevitably assemble with those men all their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinion, their local interests, and their selfish views. From such an assembly can a *perfect* production be expected? It therefore astonishes me, sir, to find this system approaching so near to perfection as it does; and I think it will astonish our enemies, who are waiting with confidence to hear, that our counsels are confounded like those of the builders of Babel, and that our States are on the point of separation, only to meet hereafter for the purpose of cutting one another's throats. Thus I consent, sir, to this constitution, because I expect no better, and because I am not sure that it is not the best. The opinions I have had of its *errors* I sacrifice to the public good. I have never whispered a syllable of them abroad. Within these walls they were born, and here they shall die. . . . I hope, therefore, for my own sakes, as part of the people, and for the sake of our posterity, that we will act heartily and unanimously in recommending this Constitution, wherever our influence may extend, and turn our future thoughts and endeavors to the means of having it *well administered*.'

The speech had its effect, and all the members signed. Mr. Madison records, that while 'the last members were signing, Dr. Franklin, looking toward the President's chair, at the back of which a rising sun happened to be painted, observed to a few members near him, that painters had found it difficult to distinguish in their art, a rising from a setting sun. "I have," said he, "often and often in the course of the session, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that behind the President, without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting: but now, at length, I have the happiness to know, that it is a rising and not a setting sun."'

Toward the end of the year 1788, he withdrew wholly from public life. His dreadful maladies had then reached almost the highest point of exacerbation. We may conjecture with what exemplary temper they were borne, from the following passage of one of his letters of this date to a favorite niece. 'You kindly inquire after my health. I have not of late much reason to boast of it. People that will live a long life, and drink to the bottom of the cup, must expect to meet with some of the dregs. However, when I consider how many terrible diseases the human body is liable to, I think myself well off that I have only three incurable ones—the gout, the stone, and old age. But, notwithstanding these, I enjoy many comfortable intervals, in which I forget all my ills, and amuse myself in reading or writing, or in conversation with friends, joking, laughing, and telling merry stories, as when you first knew me, a young man about fifty.'

DEATH, PUBLIC RECOGNITION OF SERVICES, AND CHARACTER.

Franklin died on the 17th of April, 1790, about eleven o'clock at night—"closing quietly," remarks his physician, Dr. Jones, 'a long and useful life of 84 years, 3 months, and 11 days.' Dr. Rush, in communicating the events to Dr. Price, writes:—"The papers will inform you of the death of our late illustrious friend, Dr. Franklin. The evening of his life was marked by the same activity of his moral and intellectual powers, which distinguished its meridian. His conversation with his family, upon the subject of dissolution, was free and cheerful. A few days before he died, he rose from his bed, and begged that it might be made up for him, so that he *might die in a decent manner*. His daughter told him, that she hoped he would recover, and live many years longer. He calmly replied, "*I hope not*." Upon being advised to change his position in bed, that he might breathe *easy*, he said, "*A dying man can do nothing easy*." "

When the news of his death reached Congress, then sitting in New York, Mr. Madison moved a resolution which was unanimously adopted—that the members should wear the customary badge of mourning, 'as a mark of veneration due to the memory of a citizen, whose native genius was not more an ornament of human nature, than his various exertions of it have been precious to science, to freedom, and to his country.' The many literary and scientific societies of which he was a member recognized his decease by the most emphatic expressions of their appreciation of his genius and the value of his discoveries to mankind. The National Assembly of France, on motion of Mirabeau, seconded by Lafayette, decreed the wearing of mourning by its members, and a letter of condolence to be addressed by its President to Congress; while the civic authorities of Paris ordered a public celebration which was attended by a crowded concourse of public officers and citizens, and a eulogy was pronounced by the Abbé Fauchet.

Franklin is described, on all hands, as having been a perfectly **CONSISTENT REPUBLICAN**; endowed with an extraordinary degree of civil courage; simple in his tastes and habits; unmoved by the pomps and punctilios of society; free of all affectation and arrogance; self-possessed and confident on every occasion; a firm believer in the power of reason, the reality of virtue, and the policy of rectitude. Tradition represents him, moreover, as warm and steady in his attachments; candid and placable in his resentments; invariably polite in his manners, and cheerful in his temper; tender in all his domestic relations; alert in discovering and patronizing merit in whatever sphere; fond of convivial meetings, which he

could enliven with an excellent song, as well as with a sprightly anecdote and a pungent apologue; in general, rather disposed to listen than to talk, but communicative and explicit where this seemed to be wished; always intent upon some public good, and little ambitious of renown, except inasmuch as it might increase his ability of being useful to his country or to mankind. We may add to these traits, on the same testimony, that he was never known to forget an obligation received, however small, at any distance of time, nor to overlook an opportunity of requital; that, if he practiced and inculcated, in every situation, the strictest frugality, it was not from any narrowness of spirit, but evidently from a conviction, early imbibed, of the perniciousness of the opposite vice; that he met readily all proper expenses, and bestowed his money freely and largely, as he did his time, on public institutions, and in private charities; so as fully to confirm the declaration which we read in one of his first letters to his mother—‘I would rather have it said of your son that *he lived usefully*, than that *he died rich*.’ We have heard no voice which did not sanction the passage of his letter of January 6th, 1784, to Mr. Jay, expressed with such engaging *naïveté*, and evident sincerity of belief—‘I have, as you observe, some enemies in England; but they are my enemies as an *American*. I have also two or three in America, who are my enemies as a *minister*; but I thank God, there are not in the whole world any who are my enemies as a man; for, by His grace, through a long life I have been enabled so to conduct myself that there does not exist a human being who can justly say, Ben Franklin has wronged me.’

Mr. Parton in his *Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin* thus summarizes the principal events in Franklin’s career:

He established and inspired the Junto, the most sensible, useful, and pleasant club of which we have any knowledge.

He founded the Philadelphia Library, parent of a thousand libraries, an immense and endless good to the whole of the civilized portion of the United States, the States not barbarized by slavery.

He edited the best newspaper in the Colonies, one which published no libels and fomented no quarrels, which quickened the intelligence of Pennsylvania, and gave the onward impulse to the press of America.

He was the first who turned to great account the engine of advertising, an indispensable element in modern business.

He published *Poor Richard*, by means of which so much of the wit and wisdom of all ages as its readers could appropriate and enjoy, was brought home to their minds, in such words as they could understand and remember for ever.

He created the post-office system of America; and forbore to avail himself, as Postmaster, of privileges of which he had formerly suffered.

It was he who caused Philadelphia to be paved, lighted, and cleaned.

As fuel became scarce in the vicinity of the colonial towns, he invented the Franklin Stove, which economized it, and suggested the subsequent warming inventions, in which America beats the world. Besides making a free gift of this invention to the public, he generously wrote an extensive pamphlet explaining its construction and utility.

He delivered civilized mankind from the nuisance, once universal, of smoky chimneys.

He was the first effective preacher of the blessed gospel of ventilation.

He devoted the leisure of seven years, and all the energy of his genius, to the science of electricity, which gave a stronger impulse to scientific inquiry than any other event of that century.

He was chiefly instrumental in founding the first High School of Pennsylvania, and died protesting against the abuse of the funds of that institution in teaching American youth the languages of Greece and Rome, while French, Spanish, and German were spoken in the streets, and were required in commerce.

He founded the American Philosophical Society, the first organization in America of the friends of science.

He suggested the use of mineral manures, introduced the basket willow, and promoted the early culture of silk.

He lent the indispensable assistance of his name and tact to the founding of the Philadelphia Hospital.

Entering into politics, he broke the spell of Quakerism, and woke Pennsylvania from the dream of unarmed safety.

He led Pennsylvania in its thirty years' struggle with the mean tyranny of the Penna. a rehearsal of the subsequent contest with the King of Great Britain.

When the Indians were ravaging and scalping within eighty miles of Philadelphia, General Benjamin Franklin led the troops of the city against them.

He was the author of the first scheme of uniting the colonies, a scheme so suitable that it was adopted, in its essential features, in the Union of the States.

He assisted England to keep Canada, when there was danger of its falling back into the hands of a reactionary race.

More than any other man, he was instrumental in causing the repeal of the Stamp Act, and educating the Colonies up to independence, and in securing the French Alliance, by which the military power of England in America was broken.

He discovered the temperature of the Gulf stream.

He discovered that North-east storms begin in the South-west.

He invented the contrivance by which a fire consumes its own smoke.

He made important discoveries respecting the causes of the most universal of all diseases—colds.

He pointed out the advantage of building ships in water-tight compartments, taking the hint from the Chinese.

He expounded the theory of navigation which is now universally adopted by intelligent seamen, and of which a charlatan and a traitor has received the credit.

In the Convention of 1787, his indomitable good humor was the uniting element, wanting which the Convention would not have done its work.

His last labors were for the abolition of slavery and the aid of its emancipated victims.

The great event in his life was his deliberate and final choice to dedicate himself to virtue and the public good. This was his own act. In this the person of humblest endowments may imitate him. From that act dates the part of his career which yielded him substantial welfare, and which his countrymen now contemplate with pleasure and gratitude. It made a MAN of him. It gave him the command of his powers and his resources. It enabled him to extract from life its latent good, and to make a vast addition to the sum of good in the world.

Men have lived who were more magnificently endowed than Franklin. Men have lived whose lives were more splendid and heroic than his. If the inhabitants of the earth were required to select, to represent them in some celestial congress composed of the various orders of intelligent beings, a specimen of the human race, who could present in his own character the largest amount of human worth with the least of human frailty, and in his own lot on earth the largest amount of enjoyment with the least of suffering; one whose character was estimable without being too exceptionally good, and his lot happy without being too generally unattainable; one who could bear in his letter of credence, with the greatest truth,

This is a man, and his life on earth was such as good men may live,

I know not who, of the renowned of all ages, we could more fitly choose to represent us in that high court of the universe, than Benjamin Franklin, printer.

DR. FRANKLIN'S LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT.

Dr. Franklin's ruling passion of doing good to his fellow men did not fail him in writing his last Will and Testament, some provisions of which have attracted much attention. The will was signed July 17, 1788, and begins thus:

I, Benjamin Franklin, printer,* late Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States to the Court of France, now President of the State of Pennsylvania, do make and declare this my last Will and Testament.

The extracts which follow are from the Codicil, dated June 30, 1788—he died April 17, 1790.

It has been an opinion that he who receives an estate from his ancestors is under some kind of obligation to transmit the same to their posterity. This obligation does not lie on me, who never inherited a shilling from any ancestor or rotation. I shall, however, if it is not diminished by some accident before my death, leave a considerable sum among my descendants and relations. The above observation is made merely as some apology to my family for my making bequests that do not appear to have any immediate relation to their advantage.

It having long been a fixed political opinion of mine that in a democratical state, there ought to be no offices of profit for the reason I had given in an article of my drawing in our Constitution, it was my intention when I accepted the office of President [of the State of Pennsylvania] to devote the appointed salary to some public uses. Accordingly, I had already, before I made my Will in July last, given large sums of it to colleges, schools, building of churches, &c.; and in that Will I bequeathed two thousand pounds more to the State for the purpose of making the Schuylkill navigable. [This bequest is annulled, in consideration of its insufficiency, and to make the sum more extensively useful in the way which follows.]

I was born in Boston, New England, and owe my first instructions in literature to the free grammar schools established there. I therefore give one hundred pounds sterling to my executors, to be by them, the survivors or survivor of them, paid over to the managers or directors of the free schools in my native town of Boston, to be by them, or the person or persons who shall have the superintendence or management of the said schools, put out to interest, and so continued at interest forever; which interest annually shall be laid out in silver medals, and given as honorary rewards annually by the directors of the said free schools, for the encouragement of scholarship in the said schools belonging to the said town, in such a manner as to the discretion of the selectmen of the said town shall seem meet.

But I am also under obligations to the State of Massachusetts, for having, unasked, appointed me formerly their agent, with a handsome salary, which continued some years; and, although I accidentally lost in their service, by transmitting Governor Hutchinson's letters, much more than the amount of what they gave me, I do not think that ought in the least to diminish my gratitude. I have considered, that, among artisans, good apprentices are most likely to make good citizens; and having myself been bred to a manual art,

* We introduce here the famous epitaph which Franklin composed in 1739, and which although not recorded on his monument, has been read by millions who never saw his grave, or read the simple inscription

BENJAMIN
AND
DEBORAH } FRANKLIN.

— on the marble stone six feet long and four wide, with only a small moulding round the upper edge, which was placed over his grave in 1780 by his executors, in pursuance of his last Will, in Christ Church burying ground on the north side of Arch Street, corner of Sixth.

The Body

of

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
Printer,

(Like the cover of an old book,
Its contents torn out,
And strip of its lettering and gilding,
Lies here, food for worms.

But the work itself shall not be lost,
For it will, as he believed, appear once more,
In a new and more beautiful edition,
Corrected and amended

by
The Author.

printing, in my native town, and afterward assisted to set up my business in Philadelphia by kind loans of money from two friends there, which was the foundation of my fortune, and of all the utility in life that may be ascribed to me—I wish to be useful even after my death, if possible, in forming and advancing other young men, that may be serviceable to their country in both these towns.

To this end I devote two thousand pounds sterling, which I give, one thousand thereof to the inhabitants of the town of Boston, in Massachusetts, and the other thousand to the inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia, in trust, to and for the uses, intents, and purposes, hereinafter mentioned and declared.

The said sum of one thousand pounds sterling, if accepted by the inhabitants of the town of Boston, shall be managed under the direction of the selectmen, united with the ministers of the oldest Episcopalian, Congregational, and Presbyterian churches of that town, who are to let out the same upon interest, at five per cent. per annum, to such young married artificers, under the age of twenty-five years, as have served an apprenticeship in the said town, and faithfully fulfilled the duties required in their indentures, so as to obtain a good moral character from at least two respectable citizens, who are willing to become sureties in a bond, with the applicants, for the repayment of the money so lent, with interest, according to the terms hereinafter prescribed; all which bonds are to be taken for Spanish milled dollars, or the value thereof in current gold coin; and the manager shall keep a bound book or books, wherein shall be entered the names of those who shall apply for and receive the benefit of this institution, and of their sureties, together with the sums lent, the dates, and other necessary and proper records, respecting the business and concerns of this institution; and as these loans are intended to assist young married artificers in setting up their business, they are to be proportioned by the discretion of the managers, so as not to exceed sixty pounds sterling to one person, nor to be less than fifteen pounds.

And if the number of appliers so entitled should be so large as that the sum will not suffice to afford to every one some assistance, these aids may therefore be small at first, but as the capital increases by the accumulated interest, they will be more ample. And in order to serve as many as possible in their turn, as well as to make the repayment of the principal borrowed more easy, each borrower shall be obliged to pay with the yearly interest one-tenth part of the principal; which sums of principal and interest so paid in, shall be again let out to fresh borrowers. And it is presumed that there will always be found in Boston virtuous and benevolent citizens, willing to bestow a part of their time in doing good to the rising generation, by superintending and managing this institution gratis; it is hoped that no part of the money will at any time lie dead, or be diverted to other purposes, but be continually augmenting by the interest, in which case there may in time be more than the occasion in Boston may require; and then some may be spared to the neighboring or other towns in the said State of Massachusetts, which may desire to have it, such towns engaging to pay punctually the interest, and the proportions of the principal, annually to the inhabitants of the town of Boston. If this plan is executed, and succeeds, as projected, without interruption for one hundred years, the sum will then be one hundred and thirty-one thousand pounds; of which I would have the managers of the donation to the town of Boston then lay out, at their discretion, one hundred thousand pounds in public works, which may be judged of most general utility to the inhabitants; such as fortifications, bridges, aqueducts, public buildings, baths, pavements, or whatever may make living in the town more convenient to its people, and render it more agreeable to strangers resorting thither for health or a temporary residence. The remaining thirty-one thousand pounds I would have continued to be let out to interest, in the manner above directed, for one hundred years; as I hope it will have been found that the institution has had a good effect on the conduct of youth, and been of service to many worthy characters and useful citizens. At the end of this second term, if no unfortunate accident has prevented the operation, the sum will be four million and sixty-one thousand pounds sterling, of which I leave one million and sixty-one thousand pounds to the disposition and management of the inhabitants of the town of Boston, and three millions to the disposition of the government of the State; not presuming to carry my views farther.

All the directions herein given respecting the disposition and management of the donation to the inhabitants of Boston, I would have observed respecting that to the inhabitants of Philadelphia; only as Philadelphia is incorporated, I request the corporation of that city to undertake the management, agreeable to the said directions; and I do hereby vest them with full and ample powers for

that purpose. And having considered that the covering its ground-plot with buildings and pavement, which carry off most rain, and prevent its soaking into the earth, and renewing and purifying the springs, whence the water of the wells must gradually grow worse, and in time be unfit for use, as I find has happened in all old cities; I recommend that, at the end of the first hundred years, if not done before, the corporation of the city employ a part of the hundred thousand pounds in bringing by pipes the water of Wissahickon creek into the town, so as to supply the inhabitants, which I apprehend may be done without great difficulty, the level of that creek being much above that of the city, and may be made higher by a dam. I also recommend making the Schuylkill completely navigable. At the end of the second hundred years, I would have the disposition of the four million and sixty-one thousand pounds divided between the inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia and the government of Pennsylvania, in the same manner as herein directed with respect to that of the inhabitants of Boston and the government of Massachusetts. It is my desire that this institution should take place, and begin to operate within one year after my decease; for which purpose due notice should be publicly given, previous to the expiration of that year, that those for whose benefit this establishment is intended may make their respective applications; and I hereby direct my executors, the survivors and survivor of them, within six months after my decease, to pay over the said sum of two thousand pounds sterling to such persons as shall be appointed by the selectmen of Boston, and the corporation of Philadelphia, and to receive and take charge of their respective sums of one thousand pounds each for the purposes aforesaid. Considering the accidents to which all human affairs and projects are subject in such a length of time, I have perhaps too much flattered myself with a vain fancy, that these dispositions, if carried into execution, will be continued without interruption, and have the effects proposed: I hope, however, that if the inhabitants of the two cities should not think fit to undertake the execution, they will at least accept the offer of these donations, as a mark of my good-will, token of my gratitude, and testimony of my desire to be useful to them even after my departure. I wish, indeed, that they may both undertake to endeavor the execution of my project, because, I think that, though unforeseen difficulties may arise, expedients will be found to remove them, and the scheme be found practicable. If one of them accepts the money with the conditions, and the other refuses, my will then is, that both sums be given to the inhabitants of the city accepting; the whole to be applied to the same purposes, and under the same regulations directed for the separate parts; and if both refuse, the money remains of course in the mass of my estate, and it is to be disposed of therewith, according to my will made the seventeenth day of July, 1788.

My fine crab-tree walking-stick, with a gold head curiously wrought in the form of the Cap of Liberty, I give to my friend, and the friend of mankind, General Washington. If it were a sceptre, he has merited it, and would become it.

The Franklin School Medal Fund—Boston.

The legacy of one hundred pounds left by Franklin to the directors of the Free Schools of the Town of Boston, 'to which he owed his first instructions in literature,' was received and invested by the proper authorities in 1790, and since 1793 the interest has been invested annually in silver medals, and given as honorary rewards among the most deserving boys in the school or schools which are deemed to represent the public school which Franklin attended. The capital is now represented by one certificate of City of Boston five per cent. stock of \$1,000. The silver medals are now distributed, at the annual examinations, to the most deserving boys in the English High and Latin Schools. 'One of the last things,' remarked Robert C. Winthrop in his address at the inauguration of the Franklin Statue, in Boston, in Sept. 17, 1856, 'which a Boston boy ever forgets is that he won and wore a Franklin Medal. There is at least one of them who would not exchange the remembrance of that youthful distinction for any honor which he has since enjoyed.'

The Franklin Young Married Artificers Fund—Boston.

The legacy of one thousand pounds sterling left to the inhabitants of the town of Boston, for the encouragement of young mechanics, was received by the Selectmen in 1790, and the first loan was made in 1791. The amount of the

Fund, as reported by the Treasurer in the City Auditor's account, January 1, 1874, was \$183,378.63—the interest collected in 1873 being \$10,902.83.

The Philadelphia Mechanics Fund.

The legacy of one thousand pounds sterling left to the inhabitants of Philadelphia, was duly paid over to the proper authorities, but does not seem to have been very carefully managed. From the Report of the Committee of Legacies and Trusts made in the Common Council in 1837, it was difficult to ascertain the amount of the Fund at that date—'as the interest had not been promptly collected, and several of the beneficiaries had paid neither principal nor interest,'—its real value was estimated to be about \$16,000. In 1875 the amount of the Fund was returned at \$48,305.00; income for 1874, \$3,425.86.

The Crab-Tree Walking Stick.

The staff of Franklin, the emblem of an honored old age reached through fifty years of public service, with the sword of Washington worn in his consummate manhood through the War of Independence, has passed into the keeping of the nation—both having been presented to the Congress of the United States on the 7th of February, 1843, by the nephew of General Washington, who felt that no individual should any longer claim private property in two such national relics. It was the privilege of John Quincy Adams, the venerable ex-President, who had known personally both Washington and Franklin, sitting in the House of Representatives as a member from Massachusetts, to move their acceptance.

The sword of Washington! The staff of Franklin! Oh, Sir, what associations are linked in adamant with their names! Washington and Franklin! What other two men, whose lives belong to the eighteenth century of Christendom, have left a deeper impression of themselves upon the age in which they lived, and upon all after time!

Washington, the warrior and the legislator! In war, contending, by the wager of battle, for the independence of his country, and for the freedom of the human race—ever manifesting, amidst its horrors, by precept and by example, his reverence for the laws of peace, and for the tenderest sympathies of humanity; in peace, soothing the ferocious spirit of discord, among his own countrymen, into harmony and union, and giving to that very sword, now presented to his country, a charm more potent than that attributed, in ancient times, to the lyre of Orpheus.

Franklin! The mechanic of his own fortune; teaching, in early youth, under the shackles of indigence, the way to wealth, and, in the shade of obscurity, the path to greatness; in the maturity of manhood, disarming the thunder of its terrors, the lightning of its fatal blast; and wresting from the tyrant's hand the still more afflictive sceptre of oppression; while descending into the vale of years, traversing the Atlantic Ocean, braving, in the dead of Winter, the battle and the breeze, bearing in his hand the charter of Independence, which he had contributed to form, and tendering, from the self-created Nation to the mightiest monarchs of Europe, the olive branch of peace, the mercurial wand of commerce, and the amulet of protection and safety to the man of peace, on the pathless ocean, from the inexorable cruelty and merciless rapacity of war. And, finally, in the last stage of life, with four-score Winters upon his head, under the torture of an incurable disease, returning to his native land, closing his days as the chief magistrate of his adopted Commonwealth, after contributing by his counsels, under the presidency of Washington, and recording his name, under the sanction of devout prayer invoked by him to God, to that Constitution under the authority of which we are here assembled, as the Representatives of the North American People, to receive, in their name and for them, these venerable relics of the wise, the valiant, and the good founders of our great confederated Republic—these sacred symbols of our golden age.

May they be deposited among the archives of our government! And may every American, who shall hereafter behold them, ejaculate a mingled offering of praise to that Supreme Ruler of the Universe, by whose tender mercies our Union has been hitherto preserved, through all the vicissitudes and revolutions of this turbulent world; and of prayer for the continuance of these blessings, by the dispensations of Providence, to our beloved country, from age to age, till time shall be no more!

In starting in 1727 the *Junto*, a club of young persons for mutual improvement, and in his *Proposals for promoting Useful Knowledge* in 1748, Franklin applied the principle of association to a field, and to modes of educational action far wider, and more beneficent than had yet been reached in any country.

The name Lyceum has been transferred from the local appellation of a building or grove, used for gymnastic exercises, in the suburbs of Athens. This was called the Lyceum, because it was near the temple of Apollo Lycius, "the destroyer of wolves" (*Lukoi*). It was made over to Aristotle, to be used by him as a place for delivering his instructions, and as such became famous under its local name. The word was adopted in modern times, and made a generic term or common noun, to designate schools where the philosophy of Aristotle was taught, and subsequently in France to institutions for giving a higher grade of instruction to adults, upon a plan sometimes in whole or in part mutual or conversational, and thus somewhat similar to the lectures in which Aristotle gave his instructions at the original Lyceum.

These lectures are supposed to have been of two kinds; those which he delivered in the forenoon, to confidential—"esoteric"—hearers, on abstruse subjects in philosophy, nearly answering to theology, and on physics and dialectics; and, secondly, those which he delivered in the afternoon, to a less select or "exoteric" audience, which included rhetoric, sophistics, and dialectics, and were of a more popular character. Such courses of lectures, which were then usually given by philosophers eminent enough to be at the head of a school, corresponded in some measure to the collegiate or university education of the present day. Aristotle's instructions were delivered while he and his pupils walked about in the grounds of the Lyceum; and his school was under certain regulations for the preservation of order and decorum.

The name was applied to an institution opened in Paris, in 1786. Pilâtre de Rozier, the celebrated aeronaut, and who perished by falling from his balloon, had some years before attempted to establish, under the name of "Museum," an institution for the improvement of adults, of which we find no very full account, but which seems to have resembled quite strikingly, in some of its chief features, the American Lyceum. It included a collection of natural objects, and a library. But it was peculiarly unsuccessful, and was dissolved; the collection and books being sold. A number of gentlemen of literary taste, some little time afterward, associated themselves together to establish another institution, on a plan improved and enlarged from that of de Rozier's museum, and which they called the Lyceum. At the rooms of this institution, daily lectures were delivered by M. de La Harpe, an eminent author and critic, during the period from 1786 to 1794; when they were interrupted by his imprisonment, and were subsequently resumed for a time. These lectures were to some extent similar to our present popular lectures; or rather to the courses on the Lowell foundation, and sometimes to those before our various young men's institutes. They were of a popular character, and were attended by numerous audiences of the most fashionable people of the day. They were upon the history of literature, and included much collateral disquisition, and particularly criticism. The author subsequently published their substance, under the title of "*Cours de Littérature*." The work has become a standard one, and has been often republished, and variously edited, with notes and additions. The lectures of La Harpe appear to have constituted the principal instruction of the Lyceum, as the celebrity of the institution did not survive his connection with it.

The name has, during the present century, been applied in France to a class of schools corresponding to the gymnasiums of Germany, and the academies and public high schools of this country.

The Conservatory (*Conservatoire*) of Arts and Trades, in Paris, which originated with Vaucanson, in the reign of Louis XVI., but did not take specific shape

and action until 1796, embodies, in a systematic form, many of the ideas of the Lyceum, as proposed and labored for by Josiah Holbrook, for all classes of persons and interests, from 1828 to 1840. It has grown with the development of national industry, and the progress of science; and, aided by annual governmental grants, it has become consolidated into an institution. Its thirteen galleries of materials and of machines may be called the archives of industrial arts. Its lectures, scientific and practical, delivered in a large amphitheater, are crowded in the winter evenings by representatives of the working classes. Similar institutions, but resembling more the mechanic institutions of England, exist in the principal manufacturing towns of France.

MECHANICS' INSTITUTIONS. SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.

The history of the *Mechanics' Institution* through all its phases of development, from the earliest young men's mutual improvement society established in London, in 1690, with the encouragement of Defoe, Dr. Kidder, and others, under the name of "Society for the Reformation of Manners"—the Society for the Suppression of Vice—the "Reformation Society of Paisley" in 1767; the Sunday Society in 1789, the Cast Iron Philosophers in 1791, the first Artizans' Library in 1795, and the Birmingham Brotherly Society in 1796, all among the working classes of Birmingham;—the popular scientific lectures of Dr. John Anderson, to tradesmen and mechanics in Glasgow, in 1798—the establishment of the Anderson's University at that place in 1796, and the incorporation into it of a gratuitous course of elementary philosophical lectures by Dr. Birkbeck in 1799, for the benefit of mechanics,—the Edinburgh School of Arts in 1821, the Glasgow Mechanics' Institute, the Liverpool Mechanics' and Apprentice's Library, and the London Mechanic Institution in 1822—which from this date, through the labors of Dr. Birkbeck, Mr. Brougham and others, spread rapidly all over the kingdom until there are now over 700 societies scattered through every considerable village, especially every manufacturing district in the kingdom, numbering in 1849, 120,000 members, 408 reading-rooms, and 815,000 volumes—constitute one of the most interesting chapters in the educational or social history of Great Britain.

In 1825, as one of the direct results of the extended and growing interest in mechanic institutions and popular libraries, the "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge" was formed; which commenced immediately a series of cheap and useful publications in a great variety of subjects, and thus led the way to a new era in English literature—the preparation of books adapted in subject and mode of treatment, as well as in price, to the circumstances of the great mass of the people. In 1831, this society commenced a quarterly journal of education, which was discontinued in 1836, at the close of the tenth volume. In 1836, two volumes of essays on education, several of them delivered as lectures before the American Institute of Instruction, were published by this society. These twelve volumes, and the four volumes published by the Central Society of Education, composed of several of the most active and liberal-minded members of the former society, contributed a large mass of valuable information as to the organization, administration, and instruction of public schools in different countries, and prepared the way, in 1839, for the appointment of the Committee of Privy Council on Education. Besides these educational works, the society published other books, comprehended within the intended scope of its action, to the number, in all, of more than two hundred volumes. Among these were the "*Penny Magazine*;" the "*Penny Cyclopædia*;" a series of more than two hundred maps; a "*Gallery of Portraits*," in seven volumes; "*Statistics of Great Britain*," by Mr. M' Culloch, in five volumes; a complete series of agricultural works; two extensive series of volumes called the "*Library of Entertaining Knowledge*," and the "*Library of Useful Knowledge*," which were published in parts or pamphlets; De Morgan's "*Differential and Integral Calculus*;" tables of logarithms and numbers, and of statistics on annuities, savings banks, and mechanics' institutes. The

society also commenced a "*Biographical Dictionary*," on a magnificent scale and of great value; but this was unfortunately discontinued after the publication of seven volumes, containing letter A. The circulation of the preliminary discourse to this series of publications, reached 100,000 copies; that of the weekly "*Penny Magazine*," over 200,000; of those of its books of a more popular character, sometimes 40,000; and of many of the scientific ones, 25,000.

FRANKLIN'S CLUB FOR MUTUAL IMPROVEMENT.

Franklin formed a Lyceum, in effect though not in name, in Philadelphia, in 1727, of which he gives the following account in his "*Autobiography*."

In the autumn of the preceding year, (1727,) I had formed most of my ingenious acquaintance into a club for mutual improvement, which we called the Junto; we met on Friday evenings. The rules that I drew up required that every member, in his turn, should produce one or more queries on any point of morals, politics, or natural philosophy, to be discussed by the company; and once in three months produce and read an essay, of his own writing, on any subject he pleased. Our debates were to be under the direction of a president, and to be conducted in the sincere spirit of inquiry after truth, without fondness for dispute, or desire of victory; and, to prevent warmth, all expressions of positiveness in opinions, or direct contradictions, were after some time made contraband, and prohibited under small pecuniary penalties.*

The club was the best school of philosophy, morality, and politics that then existed in the province; for our queries (which were read the week preceding their discussion) put us upon reading with attention on the several subjects, that we might speak more to the purpose; and here too we acquired better habits of conversation, every thing being studied in our rules which might prevent our disgusting each other; hence the long continuance of the club.

At the time I established myself in Pennsylvania, there was not a good bookseller's shop in any of the colonies to the southward of Boston. In New-York and Philadelphia, the printers were indeed stationers, but they sold only paper, &c., almanacs, ballads, and a few common school-books. Those who loved reading were obliged to send for their books from England; the members of the Junto had each a few. We had left the alehouse, where we first met, and hired a room to hold our club in. I proposed that we should all of us bring our books to that room; where they would not only be ready to consult in our conferences, but become a common benefit, each of us being at liberty to borrow such as he wished to read at home. This was accordingly done, and for some time contented us. Finding the advantage of this little collection, I proposed to render the benefit

* Dr. Franklin's account of the members of this club is amusing. "The first members were Joseph Brientnal, a copyer of deeds for the scribes; a good natured, friendly, middle-aged man; a great lover of poetry, reading all he could meet with, and writing some that was tolerable; very ingenious in making little nicknackeries; and of sensible conversation. Thomas Godfrey, a self-taught mathematician, great in his way, and afterward inventor of what is now called *Hadley's Quadrant*. But he knew little out of his way, and was not a pleasing companion; as, like most great mathematicians I have met with, he expected universal precision in every thing said, or was forever denying or distinguishing upon trifles, to the disturbance of all conversation; he soon left us. Nicholas Scull, a surveyor, afterward surveyor-general, who loved books, and sometimes made a few verses. William Parsons, bred a shoemaker, but loving reading, had acquired a considerable share of mathematics, which he first studied with a view to astrology, and afterward laughed at it; he also became surveyor-general. William Mangridge, joiner; but a most exquisite mechanic, and a solid, sensible man. Hugh Meredith, Stephen Potts, and George Webb, I have characterized before. Robert Grace, a young gentleman of some fortune; generous, lively, and witty; a lover of punning, and of his friends. Lastly, William Coleman, then a merchant's clerk; about my age, who had the coolest, clearest head, the best heart, and the exactest morals of almost any man I ever met with. He became, afterward, a merchant of great note, and one of our provincial judges. Our friendship continued, without interruption, to his death, upward of forty years."

from the books more common, by commencing a public subscription library. I drew a sketch of the plan and rules that would be necessary. So few were the readers at that time in Philadelphia, and the majority of us so poor, that I was not able, with great industry, to find more than fifty persons (mostly young tradesmen) willing to pay down for this purpose forty shillings each, and ten shillings per annum; with this little fund we began. The books were imported; the library was open one day in the week for lending them to subscribers, on their promissory notes to pay double the value if not duly returned. The institution soon manifested its utility, was imitated by other towns, and in other provinces. The libraries were augmented by donations; reading became fashionable; and our people, having no public amusements to divert their attention from study, became better acquainted with books; and in a few years were observed by strangers to be better instructed, and more intelligent, than people of the same rank generally are in other countries.

This library afforded me the means of improvement by constant study; for which I set apart an hour or two each day, and thus repaired in some degree the loss of the learned education my father once intended for me. Reading was the only amusement I allowed myself. I spent no time in taverns, games, or frolic of any kind, and my industry in my business continued as indefatigable as it was necessary. My original habits continuing, and my father having, among his instructions to me when a boy, frequently repeated a proverb of Solomon, "*Seest thou a man diligent in his calling, he shall stand before kings, he shall not stand before mean men,*" I thence considered industry as a means of obtaining wealth and distinction, which encouraged me; though I did not think that I should ever literally stand before kings, which however has since happened, for I have stood before five, and even had the honor of sitting down with one (the King of Denmark) to dinner.*

The late Dr. Smith, provost of the University of Pennsylvania, in his discourse upon the death of Dr. Franklin, alludes to the Junto in the manner following. The questions, which he has selected from those discussed in that club, are curious as a sample of the diversity of their inquiries, and may still be interesting topics of discussion in our Lyceums.

"This society, after having subsisted forty years, and having contributed to the formation of some very great men, besides Dr. Franklin himself, became at last the foundation of the American Philosophical Society, now assembled to pay the debt of gratitude to his memory. A book, containing many of the questions discussed by the Junto, was, on the formation of the American Philosophical Society, delivered into my hands, for the purpose of being digested, and in due time published among the transactions of that body. Many of the questions are curious and cautiously handled; such as the following:—

How may the phenomena of vapors be explained?

Is self-interest the rudder that steers mankind; the universal monarch, to whom all are tributaries?

Which is the best form of government, and what was that form which first prevailed among mankind?

Can any one particular form suit all mankind?

What is the reason that the tides rise higher in the bay of Fundy than in the bay of Delaware?

How may the possession of the lakes be improved to our advantage?

Why are tumultuous, uneasy sensations united with our desires?

Whether it ought to be the aim of philosophy to eradicate the passions?

How may smoky chimneys be best cured?

Why does the flame of a candle tend upward in a spire?

Which is least criminal, a *bad* action joined with a *good* intention, or a *good* action with a *bad* intention?

Is it consistent with the principles of liberty, in a free government, to punish a man as a libeller when he speaks the truth?

These, and similar questions of a very mixed nature, being proposed in one evening, were generally discussed the succeeding evening, and the substance of the arguments entered in their books."

* Franklin's Memoirs and Works, Vol. I. p. 62, 63, &c.

PROPOSALS RELATING TO THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH—1749.

Having acquired some little reputation among my fellow-citizens by projecting the public library in 1732, and obtaining the subscriptions by which it was established; and by proposing and promoting, with success, sundry other schemes of utility in 1749; I was encouraged to hazard another project, that of a public education for our youth. As in the scheme of the library I had provided only for English books, so in this new scheme my ideas went no further than to procure the means of a good English education. A number of my friends, to whom I communicated the proposal, concurred with me in these ideas; but Mr. Allen, Mr. Francis, Mr. Peters, and some other persons of wealth and learning, whose subscriptions and countenance we should need, being of opinion that it ought to include the learned languages, I submitted my judgment to theirs, retaining however a strong prepossession in favor of my first plan, and resolving to preserve as much of it as I could, and to nourish the English school by every means in my power.

Before I went about to procure subscriptions, I thought it proper to prepare the minds of the people by a pamphlet, which I wrote, and printed, and distributed with my newspapers gratis. The title was, *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania*. I happen to have preserved one of them; and, by reading a few passages, it will appear how much the English learning was insisted upon in it; and I had good reasons to know that this was a prevailing part of the motives for subscribing with most of the original benefactors. I met with but few refusals in soliciting the subscriptions; and the sum was more the considerable, as I had put the contribution on this footing, that it was not to be immediate, and the whole paid at once, but in parts, a fifth annually during five years. To put the machine in motion, twenty-four of the principal subscribers agreed to take upon themselves the trust; and a set of constitutions for their government, and for the regulation of the schools, were drawn up by Mr. Francis and myself, which were signed by us all, and printed, that the public might know what was to be expected. I wrote also a paper, entitled, *Ideas of an English School*, which was printed, and afterwards annexed to Mr. Peters' sermon, preached at the opening of the Academy. This paper was said to be for the consideration of the trustees; and the expectation of the public that the idea might in a great measure be carried into execution, contributed to render the subscriptions more liberal as well as more general.

Advertisement to the Reader.

It has long been regretted as a misfortune to the youth of this province that we have no Academy in which they might receive the accomplishments of a regular education. The following paper of *Hints* towards forming a plan for that purpose, is so far approved by some public-spirited gentlemen, to whom it has been privately communicated, that they have directed a number of copies to be made by the press, and properly distributed, in order to obtain the sentiments and advice of men of learning, understanding, and experience in these matters; and have determined to use their interest and best endeavors to have the scheme, when completed, carried gradually into execution; in which they have reason to believe they shall have the hearty concurrence and assistance of many, who are well-wishers to their country. Those who incline to favor the design with their advice, either as to the parts of learning to be taught, the order of study, the method of teaching, the economy of the school, or any other matter of importance to the success of the undertaking, are desired to communicate their sentiments as soon as may be by letter, directed to B. Franklin, Printer, in Philadelphia.

PROPOSED HINTS FOR AN ACADEMY.

The good education of youth has been esteemed by wise men in all ages, as the surest foundation of the happiness both of private families and of commonwealths. Almost all governments have therefore made it a principal object of their attention to establish and endow with proper revenues such seminaries of learning, as might supply the succeeding age with men qualified to serve the public with honor to themselves and to their country.

Many of the first settlers of these provinces were men who had received a good education in Europe; and to their wisdom and good management we owe much of our present prosperity. But their hands were full, and they could not do all things. The present race are not thought to be generally of equal

ability; for, though the American youth are allowed not to want capacity, yet the best capacities require cultivation; it being truly with them, as with the best ground, which, unless well tilled and sowed with profitable seed, produces only ranker weeds.

That we may obtain the advantages arising from an increase of knowledge, and prevent, as much as may be, the mischievous consequences that would attend a general ignorance among us, the following *hints* are offered towards forming a plan for the education of the youth of Pennsylvania, viz.:

A Charter.

That some persons of leisure and public spirit apply for a charter, by which they may be incorporated, with power to erect an Academy for the education of youth, to govern the same, provide masters, make rules, receive donations, purchase lands, and to add to their number, from time to time, such other persons as they shall judge suitable.

Voluntary Action of Trustees.

That the members of the corporation make it their pleasure, and in some degree their business, to visit the Academy often, encourage and countenance the youth, countenance and assist the masters, and by all means in their power advance the usefulness and reputation of the design; that they look on the students as in some sort their children, treat them with familiarity and affection, and, when they have behaved well, and gone through their studies, and are to enter the world, zealously unite, and make all the interest that can be made to establish them, whether in business, offices, marriages, or any other thing for their advantage, preferably to all other persons even of equal merit.

Building—Location—Equipment.

That a house be provided for the Academy, if not in the town, not many miles from it; the situation high and dry, and, if it may be, not far from a river, having a garden, orchard, meadow, and a field or two.

That the house be furnished with a library if in the country (if in the town, the town libraries may serve), with maps of all countries, globes, some mathematical instruments, an apparatus for experiments in natural philosophy, and for mechanics; prints of all kinds, prospects, buildings, and machines.

Rector—Physical Training of Pupils.

That the Rector be a man of good understanding, good morals, diligent and patient, learned in the languages and sciences, and a correct, pure speaker and writer of the English tongue; to have such tutors under him as shall be necessary.

That the boarding scholars diet together, plainly, temperately, and frugally.

That to keep them in health, and to strengthen and render active their bodies, they be frequently exercised in running, leaping, wrestling, and swimming.

That they have peculiar habits to distinguish them from other youth, if the Academy be in or near the town; for this, among other reasons, that their behavior may be the better observed.

Studies to be Selected and Adapted.

As to their studies, it would be well if they could be taught *everything* that is useful, and *everything* that is ornamental. But art is long, and their time is short. It is therefore proposed that they learn those things that are likely to be most useful and most ornamental; regard being had to the several professions for which they are intended.

Writing, Drawing, and Arithmetic.

All should be taught to write a fair hand, and swift, as that is useful to all. And with it may be learned something of drawing, by imitation of prints, and

some of the first principles of perspective. Arithmetic, accounts, and some of the first principles of geometry and astronomy.

English Language—Composition and Pronunciation.

The English language might be taught by grammar, and reading some of our best authors (Tillotson, Addison, Pope, Algenon Sidney), having reference to clearness and conciseness of style, and distinct and emphatic pronunciation.

To form their style, they should be put on writing letters to each other, making abstracts of what they read, or writing the same things in their own words; telling or writing stories lately read, in their own expressions—all to be revised and corrected by the tutor, who should give his reasons, and explain the force and import of words.

To form their pronunciation, they may be put on making declamations, repeating speeches, and delivering orations; the tutor assisting at the rehearsals, teaching, advising, and correcting their accent.

Reading made Serviceable to all Useful Knowledge.

If History (with Universal and National) be made a constant part of their reading, may not almost all kinds of useful knowledge be that way introduced to advantage, and with pleasure to the student? As

Chronology, by the help of charts and tables, fixing the dates of important events, and the epochs of famous men.

Ancient Customs, civil and religious, their origin and distinctive features by prints of medals and monuments.

Morality, by timely observations on the causes of the rise and fall of individuals and States—the advantages of temperance, order, frugality, industry, and perseverance.

Religion, the necessity of its principles to the public, and advantages to individuals, and the superiority of the Christian above all others, ancient or modern.

Politics, or the advantages of civil order and constitutions; the encouragement of industry, the protection of property, the encouragement of inventions, the necessity of good laws, and due execution of justice.

The power of oratory and logic on great historical occasions—governing, turning, and leading great bodies of mankind, armies, cities, and nations.

Discussions—Oral and Written.

On historical occasions, questions of right and wrong, justice and injustice, will naturally arise, and may be put to youth, which they may debate in conversation and in writing. When they ardently desire victory, for the sake of the praise attending it, they will begin to feel the want, and be sensible of the use of *logic*, or the art of reasoning to *discover* truth, and of arguing to *defend* it, and *convince* adversaries. This would be the time to acquaint them with the principles of that art. Grotius, Puffendorf, and some other writers of the same kind, may be used to decide their disputes. Public disputes warm the imagination, whet the industry, and strengthen the natural abilities.

Foreign Languages—Ancient and Modern.

When youth are told that the great men whose lives and actions they read in history spoke two of the best languages that ever were, the most expressive, copious, beautiful; and that the finest writings, the most correct compositions, the most perfect productions of human wit and wisdom, are in those languages which have endured for ages, and will endure while there are men; that no translation can do them justice, or give the pleasure found in reading the originals; that those languages contain all science; that one of them is become almost universal, being the language of learned men in all countries; and that to understand them is a distinguishing ornament; they may be thereby made

desirous of learning those languages, and their industry sharpened in the acquisition of them. All intended for divinity should be taught the Latin and Greek; for physic, the Latin, Greek, and French; for law, the Latin and French; merchants, the French, German, and Spanish; and, though all should not be compelled to learn Latin, Greek, or the modern foreign languages, yet none that have an ardent desire to learn them should be refused; their English, arithmetic, and other studies absolutely necessary, not being neglected.

If the new *Universal History* were also read, it would give a connected idea of human affairs, so far as it goes, which should be followed by the best modern histories, particularly of our mother country; then of these colonies, which should be accompanied with observations on their rise, increase, use to Great Britain, encouragements and discouragements, the means to make them flourish, and secure their liberties.

Sciences of Observation and Experiment.

With the history of men, times, and nations, should be read at proper hours or days, some of the best *histories of nature*, which would not only be delightful to youth, and furnish them with matter for their letters, as well as other history, but would afterwards be of great use to them, whether they are merchants, handicrafts, or divines; enabling the first the better to understand many commodities and drugs, the second to improve his trade or handicraft by new mixtures and materials, and the last to adorn his discourses by beautiful comparisons, and strengthen them by new proofs of divine providence. The conversation of all will be improved by it, as occasions frequently occur of making natural observations, which are instructive, agreeable, and entertaining in almost all companies. Natural history will also afford opportunities of introducing many observations, relating to the preservation of health, which may be afterwards of great use. Arbuthnot on Air and Ailment, Sanctorius on Perspiration, Lemery on Foods, and some others, may now be read, and a very little explanation will make them sufficiently intelligible to youth.

Gardening and Agriculture—Commerce—Mechanic Arts.

While they are reading natural history, might not a little gardening, planting, grafting, and inoculating, be taught and practised; and now and then excursions made to the neighboring plantations of the best farmers, their methods observed and reasoned upon for the information of youth, the improvement of agriculture being useful to all, and skill in it no disparagement to any?

The *history of commerce*, of the invention of arts, rise of manufactures, progress of trade, change of its seats, with the reasons and causes, may also be made entertaining to youth, and will be useful to all. And this, with the accounts in other history of the prodigious force and effect of engines and machines used in war, will naturally introduce a desire to be instructed in mechanics, and to be informed of the principles of that art by which weak men perform such wonders, labor is saved, and manufactures expedited. This will be the time to show them prints of ancient and modern machines; to explain them, to be copied, and for lectures in mechanical philosophy.

Good Breeding and Doing Good.

With the whole should be constantly inculcated and cultivated that *benignity of mind* which shows itself in searching for and seizing every opportunity to serve and to oblige; and is the foundation of what is called *good breeding*; highly useful to the possessor, and most agreeable to all.

The idea of what is *true merit* should also be often presented to youth, explained and impressed on their minds, as consisting in an *inclination*, joined with an *ability*, to serve mankind, one's country, friends, and family; which ability is, with the blessing of God, to be acquired or greatly increased by *true learning*; and should, indeed, be the great aim and end of all learning.

SKETCH OF AN ENGLISH SCHOOL.—1749.

For the Consideration of the Trustees of the Philadelphia Academy.

It is expected that every scholar to be admitted into the school be at least able to pronounce and divide the syllables in reading, and to write a legible hand. None to be received that are under years of age.

First or Lowest Class.

Let the first class learn the English grammar rules, and at the same time let particular care be taken to improve them in orthography. Perhaps the latter is best done by pairing the scholars; two of those nearest equal in their spelling to be put together. Let these strive for victory; each propounding ten words every day to the other to be spelled. He that spells truly most of the other's words, is victor for that day; he that is victor most days in a month to obtain a prize, a pretty, neat book of some kind, useful in their future studies. This method fixes the attention of children extremely to the orthography of words, and makes them good spellers very early. It is a shame for a man to be so ignorant of this little art, in his own language, as to be perpetually confounding words of like sound and different significations; the consciousness of which defect makes some men, otherwise of good learning and understanding, averse to writing even a common letter.

Let the pieces read by the scholars in this class be short; such as Croxal's fables and little stories. In giving the lesson, let it be read to them; let the meaning of the difficult words in it be explained to them; and let them con it over by themselves before they are called to read to the master or usher; who is to take particular care that they do not read too fast, and that they duly observe the stops and pauses. A vocabulary of the most usual difficult words might be formed for their use, with explanations; and they might daily get a few of those words and explanations by heart, which would a little exercise their memories; or at least they might write a number of them in a small book for that purpose, which would help to fix the meaning of those words in their minds, and at the same time furnish every one with a little dictionary for his future use.

The Second Class.

To be taught reading with attention, and with proper modulations of the voice, according to the sentiment and the subject.

Some short pieces, not exceeding the length of a Spectator, to be given this class for lessons, (and some of the easier Spectators would be very suitable for the purpose). These lessons might be given every night as tasks; the scholars to study them against the morning. Let it then be required of them to give an account, first of the parts of speech, and construction of one or two sentences. This will oblige them to recur frequently to their grammar, and fix its principal rules in their memory. Next, of the intention of the writer, or the scope of the piece, the meaning of each sentence, and of every uncommon word. This would early acquaint them with the meaning and force of words, and give them that most necessary habit of reading with attention.

The master then to read the piece with the proper modulations of voice, due emphasis, and suitable action, where action is required; and put the youth on imitating his manner.

Where the author has used an expression not the best, let it be pointed out; and let his beauties be particularly remarked to the youth.

Let the lessons for reading be varied, that the youth may be made acquainted with good styles of all kinds in prose and verse, and the proper manner of reading each kind—sometimes a well-told story, a piece of a sermon, a general's speech to his soldiers, a speech in a tragedy, some part of a comedy, an

ode, a satire, a letter, blank verse, Hudibrastic, heroic, &c. But let such lessons be chosen for reading as contain some useful instruction, whereby the understanding or morals of the youth may at the same time be improved.

It is required that they should first study and understand the lessons, before they are put upon reading them properly; to which end each boy should have an English Dictionary to help him over difficulties. When our boys read English to us, we are apt to imagine they understand what they read, because we do, and because it is their mother tongue. But they often read as parrots speak, knowing little or nothing of the meaning. And it is impossible a reader should give the due modulation to his voice, and pronounce properly, unless his understanding goes before his tongue, and makes him master of the sentiment. Accustoming boys to read aloud what they do not first understand, is the cause of those even, set tones so common among readers, which, when they have once got a habit of using, they find so difficult to correct; by which means, among fifty readers, we scarcely find a good one. For want of good reading, pieces published with a view to influence the minds of men, for their own or the public benefit, lose half their force. Were there but one good reader in a neighborhood, a public orator might be heard throughout a nation with the same advantages, and have the same effect upon his audience, as if they stood within the reach of his voice.

The Third Class.

To be taught speaking properly and gracefully, which is near akin to good reading, and naturally follows it in the studies of youth. Let the scholars of this class begin with learning the elements of rhetoric, from some short system, so as to be able to give an account of the most useful tropes and figures. Let all their bad habits of speaking, all offences against good grammar, all corrupt or foreign accents, and all improper phrases be pointed out to them. Short speeches from the Roman or other history, or from the parliamentary debates, might be got by heart, and delivered with the proper action, &c. Speeches and scenes in our best tragedies and comedies, (avoiding everything that could injure the morals of youth,) might likewise be got by rote, and the boys exercised in delivering or acting them; great care being taken to form their manner after the truest models.

For their farther improvement, and a little to vary their studies, let them now begin to read history, after having got by heart a short table of the principal epochs in chronology. They may begin with Rollin's Ancient and Roman Histories, and proceed at proper hours, as they go through the subsequent classes, with the best histories of our own nation and colonies. Let emulation be excited among the boys, by giving, weekly, little prizes, or other small encouragements to those who are able to give the best account of what they have read, as to times, places, names of persons, &c. This will make them read with attention, and imprint the history well in their memories. In remarking on the history, the master will have fine opportunities of instilling instruction of various kinds, and of improving the morals, as well as the understandings, of youth.

The natural and mechanic history, contained in the *Spectacle de la Nature*, might also be begun in this class, and continued through the subsequent classes, by other books of the same kind; for, next to the knowledge of duty, this kind of knowledge is certainly the most useful, as well as the most entertaining. The merchant may thereby be enabled better to understand many commodities in trade; the handicraftsman to improve his business by new instruments, mixtures, and materials, and frequently hints are given for new methods of improving land, that may be set on foot greatly to the advantage of a country.

The Fourth Class.

To be taught composition. Writing one's own language well is the next necessary accomplishment after good speaking. It is the writing-master's business to take care that the boys make fair characters, and place them straight and even in the lines; but to form their style, and even to take care that the stops and capitals are properly disposed, is the parts of the English master. The boys should be put on writing letters to each other on any common occurrences, and on various subjects, imaginary business, etc., containing little stories, accounts of their late reading, what part of authors please them, and why; letters of congratulation, of compliment, of request, of thanks, of recommendation, of admonition, of consolation, of expostulation, excuse, &c. In these they should be taught to express themselves clearly, concisely, and naturally, without affected words or high-flown phrases. All their letters to pass through the master's hands, who is to point out the faults, advise the corrections, and commend what he finds right. Some of the best letters published in their own language, as Sir William Temple's, those of Pope and his friends, and some others, might be set before the youth as models, their beauties pointed out and explained by the master, the letters themselves transcribed by the scholar.

Dr. Johnson's *Ethices Elementa*, or First Principles of Morality, may now be read by the scholars, and explained by the master, to lay a solid foundation of virtue and piety in their minds. And as this class continues the reading of history, let them now, at proper hours, receive some farther instruction in chronology and in that part of geography (from the mathematical master) which is necessary to understand the maps and globes. They should also be acquainted with the modern names of the places they find mentioned in ancient writers. The exercises of good reading, and proper speaking, still continued at suitable times.

The Fifth Class.

To improve the youth in composition, they may now, besides continuing to write letters, begin to write little essays in prose, and sometimes in verse; not to make them poets, but for this reason, that nothing acquaints a lad so speedily with a variety of expression, as the necessity of finding such words and phrases as will suit the measure, sound, and rhyme of verse, and at the same time well express the sentiment. These essays should all pass under the master's eye, who will point out their faults, and put the writer on correcting them. Where the judgment is not ripe enough for forming new essays, let the sentiments of a Spectator be given, and required to be clothed in the scholar's own words; or the circumstances of some good story; the scholar to find expression. Let them be put sometimes on abridging a paragraph of a diffuse author; sometimes on dilating or amplifying what is wrote more closely. And now let Dr. Johnson's *Noetica*, or First Principles of Human Knowledge, containing a logic, or art of reasoning, etc., be read by the youth, and the difficulties that may occur to them be explained by the master. The reading of history, and the exercise of good reading and just speaking still continued.

Sixth Class.

In this class, besides continuing the studies of the preceding in history, rhetoric, logic, moral and natural philosophy, the best English authors may be read and explained; as Tillotson, Milton, Locke, Addison, Pope, Swift, the higher papers in the *Spectator* and *Guardian*, the best translations of Homer, Virgil, and Horace, of Telemachus, Travels of Cyrus, etc.

Once a year let there be public exercises in the hall; the trustees and citizens present. Then let fine gilt books be given as prizes to such boys as distinguish themselves, and excel the others in any branch of learning, making three

degrees of comparison; giving the best prize to him that performs best, a less valuable one to him that comes up next to the best; and another to the third. Commendations, encouragement, and advice to the rest, keeping up their hopes, that by industry they may excel another time. The names of those that obtain the prize, to be yearly printed in a list.

The hours of each day are to be divided and disposed in such a manner as that some classes may be with the writing master, improving their hands, others with the mathematical master, learning arithmetic, accounts, geography, use of the globes, drawing, mechanics, etc.; while the rest are in the English school, under the English master's care.

Thus instructed, youth will come out of this school fitted for learning any business, calling, or profession, except in such wherein languages are required; and though unacquainted with any ancient or foreign tongue, they will be masters of their own, which is of more immediate and general use; and withal will have attained many other valuable accomplishments; the time usually spent in acquiring those languages, often without success, being here employed in laying such a foundation of knowledge and ability as, properly improved, may qualify them to pass through and execute the several offices of civil life, with advantage and reputation to themselves and country.

[On his return to Philadelphia in 1783, Dr. Franklin found that the Institution which he had originated in 1749 had not only drifted away from the plan and methods marked out for its development, but that its future progress had become involved in disputes and discussion which seemed, in his mind, to make it necessary to go back to first principles. Accordingly in June, 1789 he issued a pamphlet entitled, "Observations Relative to the Intentions of the Original Founders of the Academy in Philadelphia," in which he traces the successive steps by which the trustees gave prominence to the classical side of the institution, and dwarfed his conception of a liberal education suitable for an American citizen who had not time or taste for the accomplishments of ancient learning or linguistic culture. In consequence of this course the Academy became a College and University (of the American type) without the option of courses which his larger and more practical views contemplated. He concludes his 'Observations' as follows:

The whole body of science is now to be met with in our modern languages, so that learning the ancient for the purpose of acquiring knowledge is become absolutely unnecessary. But there is in mankind an unaccountable prejudice in favor of ancient customs and habitudes, which incline to the continuance of them after the circumstances which formerly made them useful cease to exist. Hats were once thought a useful part of dress. They kept the head warm, and screened it from the sun, rain, snow, etc.

At what time hats were first introduced we know not, but in the last century they were universally worn throughout Europe. Gradually, however, as the wearing of wigs, and hair nicely dressed, prevailed, the putting on of hats was disused by genteel people, lest the curious arrangements of the curls and powdering should be disordered; and umbrellas began to supply their place; yet still our considering the hat as a part of dress continues so far to prevail, that a man of fashion is not thought dressed without having one, or something like one, about him, which he carries under his arm. So that there are a multitude of the politer people in all the courts and capital cities of Europe, who have never, nor their fathers before them, worn a hat otherwise than as a *chapeau bras*, though the utility of such a mode of wearing it is by no means apparent, and it is attended not only with some expense, but with a degree of constant trouble.

The still prevailing custom of having schools for teaching generally our children, in these days, the Latin and Greek languages, I consider therefore, in no other light than as the *chapeau bras* of modern literature.

Thus the time spent in that study might, it seems, be much better employed in the education suitable for such a country as ours; and this was indeed the opinion of most of the original trustees.]

SAMUEL JOHNSON.

SAMUEL JOHNSON, D. D., the first president of King's (now Columbia,) College, New York, was born at Guilford, Conn., Oct. 14th, 1696. His father and grandfather were both residents of Guilford, and both deacons of the congregational church in that town. His great-grandfather, Robert Johnson, was one of the original settlers of New Haven. From a very early age, he manifested a great fondness for books, and his father, after a trial of four or five years, finding it impossible to reconcile him to the idea of business, finally complied with his earnest wishes, and allowed him to prepare to enter Yale College, then recently organized. He fitted for college under Mr. Eliot, who afterward settled at Killingworth, as a preacher. Mr. Chapman, who succeeded Mr. Eliot as a teacher, at Guilford, and Mr. James, a very eminent scholar of Guilford. At the age of fourteen, he entered Yale College, then located at Saybrook, receiving instruction from Messrs. Noyes and Fisk, at that time tutors in the college, as the rector of the college, Mr. Andrew, then resided at Milford, and only instructed the senior class. In 1714, he took the degree of A. B., having, in addition to the ordinary college studies, made some progress in Hebrew.

The early part of the eighteenth century was a period of great depression to all the interests of learning in New England. The eminent scholars of the early emigration were dead, and most of those who came over, at the period of the restoration, had also passed away; since the revolution of 1688, the causes which had led to emigration had been removed, and more returned to England than came from thence; the generation upon the stage at the time of Mr. Johnson's graduation, were almost entirely educated in this country; and, though the course of study at Harvard College was respectable for the time, and the circumstances of a colony, whose existence was yet numbered by decades of years, yet it was far from being up to the standard of European culture. Yale College had maintained a sort of nomade existence, for some thirteen years; its trustees were among the most eminent scholars of the colony, and they were disposed to do what they could to make it a reputable school of learning; but its course of instruction was extremely limited. At the time Mr. Johnson took his degree, all that was attempted, in the way of classi-

cal learning, was the reading of five or six of Cicero's orations, as many books of Virgil, and a part of the Hebrew Psalter. In mathematics, only common arithmetic, and a little surveying were taught; in logic, metaphysics and ethics, the doctrines of the schoolmen still held sway, and Descartes, Boyle, Locke, Newton, and Bacon, were regarded as innovators, from whom no good could be expected or hoped. In theology, Ames' "*Medulla*," and "*Cases of Conscience*," and "*Wolfebius*," were the standards.

With, perhaps a pardonable vanity, Mr. Johnson, who had stood very high as a scholar in his class, regarded himself as possessing superior attainments; but his good opinion of his own abilities was very suddenly lowered, when, a year or two later, chance threw in his way, a copy of Lord Bacon's "*Advancement of Learning*," then a very rare book in this country. Humbled by the sense of his own ignorance, which that book gave him, he was still much enlightened by it, and, to use his own language, "seemed to himself like a person suddenly emerging out of the glimmer of twilight, into the full sunshine of open day." His mind being thus prepared for further culture, he soon had an opportunity for its subsequent development. A collection of books made in England by Mr. Dummer, the agent of the colony, amounting to about eight hundred volumes, was sent over to the college. Among them were the works of Sir Isaac Newton, Blackman, Steele, Burnet, Woodward, Halley, Bentley, Kennet, Barrow, Patrick, South, Tillotson, Sharp, Scott, and Whitby. To a mind, as earnest as was his to acquire knowledge, these books furnished indeed "a feast of fat things." In company with Messrs. Cutler, Eliot, Hart, Whittlesey, and his classmates, Wetmore and Brown, he devoted all his leisure to their perusal.

Meantime, the college was in great danger of extinction. The students, complaining of the unfitness of their tutors, scattered themselves in different parts of the colony, studying under such teachers as they chose; a part, including those living in the vicinity of Connecticut River, placed themselves under the direction of Messrs. Woodbridge and Buckingham, the ministers at Hartford, who were trustees of the college, and at their instigation, Messrs. Williams and Smith, two young ministers, were persuaded to set up a collegiate school at Wethersfield, in the hope of obtaining a removal of the college thither; and to this school, the students of the river towns resorted. Those belonging to the towns on the sea-shore, put themselves under the tuition of Mr. Johnson, at Guilford.

Under these circumstances, a meeting of the trustees was held, in the spring of 1716; a majority of the trustees present, as well as

the governor, Mr. Saltonstall, of New London, were in favor of establishing the college at New Haven; but the minority were very bitter in their opposition, and a vote was passed, referring the matter to the general court, which was to be held at New Haven, in October of that year. This meeting of the trustees was not attended by Messrs. Woodbridge and Buckingham, the Hartford ministers, and they protested against its legality and its action.

At the meeting of the general court, (or colonial legislature,) a majority of the members of both houses were found to be in favor of establishing the college at New Haven, and an act of assembly was passed for that purpose. The majority of the trustees then met, and appointed Mr. Johnson, who was then but twenty years of age, one of the tutors, and, with a view of reconciling the minority, selected Mr. Smith, one of the Wethersfield teachers, as the other. They also commenced a subscription to obtain the means of erecting a college building, and procured an architect from Boston, to oversee the building.

The minority, however, were inexorable; Mr. Smith and all his party refusing to consider any overtures for a union, and the Wethersfield school was maintained. The students along the sea-coast, about twenty in number, came together at New Haven, and Mr. Johnson began his course of instruction there, assisted by Mr. Noyes, the minister of the town. On the 12th September, 1717, a commencement was held at New Haven, and the same day at Wethersfield, and degrees were conferred in both places. The trustees at New Haven, chose Mr. Brown, a classmate of Mr. Johnson, as a second tutor. Harmonizing fully in their views, these two young men exerted themselves to the utmost, for the improvement of the students under their charge, extending the course of mathematical study, introducing the works of Locke and Sir Isaac Newton, into the college course, and substituting the Copernican for the Ptolemaic system, which had hitherto been taught. It was a fortunate circumstance for them, that the troubles without, withdrew public attention from these innovations within. The succeeding year, (1718,) the trouble which had existed between the two parties at New Haven and Wethersfield, was settled by a compromise. The degrees given at Wethersfield were confirmed; a tract of land belonging to the colony was sold, and of the avails £200 currency, was given to the college at New Haven, and £800 currency to Hartford, toward the erection of a state house, as an offset for the loss of the college. As a result of this settlement, the Wethersfield students came to New Haven, and though somewhat turbulent, there was but little subsequent trouble with them.

The same year, Rev. Timothy Cutler, at that time pastor of the congregational church in Stratford, and an intimate friend of Mr. Johnson, was chosen rector of the college, and having received a very liberal donation from Elihu Yale, of London, the trustees gave to their new building, the name of Yale College. In a little more than a year after the appointment of Mr. Cutler to the rectorship, Mr. Johnson resigned his tutorship, to enter upon the duties of the pastorate, and was ordained and settled at West Haven in March, 1720, rejecting several more eligible offers, in order that he might be near the college, and have the advantage of its library, and the society of its teachers.

Of the change which soon after took place in his religious views, and which led him, and several of his friends, to seek ordination in the Anglican church, it is not our province here to speak at length; it was unquestionably the result of an honest, conscientious, and sincere belief in the error of his previous creed, and when we consider that its result was to cut him off from the sympathy and regard of all his previous friends, and to deprive him of the fairest opportunities of preferment and reputation, which were ever perhaps offered to a young man in his position, we can not avoid doing honor to the moral courage which led to the step, however we may regard the creed he adopted. Suffice it to say, that in November, 1722, rector Cutler and Mr. Brown, having resigned their offices, set sail in company with Mr. Johnson, for England, to receive ordination from an English bishop. Mr. Wetmore, another classmate of Mr. Johnson, followed, a few months later. In March, 1723, they were ordained by the Bishop of Norwich, and the week after Mr. Brown died of the small pox.

In May, Mr. Cutler received the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and Mr. Johnson, of Master of Arts, from the University of Oxford, and soon after, the same degrees were conferred on them by the University of Cambridge. Dr. Cutler and Mr. Johnson returned to this country, in the summer of 1723, and Mr. Johnson, having received an appointment as missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, settled over the Episcopal church, at Stratford, Conn. The change in his views subjected him to considerable opposition, but his equable temper, his cheerful and benevolent disposition, and the marked purity and dignity of his character, disarmed the enmity of those who opposed him, and caused the people to esteem him highly. In 1725, he married Mrs. Charity Nicoll, the daughter of Col. Richard Floyd, and widow of Benjamin Nicoll, Esq., of Long Island, by whom she had had two sons and a daughter.

It was the fortune of Mr. Johnson to be on terms of intimacy and correspondence, with many of the most eminent scholars of his day, both in England and this country. Among the most intimate of his friends, at this period of his life, was Governor Burnett of New York, a son of the celebrated Bishop of that name, and a man of great learning and genius, but eccentric both in his views and his mode of reasoning. The Governor having embraced the opinions of Clarke, Whiston, and others, on the subject of the Trinity, and of Bishop Hoadley, Jackson and Sykes, on the subject of ecclesiastical authority, sought to win his friend Johnson to his views. Mr. Johnson's mental habits were such, that he would neither receive or reject any theory or doctrine, until he had carefully and patiently examined it on all sides; and he accordingly bent all his fine powers to the investigation of the questions discussed by the authors already named; the result was to confirm him in his previous views, though with a large charity for those who differed from him in opinion. In 1729, soon after the conclusion of this investigation, Bishop Berkeley, then dean of Derry, Ireland, came to this country, and resided for two and a half years near Newport, R. I. During his residence here, Mr. Johnson often visited him and was on terms of close intimacy with him, and often in his after life referred to these interviews, as having been of great advantage to him, in the improvement of his mind, by free intercourse with so eminent a scholar, and philosopher. When the Dean was about leaving America, Mr. Johnson paid him a final visit, and in the course of conversation, took occasion to commend to his notice Yale College as a deserving institution, and to express the hope that he might send the college some books. The commendation was remembered; two years after, the Dean and some of his friends sent to the college a present of nearly a thousand volumes of choice books, two hundred and sixty of them folios. The value of this gift was not less than two thousand five hundred dollars. About the same time he forwarded to Mr. Johnson, a deed conveying to the trustees, his farm of ninety-six acres on Rhode Island, the annual income of which was to be divided between three bachelors of arts, who, upon examination by the rector of the college, and a minister of the church of England, should appear to be the best classical scholars; provided they would reside at the college, the three years between their bachelor's and master's degrees, in the prosecution of their studies; and the forfeiture, in cases of non-residence, were to be given in premiums of books, to those that performed the best exercises. For many years after the return of Bishop Berkeley, to England, Mr. Johnson's life passed smoothly, in the performance of his parochial duties, and

the prosecution of his studies; occasionally, the calm and even tenor of his life, was slightly ruffled by pamphlet controversies, with those who attacked the creed or practice of the Anglican church—controversies in which he rarely or never acted the part of the aggressor, but usually of the respondent. Of this character was his controversy with Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Foxcroft, Mr. Graham, his "*Letter from Aristocles to Anthades*," and his rejoinder to Mr. Dickinson's reply to that letter. In controversy, as every where else, it may be remarked, that Mr. Johnson exhibited the character of the Christian gentleman, never suffering himself to be betrayed into the use of the bitter and acrimonious language, which have made the *odium theologicum*, proverbial, as the most venomous of all hatreds. In 1746, Mr. Johnson published "*A System of Morality*, containing the first principles of moral philosophy or ethics, in a chain of necessary consequences from certain facts." This work had a high reputation at the time of its publication, and met with an extensive sale. In 1748, the degree of Doctor in Divinity, was unanimously conferred upon him by the University of Oxford. The degree was conferred, it is said, at the special instance of Archbishop Secker, then Bishop of Oxford, Dr. Hodges, then Vice-Chancellor of the University and Provost of Oriel College, Dr. Astry, and others.

The honor thus conferred on him, had only the effect to make him more zealous in his studies, especially in Hebrew and the other oriental languages, in which he was more proficient than most of the scholars of the eighteenth century, in this country.

Dr. Johnson had two sons; William Samuel, and William, both whom he fitted for college himself, and entered them at Yale when they were about thirteen years of age. The elder became eminent as a lawyer, received the degree of LL. D. from the University of Oxford, in 1766, and was, for several years, the agent of the Colony in England; the younger studied divinity, and was subsequently a tutor in King's College, under his father.

Dr. Johnson prepared a compendium of logic and metaphysics, and another of ethics, for the use of his sons, and these were published together in 1752, by Benjamin Franklin, for the use of the University of Pennsylvania, then just established at Philadelphia. Dr. Johnson and Dr. Franklin were constant correspondents for many years, and the views of the latter on electricity were laid before Dr. Johnson, before their publication. The plan of education in the University in which Dr. Franklin was deeply interested, was also modified at his suggestion, and he was offered the presidency of it, which, however, he declined.

In 1753, the principal gentlemen of New York, with Lieutenant-Governor Delancey at their head, undertook to found a college in New York City. In all their plans, Dr. Johnson was consulted, and when the charter was obtained, and they were ready to organize the college, he was elected president. He at first declined, but finding that, unless he accepted, they would relinquish the enterprise, he very reluctantly consented, and in 1754 took leave of his congregation at Stratford, with deep regret on both sides. A singular condition was attached to his acceptance, which shows how great an amount of terror the ravages of small-pox had produced in the minds of all classes, at that time; "he was to be at liberty to retire to some place of safety in the country, whenever the small-pox should render it dangerous for him to reside in the city."² To those who have only known its dangers, when modified by vaccination, this extraordinary dread seems almost incredible.

On the 17th July, 1754, the first class, consisting of ten students, assembled in the vestry-room of Trinity Church, and the regular course of study was commenced, the doctor himself hearing the recitations. In addition to the labor of instruction, he also drew up the form of prayers for the college, composed a suitable collect, compiled a body of laws for their use, devised a seal for the corporation, assisted in the planning of the college edifice, and wrote to his friends in England, Bishop Sherlock, Archbishop Secker, and the Society for the propagation of the gospel, for assistance. On the admission of the second class, his younger son, William Johnson, was appointed tutor, which office he filled, to universal acceptance, for more than a year, when he sailed for England, in November, 1755, with a view to take orders, and settle, as the missionary of the Society for the propagation of the gospel, at Westchester. He received holy orders, in March, and the degree of 'A. M. was conferred on him by both Oxford and Cambridge, in May, 1756; but, soon after his return from Cambridge, he was seized with the small-pox, of which he died, June 20th, 1756. A Mr. Cutting, educated at Eton and Cambridge, succeeded Mr. Johnson as tutor; the college edifice was making good progress, but, soon after the president received the painful intelligence of the death of his son, he was compelled to leave New York, by the prevalence of the small-pox there, and could not return under a year.

² "The small-pox seems to have been, through life, "the shadow on the hearth" to the good doctor; and this is hardly matter of surprise; for, at the commencement of his ministry, his friend, Dr. Cutler, hardly escaped with his life from it in England; his friend, Mr. Browe, died with it there, as did also, subsequent to his removal to New York, his younger son; he himself more than once left his post in New York, in consequence of its prevalence; and, in 1762, his second wife fell a victim to it.

He left about thirty students in the three classes, and, as Mr. Cutting was unable to teach them all, Mr. Treadwell, a graduate of Harvard College, was appointed second tutor. During the year 1757, the college received from England a library, consisting of about fifteen hundred volumes, the bequest of Rev. Dr. Bristowe, through the Society for the propagation of the gospel. Dr. Johnson returned to New York, in March, 1758, and in June following was called to bury his wife, with whom he had lived very happily for thirty-two years. On the 21st June, 1758, he held his first commencement, at which the students received their first degree, and several other persons the second. During the succeeding year, the college curriculum was more thoroughly systematized, the president giving instructions in Greek, logic, metaphysics, and ethics, while the tutors, or professors as they were now called, divided between them the other studies. In 1759, soon after the second commencement, he was again obliged to leave the city in consequence of the prevalence of the small-pox, and spent the winter at Stratford, though not without much anxiety of mind relative to the college, as the mathematical professor was very ill with consumption, and died the ensuing spring. In April, Benjamin Nicoll, one of Dr. Johnson's step-sons, an eminent lawyer in New York, and one of the governors or trustees of the college, died very suddenly. The loss was a very severe one to the college, and to the community, but Dr. Johnson was almost overwhelmed by it, and desired to resign his office and return to Stratford, to spend the remainder of his days, with his only surviving son; and accordingly he wrote to England, desiring that two gentlemen might be sent out, one to act as mathematical professor, and the other to take his place. The college edifice was at this time completed, and he removed into it, and here held, in May, 1760, his third commencement, and, in connection with Mr. Cutting, performed the whole duty of teaching the four classes that year. In 1761, soon after the fourth commencement, he published an essay, entitled "*A Demonstration of the Reasonableness, Usefulness, and great Duty of Prayer,*" and, not long after, a sermon "*On the Beauty of Holiness in the Worship of the Church of England.*" In June of the same year, he married a second wife, Mrs. Beach, the widow of an old friend and former parishioner. At the commencement of the next term, a mathematical professor, Mr. Robert Harper, was appointed, and the cares of the president somewhat diminished. The college had been partially endowed by moneys raised by subscription, and by a lottery, at the time of its charter, and had subsequently received a donation of £500 from the Society for the propagation of the gospel, and a Mr. Murray had be-

quested to it an estate of about £10,000 currency ; but, after erecting the necessary buildings, and incurring other expenses, its funds were reduced so low, that the interest was not sufficient, with the other income of the college, for the support of the officers, and it was therefore necessary that it should be further endowed. The president was desirous that an effort should be made to procure some assistance from England, and a suitable opportunity offering, in the visit of James Jay, M. D., to England, the governors were persuaded by the president to accept Dr. Jay's offer, to endeavor to raise funds for them. The president of the University of Pennsylvania had sailed for England a few weeks before, as was subsequently ascertained, on a like errand in behalf of his own college, and, by the advice of the friends of both, the collection for the two colleges was made a joint one. The king, however, gave £400 to the college at New York, which thenceforward received the name of King's College. The half of the avails of the collection, received by King's College, amounted to about £6,000, above the expenses. In the autumn of 1762, Rev. Myles Cooper, a graduate of Queen's College, Oxford, came to New York, recommended by Archbishop Secker as a suitable person for a professor in the college, and to succeed Dr. Johnson when he should resign. He was immediately appointed professor of moral philosophy, and soon won the regard of all the friends of the college. Dr. Johnson had not intended to resign until after the commencement, in May, 1763, but the sudden death of Mrs. Johnson, of small-pox, in February, of that year, determined him to relinquish his situation at an earlier period, and he accordingly threw in his resignation about the first of March, and retired to Stratford. Mr. Cooper was chosen president before the commencement in May, and Dr. Clossy, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, appointed professor of natural philosophy.

In 1764, Dr. Johnson again became rector of the church at Stratford, and continued in that office until his death. But though it would have seemed that, at the age of nearly seventy, after a life of so great intellectual activity, he would have sought the repose and quiet he had so fairly earned, yet we find the instinct of the teacher was so strong, that he devoted himself to new labors in behalf of his grand-children, preparing first an English grammar for their use, then revising his catechism, his works on logic and ethics, and finally preparing a Hebrew and English grammar, published in London, in 1767, and subsequently revised and enlarged in 1771. At the same time, he reviewed, with great care, his theological and philosophical opinions, and the ground on which they were based ; spent some hours each

day in the study of the Hebrew scriptures, and, though laboring under a partial paralysis of the hand, kept up, with great punctuality, an extensive correspondence with eminent men, both in England and America. After his death, portions of his correspondence with Bishops Berkeley, Sherlock, and Lowth, and Archbishop Secker, were published, and fully justified the high reputation in which he had been held while in life. His death, which occurred on the 6th of January, 1772, was very peaceful, and, though sudden, entirely unattended with pain. He expired while sitting in his chair, and conversing on his approaching departure, with his family.

The following inscription, composed by his friend and successor in the presidency of King's College, Rev. Dr. Cooper, was placed upon his monument, in Christ Church, Stratford:—

M. S. 6012
 SAMUEL JOHNSON, D. D.,
Collegii Regalis, Novi Eboraci
Præsidis primi,
 et hujus Ecclesiæ nupæ Rectoris
 Natus die 14to Octob. 1696
 Obiit 6to Jan. 1772.

"If decent dignity, and modest mien,
 The cheerful heart, and countenance serene;
 If pure religion, and unsullied track,
 His age's solace, and his search in youth;
 If piety, in all the paths he trod,
 Still rising vigorous to his Lord and God;
 If clarity, through all the race he ran
 Still wishing well, and doing good to man;
 If learning, free from pedantry and pride,—
 If faith and virtue, walking side by side;
 If well to mark his being's aim and end,—
 To shine through life, a husband, father, friend;
 If these ambitions in thy soul can raise,
 Excite thy reverence, or demand thy praise;
 Reader—ere yet thou quit this earthly scene,
 Revere his name, and be what he has been."

MYLES COOP.

BISHOP BERKELEY, AND AMERICAN EDUCATION.

GEORGE BERKELEY, D.D., Bishop of Cloyne, but better known in this country as Dean Berkeley, because he was so designated during his residence in Rhode Island from 1729 to 1731, and at the time he founded the Scholarship which bears his name in Yale college—was born at Kilcrin, near Thomastown, County of Kilkenny, Ireland, on the 12th of March, 1684. He entered Trinity college in 1699, was elected a Fellow in 1707, and became Senior Fellow in 1717, which he resigned when consecrated Bishop of Cloyne in 1738.

In 1718, Berkeley removed to London, where his learning—at once exact and varied, his refined taste, his speculative philosophy, benevolent aspirations, and his fine colloquial powers, won the admiration and friendship of the most eminent men of letters in the metropolis.* In 1714, he accompanied Lord Peterborough as chaplain to Italy; and in 1724, was made Dean of Derry, at an income of £1,100 a year. About this time he matured his scheme for training pastors for the colonies, and missionaries and teachers for the American Indians, by a college at Bermudæ. To carry it out, he devoted his own time and means, and strove to enlist the contributions and personal efforts of his friends. Having secured the promise of £20,000 from the government, and married a wife (the accomplished daughter of Chief Justice Forster of Ireland), he set out with a few friends for Newport early in September, 1728, but did not reach there till the 23rd of January, 1729. After waiting three years of deferred hope for the funds from the English ministry to enable him to prosecute his educational enterprise, the Dean returned to England in 1731, where the magnetism of his personal presence was soon felt at court, and he was promoted to the bishopric of Cloyne. During his nine years of residence in his diocese, his pen and voice were exerted to relieve the distress of the people, to induce habits of profitable industry, and to induce the government to include not the nobility and the protestants only, but the whole people of Ireland in the privileges of the British constitution. The *Querist*, published in 1735, anticipates, in its suggestions of reform, most of the ameliorations of the last half century in English legislation. His later philosophical speculations were more in accordance with those of Plato, but all his writings early and late in life, were designed to inspire lofty conceptions of the being and attributes of the Deity, and a profound sense of devotion and duty, as well as to rid

* Sir James Mackintosh, in his *Progress of Ethical Philosophy*, says: "Adverse factions and hostile wits concurred only in living, admiring, and contributing to advance him. The severe sense of Swift endured his visions; the modest Addison endeavored to reconcile Clarke to his ambitious speculations. Character converted the satire of Pope into fervid praise; even the discovering, fastidious, and turbulent Atterbury said, after an interview with him, 'so much understanding, so much knowledge, so much innocence, and such humility, I did not think had been the portion of any but angels till I saw this gentleman.' His works are, beyond dispute, the finest models of philosophical style since Cicero. Perhaps they surpass those of that orator in the wonderful art by which the fullest light is thrown on the most minute and evanescent parts of the most subtle of human conceptions."

the literary world of atheism and irreligion. 'Truth is the cry of all, but the game of a few. He who would make real progress in knowledge, must dedicate his age as well as his youth, the later growth, as well as the first fruits, at the altar of Truth.' He died in Oxford, Jan. 28, 1758.

Dr. Berkeley's love of classical learning is perpetuated in Trinity college, Dublin, by his foundation of an annual prize for Greek scholarship, and in Yale college by the scholarship and prizes which bear his name.

Berkeley published in 1707, his *Arithmetica abque Algebra aut Euclide demonstrationes*; in 1709, a *New Theory of Vision*; in 1710, his treatise on the *Principles of Human Knowledge*; in 1713, *Three Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous* in defense of his theory of Ideas as opposed to Material Objects; in 1732, the *Minute Philosopher*, composed in Rhode Island; in 1735, the *Analyst*, and *Visual Language*; in 1741, the *Querist*, to express his views of the evils and the remedies for the disturbed condition of Ireland; in 1742, *A Word to the Wise*, addressed to the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, exhorting them to urge and encourage their people to more systematic and persistent industry by which a fertile soil and benign climate can be made a universal blessing; and in 1744, *Siris* or the virtues of Tar-water.

Destiny of America.

The Muse, disgusted at an age and clime
Barren of every glorious theme,
In distant lands now waits a better time
Producing subjects worthy fame:

In happy climes, where, from the genial sun
And virgin earth, such scenes ensue;
The force of art by nature seems outdone,
And fancied beauties by the true:

In happy climes, the seat of innocence,
Where nature guides, and virtue rules;
Where men shall not impose for truth and sense,
The pedantry of courts and schools:

There shall be sung another golden age,
The rise of empire and of arts;
The good and great inspiring epic rage,
The wisest heads and noblest hearts.

Not such as Europe breeds in her decay:
Such, as she bred when fresh and young,
When heavenly flame did animate her clay,
By future poets shall be sung.

Westward the course of empire takes its way:
The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day,
Time's noblest offspring is the last.

DR. JOHNSON AND DEAN BERKELEY—1729-1731.

Dr. Beardsley, in his *Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson, D.D.*, First President of King's (now Columbia) College, introduces several interesting letters which passed between Dr. Johnson and Dean Berkeley. We extract such portions as relate to the Dean's benefactions to Yale College, and to his views on the erection of a college in New York, which were also communicated to Dr. Franklin, at the time he was maturing his plan for an academy in Philadelphia.

One of the most interesting portions of Johnson's life was from the beginning of 1729 to the autumn of 1731,—the period covered by the residence of Dean Berkeley at Newport, in Rhode Island. Before that dignitary came to America, he had read his 'Principles of Human Knowledge,' and had not only formed a high estimate of the ability and character of the author, but had become, in a measure, a convert to his metaphysical opinions. Desirous of conversing with so extraordinary a genius and so distinguished a scholar, he made a visit to Newport soon after his arrival, and through his friend, the Rev. Mr. Honyman, Missionary of the Church of England in that place, he was introduced to the Dean, and admitted to a free and full discussion of his philosophical works, and of the benevolent scheme which brought him to this country. It was gratifying to Johnson that in this first interview he was received with such marked kindness and confidence, besides being presented with those of the Dean's publications which had not fallen under his eye. The personal acquaintance thus begun laid the foundation of a life-long friendship and correspondence between two great thinkers.

There are glimpses of Berkeley among the wits of the Court of Queen Anne, and he was intimate with Steele and Addison, and a companion of Swift and Pope. He had been Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, in official employment as Lecturer in Divinity, and preacher for the University, but resigned his Fellowship in 1724, on being preferred to the Deanery of Derry,—an important living in the Irish Church, with an annual income of about eleven hundred pounds. A romance, connected with Dean Swift, caused him to be remembered in the will of a lady of Dutch descent (Miss Vanhormigh), but as he was an 'absolute philosopher in regard to money, titles, and power,' the fortune which came to him so unexpectedly appears to have only ripened his conception of the plan of erecting a college at Bermuda for better supplying the plantations with clergymen, and converting the savage Americans to Christianity.

It was about this time that he published a tract in defense of the enterprise. It had taken such shape in his mind, that he pleaded for it with wonderful power, and was resolved to dedicate his life and fortune and energies to its prosecution. An extract from the humorous letter of Dean Swift to Carteret, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, dated September 3, 1724, may furnish the best account of his enthusiasm:—

For three years past he has been struck with a notion of founding a University at Bermudas by a charter from the Crown. He has seduced several of the hopefulest young clergymen and others here, many of them well provided for, and all in the fairest way of preferment; but in England his conquests are

greater, and I doubt will spread very far this winter. He showed me a little Tract which he designs to publish, and there your Excellency will see his whole scheme of a life academico-philosophical (I shall make you remember what you were) of a college founded for Indian scholars and missionaries, where he most exorbitantly proposes a whole hundred pounds a year for himself, forty pounds for a Fellow, and ten for a Student. His heart will break if his Denary be not taken from him and left to your Excellency's disposal. I discouraged him by the coldness of courts and ministers who will interpret all this as impossible and a vision; but nothing will do. And, therefore, I humbly entreat your Excellency either to use such persuasions as will keep one of the first men in the kingdom for learning and virtue quiet at home, or assist him by your credit to compass his romantic design.

No discouragements checked the efforts of Berkeley. By his persuasive eloquence he converted ridiculers into friends and supporters, and obtained, toward the furtherance of his object, private subscriptions of more than five thousand pounds. He approached the throne for a charter, which was finally granted, and then his influence at Court secured the promise of an endowment of £20,000—a fraction of the value of certain lands which the French, by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, had ceded to the British Crown, and the proceeds of which, to the amount of £80,000, the good Queen Anne had designed as a fund for the support of four bishops in America. Her death, the next year, prevented the execution of her charitable design, and Berkeley felt that he had a moral claim upon it for his own kindred scheme.

Preparations for his voyage across the Atlantic were at last completed, and a business letter to his friend, Thomas Prior, dated Gravesend, September 5, 1728, opens with a paragraph which has fixed historically several matters,—‘To-morrow, with God’s blessing, I set sail for Rhode Island with my wife and a friend of hers, my Lady Handcock’s daughter, who bears us company. I am married since I saw you to Miss Forster, daughter of the late Chief Justice, whose humor and turn of mind pleases me beyond any thing that I know in her whole sex. Mr. James, Mr. Dalton, and Mr. Smibert go with us on this voyage. We are now altogether at Gravesend, and are engaged in one view.’

Berkeley was in middle life when he landed at Newport, on the 23d of January, nearly five months after sailing from Gravesend, and ‘was ushered into the town with a great number of gentlemen, to whom he behaved himself after a very complaisant manner.’ Here he rested to think over, under new circumstances, the romantic enterprise which had absorbed his energies for seven long years, and purchasing a tract of land in a sequestered spot, he built a commodious house, which, in loyal remembrance of the English palace, he named Whitehall, and waited the tardy movements of Sir Robert Walpole, the prime minister, to send him the funds which had been promised by the Government.

Johnson was at Newport and preached November 1, 1730, and he may have taken an earlier opportunity for the ‘four or five days’ conversation.’ Whenever the interview was held, other subjects besides philosophy must have entered into their discussions. For Berkeley had already begun to realize the painful uncertainty which hung over his prospects, and to feel that the crisis of the Bermuda college was approaching. The money promised by the Government had not been sent, and he wrote a letter to Prior on the 14th of May, 1730, manifesting much solicitude about the Ministerial delays, and intimating that he had no intention of continuing in these parts, if the grant of £20,000 was in the end to be positively refused. At one time he entertained the thought of applying for permis-

sion to change the original plan and transfer the College to Rhode Island, where he had expended largely for lands and buildings, and where the chief objections raised against placing it in Bermuda would be obviated. But he quickly relinquished this idea, and at length his hopes were entirely crushed when the conclusive answer came from Walpole, 'advising him by all means to return home to Europe, and give up his present expectations.' He bore his great disappointment like a philosopher, and a good picture of his feelings is given in the work which he wrote 'in this distant retreat, far beyond the verge of that great whirlpool of business, faction, and pleasure, which is called the world:—

I flattered myself, Theages, that before this time I might have been able to have sent you an agreeable account of the success of the affair which brought me into this remote corner of the country. But instead of this, I should now give you the detail of its miscarriage, if I did not rather choose to entertain you with some amusing incidents which have helped to make me easy under a circumstance I could neither obviate nor foresee. Events are not in our power; but it always is, to make a good use even of the very worst. And I must needs own, the course and event of this affair gave opportunity for reflections that make me some amends for a great loss of time, pains, and expense. A life of action, which takes its issue from the counsels, passions, and views of other men, if it doth not draw a man to imitate, will at least teach him to observe. And a mind at liberty to reflect on its own observations, if it produce nothing useful to the world, seldom fails of entertainment to itself.

It is due to Johnson that the self-sacrificing and missionary enterprise of Berkeley was not wholly a failure, or rather that his name was held in grateful remembrance in America after his return to England. When it had been decided to break up and leave Whitehall and the country, he paid him a final visit and received from him many valuable books, and, to use his own words, 'they parted very affectionately.' Nor was this all. Both were deeply interested in the cause of learning, and Johnson took the liberty of commending to his friendly notice the institution where he had himself been educated, notwithstanding the continued hostility of the authorities to the Church of England.

[In a letter dated September 7, 1731, the Dean writes:—]

My endeavors shall not be wanting, some way or other, to be useful; and I should be very glad to be so in particular to the College at New Haven, and the more as you were once a member of it, and have still an influence there. Pray return my service to those gentlemen who sent their compliments by you.

I have left a box of books with Mr. Kay, to be given away by you,—the small English books where they may be most serviceable among the people, the others as we agreed together. The Greek and Latin books I would have given to such lads as you think will make the best use of them in the College, or to the school at New Haven.

I pray God to bless you and your endeavors to promote religion and learning in this uncultivated part of the world.

Berkeley's gifts to Yale College were through the agency of Johnson. To him was transmitted from England the instrument by which he conveyed to the corporation his farm at Whitehall of ninety-six acres,—the annual proceeds to be used for the purpose of encouraging Greek and Latin scholarship; and he so interested some of his Bermuda subscribers in the American College, that with their assistance he was enabled to send over, in 1733, a donation to the library of nearly one thousand volumes, valued at about £500: 'The finest collection of books,' according to President Clap, 'which had then ever been brought to America.'

The letter to Johnson, which accompanied 'the instrument of conveyance,' has not been published, or even referred to in any sketch of his life and benefactions; and that to Rector Williams is not to be found among the archives of Yale College.

Letter of Dean Berkeley to Dr. Johnson.

REV. SIR,—

LONDON, July 25, 1732.

Some part of the benefactions to the College of Bermuda, which I could not return, the benefactors being deceased, joined with the assistance of some living friends, has enabled me, without any great loss to myself, to dispose of my farm in Rhode Island in favor of the College in Connecticut. It is my opinion, that as human learning and the improvements of Reason are of no small use in Religion, so it would very much forward those ends, if some of your students were enabled to subsist longer at their studies, and if by a public trial and premium an Emulation were inspired into all. This method of encouragement hath been found useful in other learned societies, and I think it can not fail of being so in one where a person so well qualified as yourself has such influence, and will bear a share in the elections. I have been a long time indisposed with a great disorder in my head; this makes any application hurtful to me, which must excuse my not writing a longer letter on this occasion.

The letter you sent by Mr. Beach I received, and did him all the service I could with the Bishop of London and the Society. He promised to call on me before his return, but have not heard of him, so am obliged to recommend this packet to Mr. Newman's care. It contains the instrument of conveyance in form of law, together with a letter for Mr. President Williams, which you will deliver to him. I shall make it my endeavor to procure a benefaction of books for the College library, and am not without hopes of success. There hath of late been published here a treatise against those who are called Free Thinkers, which I intended to have sent to you and some other friends in those parts, but on second thoughts, suspect it might do mischief to have it known in that part of the world what pernicious opinions are boldly espoused here at home. My little family, I thank God, are well. My best wishes attend you and yours. My wife joins her services with mine. I shall be glad to hear from you by the first opportunity after this hath come to your hands. Direct your letter to Lord Percival, at his house in Pall Mall, London, and it will be sure to find me wherever I am. On all occasions I shall be glad to show that I am very truly, Rev. Sir, your faithful humble servant,

GEOR. BERKELEY.

Johnson, in his autobiography, mentions that 'the Trustees, though they made an appearance of much thankfulness, were almost afraid to accept the noble donation,'—suspecting a proselytizing design, and remembering the effect in previous years of Anglican divinity upon the minds of some of their leading scholars. But wiser counsels prevailed, the books and lands were received, and Berkeley maintained a friendly correspondence with the authorities of the College to the end of his life.

In a letter to Dr. Johnson in 1735, the Bishop of Cloyne (in which see Dean Berkeley was consecrated in 1733), after expressing his satisfaction that a member of his own family, Benjamin Nicoll, had won the position of scholar of the house, remarks:—

One principal end proposed by me was to promote a better understanding with the Dissenters, and so by degrees to lessen their dislike to our communion; to which end methought the improving their minds with liberal studies might greatly conduce, as I am very sensible that your own discreet behavior and living toward them, hath very much forwarded the same effect.

Dr. Johnson, who had attended the public examinations in Greek and Latin, to which he was invited as senior Episcopal missionary in the colony, according to the terms of Berkeley's gift, wrote in 1739, that his scholarship had greatly advanced classical learning in the college.

Bishop Berkeley to Dr. Johnson of Stratford.

REV. SIR,—

CLOYNE, August 23, 1749.

I am obliged for the account you have sent me of the prosperous estate of learning in your College of New Haven. I approve of the regulations made there, and am particularly pleased to find your sons have made such a progress as appears from their elegant address to me in the Latin tongue. It must indeed give me a very sensible satisfaction to hear that my weak endeavors have been of some use and service to that part of the world.

For the rest, I am glad to find a spirit toward learning prevail in those parts, particularly New York, where you say a college is projected, which has my best wishes. At the same time I am sorry that the condition of Ireland, containing such numbers of poor uneducated people, for whose sake Charity Schools are erecting throughout the kingdom, obligeth us to draw charities from England; so far are we from being able to extend our bounty to New York, a country in proportion much richer than our own. But as you are pleased to desire my advice upon this undertaking, I send the following hints to be enlarged and improved by your own judgment.

I would not advise the applying to England for charters or statutes (which might cause great trouble, expense, and delay), but to do the business quietly within themselves.

I believe it may suffice to begin with a President and two Fellows. If they can procure but three fit persons, I doubt not the college from the smallest beginnings would soon grow considerable: I should conceive good hopes were you at the head of it.

Let them by all means supply themselves out of the seminaries in New England. For I am very apprehensive none can be got in Old England (who are willing to go) worth sending.

Let the Greek and Latin classics be well taught. Be this the first care as to learning. But the principal care must be good life and morals to which (as well as to study) early hours and temperate meals will much conduce.

If the terms for degrees are the same as in Oxford and Cambridge, this would give credit to the College, and pave the way for admitting their graduates *ad eundem* in the English universities.

Small premiums in books, or distinctions in habit, may prove useful encouragements to the students.

I would advise that the building be regular, plain, and cheap, and that each student have a small room (about ten feet square) to himself.

I recommended this nascent seminary to an English bishop, to try what might be done there. But by his answer it seems the colony is judged rich enough to educate its own youth.

Colleges from small beginnings grow great by subsequent bequests and benefactions. A small matter will suffice to set one a going. And when this is once well done, there is no doubt it will go on and thrive. The chief concern must be to set out in a good method, and introduce, from the very first, a good taste into the society. For this end, the principal expense should be in making a handsome provision for the President and Fellows.

Dr. Franklin to Dr. Johnson of Stratford.

REV. SIR,—

PHILADELPHIA, August 9, 1750.

At my return home, I found your favor of June the 28th, with the Bishop of Cloyne's letter inclosed, which I will take care of, and beg leave to keep a little longer.

Mr. Francis, our Attorney General, who was with me at your house, from the conversation then had with you, and reading some of your pieces, has conceived an esteem for you equal to mine. The character we have given of you to the other trustees, and the sight of your letters relating to the Academy, has made them very desirous of engaging you in that design, as a person whose experience and judgment would be of great use in forming rules and establishing good methods in the beginning, and whose name for learning would give it a reputation. We only lament that, in the infant state of our funds, we can not make you an offer equal to your merit. But as the view of being useful has most weight with generous and benevolent minds, and in this affair you may do great service, not only to the present but to future generations, I flatter myself sometimes that if you were here, and saw things as they are, and conversed a little with our people, you might be prevailed with to remove. I would therefore earnestly press you to make us a visit as soon as you conveniently can; and in the mean time, let me represent to you some of the circumstances as they appear to me.

1. The Trustees of the Academy are applying for a charter, which will give an opportunity of improving and modelling our constitution in such a manner as, when we have your advice, shall appear best. I suppose we shall have power to form a regular college.

2. If you undertake the management of the English Education, I am satisfied the Trustees would, on your account, make the salary £100 pounds sterling, (they have already voted £150 currency, which is not far from it), and pay the charge of your removal. Your son might also be employed as tutor at £60 or perhaps £70 per annum.

3. It has been long observed, that our church is not sufficient to accommodate near the number of people who would willingly have seats there. The buildings increase very fast toward the south end of the town, and many of the principal merchants now live there; which being at a considerable distance from the present church, people begin to talk much of building another, and ground has been offered as a gift for that purpose. The Trustees of the Academy are, three-fourths of them, members of the Church of England, and the rest men of moderate principles. They have reserved in the building a large hall for occasional preaching, public lectures, orations, etc.; it is 70 feet by 60, furnished with a handsome pulpit, seats, etc. In this Mr. Tennent collected his congregation, who are now building him a meeting-house. In the same place, by giving now and then a lecture, you might, with equal ease, collect a congregation that would, in a short time, build you a church, if it should be agreeable to you.

In the meantime, I imagine you will receive something considerable yearly, arising from marriages and christening in the best families, etc., not to mention presents that are not unfrequent from a wealthy people to a minister they like; and though the whole may not amount to more than a due support, yet I think it will be a comfortable one. And when you are well settled in a church of

your own, your son may be qualified by years and experience to succeed you in the Academy; or if you rather choose to continue in the Academy, your son might probably be fixed in the Church.

These are my private sentiments, which I have communicated only to Mr. Francis, who entirely agrees with me. I acquainted the Trustees that I would write to you, but could give them no dependence that you would be prevailed on to remove. They will, however, treat with no other till I have your answer.

You will see by our newspaper, which I inclose, that the Corporation of this city have voted £200 down, and £100 a year out of their revenues to the Trustees of the Academy. As they are a perpetual body, choosing their own successors, and so not subject to be changed by the caprices of a governor or of the people, and as eighteen of the members (some the most leading) are of the Trustees, we look on this donation to be as good as so much real estate; being confident it will be continued as long as it is well applied, and even increased, if there should be occasion. We have now near £5,000 subscribed, and expect some considerable sums besides may be procured from the merchants of London trading hither. And as we are in the center of the Colonies, a healthy place, with plenty of provisions, we suppose a good Academy here may draw numbers of youth for education from the neighboring Colonies, and even from the West India.

In reply to Dr. Johnson's answer presenting the difficulties in the way of his accepting Dr. Franklin's proposal, and an invitation from Rev. Richard Peters to visit Philadelphia, Dr. Franklin wrote again on the 23d of August, 1750:—

DEAR SIR,—We received your favor of the 16th inst. Mr. Peters will hardly have time to write to you per this post, and I must be short. Mr. Francis spent the last evening with me, and we were all glad to hear that you seriously meditate a visit after the middle of next month, and that you will inform us by a line when to expect you. We drank your health and Mrs. Johnson's, remembering your kind entertainment of us at Stratford.

I think, with you, that nothing is of more importance for the public weal, than to form and train up youth in wisdom and virtue. Wise and good men are, in my opinion, the strength of a state far more so than riches or arms, which, under the management of ignorance and wickedness, often draw on destruction, instead of promoting the safety of a people. And though the culture bestowed on youth be successful only with a few, yet the influence of those few, for the service in their power, may be very great. Even a single woman, that was wise, by her wisdom saved a city.

I think, also, that general virtue is more probably to be expected and obtained from the education of youth than from the exhortation of adult persons; bad habits and vices of the mind being, like diseases of the body, more easily prevented than cured.

I think, moreover, that talents for the education of youth are the gift of God; and that he on whom they are bestowed, whenever a way is opened for the use of them, is as strongly called as if he heard a voice from heaven. Nothing more surely pointing out duty, in a public service, than ability and opportunity of performing it.

I have not yet discoursed with Dr. Jenney concerning your removal hither.

You have reason, I own, to doubt whether your coming on the foot I proposed would not be disagreeable to him, though I think it ought not. For should his particular interest be somewhat affected by it, that ought not to stand in competition with the general good; especially as it can not be much affected, he being old, and rich, and without children. I will, however, learn his sentiments before the next post. But whatever influence they might have on your determinations about removing, they need have none on your intention of visiting. And if you favor us with the visit, it is not necessary that you should previously write to him to learn his dispositions about your removal, since you will see him, and when we are all together those things may be better settled in conversation than by letters at a distance. Your tenderness of the Church's peace is truly laudable; but, methinks, to build a new church in a growing place is not properly dividing but multiplying; and will really be a means of increasing the number of those who worship God in that way. Many who can not now be accommodated in the church go to other places or stay at home; and if we had another church, many, who go to other places or stay at home, would go to church. I suppose the interest of the Church has been far from suffering in Boston by the building of two new churches there in my memory. I had for several years nailed against the wall of my house, a pigeon-box that would hold six pair; and though they bred as fast as my neighbor's pigeons, I never had more than six pair; the old and strong driving out the young and weak, and obliging them to seek new habitations. At length I put up an additional box, with apartments for entertaining twelve pair more, and it was soon filled with inhabitants, by the overflowings of my first box and of others in the neighborhood. This I take to be a parallel case with the building a new church here.

On the 24th of December, Dr. Franklin addressed a letter to Dr. Johnson, who had made some suggestion as to the pamphlet issued by the former respecting an Academy:—

DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 11th inst, and thank you for the hint your give of the omission in the 'Idea.' The 'Sacred Classics' are read in the English school, though I forgot to mention them. And I shall propose at the meeting of the Schools, after the Holidays, that the English master read select portions of them daily with the prayers, as you advise.

But if you can be thus useful to us at this distance, how much more might you be so if you were present with us, and had the immediate inspection and government of the schools. I wrote to you in my last that Mr. Martin, our Rector, died suddenly of a quinsy. His body was carried to the church, respectfully attended by the trustees, all the masters and scholars in their order, and a great number of the citizens. Mr. Peters preached his funeral sermon, and gave him the just and honorable character he deserved. The schools are now broke up for Christmas, and will not meet again till the 7th of January. Mr. Peters took care of the Latin and Greek school after Mr. Martin's death till the breaking up. And Mr. Allison, a dissenting minister, has promised to continue that care for a month after their next meeting. Is it impossible for you to make us a visit in that time; I hope by the next post to know something of your sentiments, that I may be able to speak more positively to the Trustees concerning the probability of your being prevailed with to remove hither.

The English master is Mr. Dove, a gentleman about your age, who formerly

taught grammar sixteen years at Chichester in England. He is an excellent master, and his scholars have made a surprising progress.

Dr. Johnson to Dr. Franklin.

DEAR SIR,—I now write my most thankful acknowledgments for your two kind letters of December 24 and January 8, and have received your most obliging letters of the summer before last, to which you refer me. There was one of August 23, to which I did not make a particular reply by reason of my illness at that time. In that you reasoned, I own, in a very forcible manner upon the head of duty. You argued that ability, with opportunity, manifestly pointed out duty, as though it were a voice from Heaven. This, Sir, I agree to, and therefore have always endeavored to use what little ability I have that way in the best manner I could, having never been without pupils, of one sort or other, half a year at a time, and seldom that, for thirty-eight years. And, thank God, I have the great satisfaction to see some of them in the first pulpits, not only in Connecticut, but also in Boston and New York, and others in some of the first places in the land. But I am now plainly in the decline of life, both as to activity of body and vigor of mind, and must, therefore, consider myself as being an *Emeritus*, and unfit for any new situation in the world, or to enter on any new business, especially at such a distance from my hitherto sphere of action and my present situation, where I have as much duty on my hands as I am capable of, and where my removal would make too great a breach to be counter-vailed by any good I am capable of doing elsewhere, for which I have but a small chance left for much opportunity. So that I must beg my good friends at Philadelphia to excuse me, and I pray God they may be directed to a better choice. And as Providence has so unexpectedly provided so worthy a person as Mr. Dove for your other purpose, I hope the same good Providence will provide for this. I am not personally acquainted with Mr. Winthrop, the Professor at Cambridge, but by what I have heard of him, perhaps he might do.

Dr. Franklin to Dr. Johnson, July 2, 1752.

Our Academy, which you so kindly inquire after, goes on well. Since Mr. Martin's death, the Latin and Greek school has been under the care of Mr. Allison, a Dissenting minister, well skilled in those languages and long practiced in teaching. But he refused the Rectorship, or to have any thing to do with the government of the other schools. So that remains vacant, and obliges the Trustees to more frequent visits. We have now several young gentlemen desirous of entering on the study of Philosophy, and Lectures are to be opened this week. Mr. Allison undertakes Logic and Ethics, making your work his text to comment and lecture upon. Mr. Peters and some other gentlemen undertake the other branches, till we shall be provided with a Rector capable of the whole, who may attend wholly to the instructions of youth in the higher parts of learning as they come out fitted from the lower schools. Our proprietors have lately wrote that they are extremely well pleased with the design, will take our Seminary under their patronage, give us a charter, and, as an earnest of their benevolence, Five Hundred Pounds sterling. And by our opening a charity school, in which near one hundred poor children are taught Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic, with the rudiments of religion, we have gained the general good will of all sorts of people, from whence donations and bequests may be reasonably expected to accrue from time to time.

Dr. Johnson to President Clap.

Dr. Johnson, after accepting the presidency of the new college in New York, writes to President Clap of Yale College, in reference to the denial by the latter of the privilege once accorded to the children of Episcopal parents of attending a church in which a Missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel officiated, as follows:—

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—

STRATFORD, February 5, 1754.

I thank you for your kind congratulation on my being chosen President of their intended College at New York, and I shall desire, by all means, if I undertake it, to hold a good correspondence not only as Colleges but as Christians, supposing you and the Fellows of your College act on the same equitable, Catholic, and Christian principles as we unanimously propose to act upon, i. e., to admit that the children of the Church may go to church when ever they have opportunity, as we think of nothing but to admit that the children of dissenting parents have leave to go to their meetings; nor can I see any thing like an argument in all you have said to justify the forbidding it. And I am prodigiously mistaken if you did not tell me it was an allowed and settled rule with you heretofore.

The only point in question, as I humbly conceive, is, *whether there ought of right to be any such law in your College as, either in words or by necessary consequence, forbids the liberty we contend for?* What we must beg leave to insist on is, *That there ought not; and that it is highly injurious to forbid it; unless you can make it appear That you ever had a right to exclude the people of the Church belonging to this Colony, from having the benefit of Public education in your College, without their submitting to the hard condition of not being allowed to do what they believe in their conscience it is their indispensable duty to do, i. e., to require their children to go to church whenever they have opportunity, and at the same time, a right to accept and hold such vast benefactions from gentlemen of the Church of England, wherewith to support you in maintaining such a law in exclusion of such a liberty.* Can you think those gentlemen would ever have given such benefactions to such a purpose! And ought it not to be considered, at the same time, that the parents of these children contribute also their proportion every year to the support of the College?

Your argument in a former letter was, That it is inconsistent with the original design of the founders, which was only to provide ministers for your churches. But pray, Sir, why may not our Church also be provided for with ministers from one common College as well as your churches? And ought not the Catholic design of the principal benefactors also in strict justice to be regarded, who, in the sense of the English law, are to be reckoned among the founders? See *Viner*, on the Title *FOUNDERS*. What *Mr. Yale's* views* were,

* Jeremiah Dummer, Agent of the Colony of Connecticut, writing to Gov. Saltonstall, from 'Middle Temple [London], 14th April, 1719,' says: 'I heartily congratulate you upon the happy union of the Colony, in fixing the College at New Haven, after some differences which might have been attended with ill consequences. Mr. Yale is very much rejoiced at this good news, and more than a little pleased with his being the Patron of such a seat of the Muses. Barring that he expressed at first some kind of concern, whether it was well in him, being a Churchman, to promote an Academy of Dissenters. But when we had discoursed that point freely, he appeared convinced that the business of good men is to spread religion and learning among mankind without being too

I had not opportunity of knowing, though, doubtless, they were the same that we suppose. But I was knowing to Bishop Berkeley's, which were that his great Donation should be equally for a common benefit, without respect to parties. For I was myself the principal, I may say in effect the only person in procuring that Donation, and with those generous, Catholic, and charitable views; though you (not willing, it seems, that Posterity should ever know this) did not think fit to do me the justice in the History of the College (though humbly suggested), as to give me the credit of any, the least influence on him in that affair; when the truth is, had it not been for my influence, it would never have been done, to which I was prompted by the sincere desire that it should be for a common benefit, when I could have easily procured it appropriated to the Church. But at that time *Mr. Williams* also pretended a mighty Catholic charitable conviction that there never was any meaning in it; it being at the very same juncture that he, with the Hampshire ministers, his father at the head of them, were, in their great charity, contriving a letter to the *Bishop of London*, by means of which they hoped to deprive all the Church people in these parts of their ministers, and them of their support; the same charitable aim that *Mr. Hobart* and his friends are pursuing at this day! And now you, Gentlemen, are so severe as to establish a law to deprive us of the benefit of a public education for our children too, unless we will let them—nay, require them to go out of our own houses to meeting, when there is a church at our doors.

Indeed, Sir, I must say this appears to me so very injurious, that I must think it my duty, in obedience to a rule of the Society, to join with my brethren in complaining of it to our superiors at home, if it be insisted upon,—which is what I abhor and dread to be brought to; and, therefore, by the love of our dear country (in which we desire to live, only on a par with you, in all Christian charity), I do beseech you, Gentlemen, not to insist upon it. Tell it not in *Gath*! much less in the ears of our dear mother country, that any of her daughters should deny any of her children leave to attend on her worship whenever they have opportunity for it. Surely you can not pretend that you are conscience-bound to make such a law, or that it would be an *infraction of liberty of conscience* for it to be repealed from home, as you intimate. This would be carrying matters far indeed. But for God's sake do not be so severe to think in this manner, or to carry things to this pass! If so, let Dissenters never more complain of their heretofore persecutions or hardships in England, unless they have us tempted to think it their principle, that they only ought to be tolerated, in order at length to be established, that they may have the sole privilege of persecuting others. But I beg pardon and forbear; only I desire it may be considered, how ill such a principle would sound at this time of day, when the universal Church of England as much abhors the persecution of Dissenters as they can themselves. It may also deserve to be considered that the Government at home would probably be so far from going into the formality of *repealing* this law that they would declare it a nullity in itself; and not only so, but even the corporation that hath enacted it; inasmuch as it seems a principle in law that a corporation can not make a corporation, nor can one be made without his Majesty's act. See *Viner*, under the titles, CORPORATION and BY-LAWS.

kindly attached to particular Tenets, about which the world never was, and never will be, agreed. Besides, if the Discipline of the Church of England be most agreeable to Scripture and primitive practice, there's no better way to make men sensible of it than by giving them good learning.'

WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D.

WILLIAM S. JOHNSON, LL.D., the son of Dr. Samuel Johnson, and who succeeded his father in 1787 as President of King's college, was born in Stratford, Conn., October 14, 1727. He was instructed by his father until he became a member of Yale college in 1741, where he graduated as Bachelor of Arts in 1744, at the age of seventeen. He continued his studies at home, adding Hebrew to the Latin and Greek, and officiating as catechist and reader in the missionary labors of his father. In 1747, he commenced reading law, residing for several months at Cambridge, and following a course marked out by a friend, William Smith, who graduated at Yale in 1745, and became Chief Justice in Canada, having adhered to the side of the Crown in our Revolutionary struggle. In 1761 and 1765, he was chosen representative from Stafford to the Lower House of the General Assembly, and in 1765, he was appointed assistant, or member of the Upper House. In 1766, he was appointed by the General Assembly to act as special agent before the King and Lords in Council in a suit growing out of a tract of land purchased from the Mohegan Indians. He arrived in London with the title of LL.D., from the University of Oxford. He returned to Connecticut in 1771, and received the thanks of the Assembly 'for his faithful services.'

His residence and business in London brought him into social relations with the most eminent men of letters and official position, and he added to these advantages a tour on the continent.

Dr. Johnson was a delegate from Connecticut in the Confederate Congress of 1784, and a member of the committee, to which was referred, on the 4th of March, 1785, the bill for the sale of western lands. This committee, on the 14th of April, reported an ordinance, by which 'the central section of every township was reserved for the maintenance of schools, and the section immediately adjoining the same to the northward, for the support of religion.' In the absence of any positive authority as to the authorship of this clause, it is not unnatural to suppose, that the member from Connecticut, whose father had written twenty-three years before (1762) to Archbishop Secker, 'that in all future grants of large tracts of land for townships, or villages, the patentees should be required to sequester a competent portion for the support of religion and schools,' and whose own attention as agent in London had been called to the action of the Legislature of Connecticut in reserving portions of certain towns in Litchfield county for the support of schools and religion—should have moved in committee to secure this beneficent provision. It is a matter of record, that when this clause was under discussion, and the paragraph relating to religion stricken out against his vote, he moved to amend by inserting after the word 'schools' the following: 'and the section immediately adjoining the same to the northward, for charitable uses.' This amendment was lost.

In 1772, Dr. Johnson was appointed one of the Judges of the Superior Court of Connecticut. As the troubles with the mother country grew more serious, he favored moderation; and although patriotic, fell behind public sentiment. From November 8, 1784, to May, 1787, he was a delegate to the Confederate Congress; and in September of that year, he took his seat in the convention which framed the Constitution of the United States; and was made senator in 1789. In 1787, he became president of Columbia college, which his father organized in 1754; resigned his position in 1800, and died November 14, 1819.

WILLIAM SMITH, D.D., AND COLLEGIATE EDUCATION,

IN PENNSYLVANIA PRIOR TO 1800.

MEMOIR.*

WILLIAM SMITH, the first Provost of the College, Academy, and Charitable School of Philadelphia, was born in Aberdeen, Scotland, about the year 1727, and was a graduate of the university of his native city in 1747. The three years following were spent in teaching a parochial school; and in 1750 he was sent up to London, in furtherance of some plan for the better endowment of such schools. In 1751, he embarked for New York, as private tutor of two sons of Governor Morris, on Long Island, in whose family he resided for two years. While serving in this capacity he contributed to the discussion of a plan of a college for New York, a pamphlet entitled '*A General Idea of the College of Mirania*,' a copy of which was sent to Dr. Franklin, who was at this time engaged in perfecting the organization of the Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia. As the views set forth in this pamphlet received the approbation of Dr. Franklin, and were the avowed basis on which the author constituted the curriculum of the College and Academy of Philadelphia, as well as the Academy and College in Chestertown, Maryland, while under his administration from 1779 to 1789, they are of historical importance in the development of American Collegiate Education.

The Academy at Philadelphia.

As early as 1744, Franklin projected the establishment of an Academy, but failing to secure the active coöperation of Dr. Peters as Rector, he postponed further action till 1749, when he issued his *Proposals Relative to the Education of Youth* in Pennsylvania, and secured the subscription of eight hundred pounds a year for five years, by the way of endowment, and a grant of two hundred pounds, and a yearly contribution of one hundred pounds per year for the same purpose. The affairs of the institution were committed to twenty-four trustees elected by the subscribers, and the

* Abridged mainly from Dr. Stille's Memoir of Rev. William Smith, D.D., Provost of the College, Academy, and Charitable School of Philadelphia. Ph.: 1869.

schools were opened in hired rooms about the beginning of 1750. The rooms proved too cramped for the number of pupils, and Franklin, from his position in the Board of Trustees, as well as in the Association which built a meeting-house for the special accommodation of Mr. Whitefield, was able to secure that building for the use of his Academy,* as well as accommodation for a *free* school, or a charity school, which was accordingly opened in 1751, according to the following notice in his Gazette for Sept. 19, of that year.—‘Notice is hereby given, that on Monday, the 16th inst., a *free* school will be opened under the care and direction of the Trustees of the Academy, at the New Building, for the instruction of poor children gratis in reading, writing, and arithmetic.’ In Oct., 1752, notice is taken of the ‘Charity School, opened by the Trustees of the Academy, as being attended by over one hundred poor children, most of whom had never been sent to any school before; nor did it seem likely many of them would ever have been sent to any school, if it had not been for this institution.’ The establishment of the Academy and Charity School in this building, and the possession of the ground which afterward proved an endowment of over \$600,000, was the work of Dr. Franklin—‘The whole care and trouble of agreeing with the workmen, purchasing the material, and superintending the work fell upon me,’ he remarks, in his Autobiography. He adds, forty years after the Academy was installed in its spacious rooms—‘I have been continued one of its Trustees from the beginning, and have had the very great pleasure of seeing a number of the youth, who have received their education in it, distinguished by their improved abilities, serviceable in public stations, and ornaments to their country.’

At the time of the publication of Mr. Smith’s Plan of the College of Mirania, the Academy was composed of three schools—one for Latin,† one for English, and one for Mathematics. Rev. Francis Allison was Rector, and master of the Latin school; David James

* The designation given by Defoe in one of the numerous projects developed by him, in the ‘Essay’ to which Franklin acknowledged his obligations. For extracts from this Essay relative to the Female Academy, Military Academy, &c., see *Am. Jour. of Ed. Internat. Series*, vol. I. p. 427.

† Although a staunch advocate of the English school, Dr. Franklin did not undervalue the acquisition of the Latin and Greek languages and literature.—‘When youth are told that the great men whose lives and actions they read in history spoke two of the best languages that ever were, the most expressive, copious, and beautiful; that the finest writings, the most correct compositions, the most perfect productions of human wit and wisdom are in those languages which have endured ages, and will endure while there are men; that no translations can do them justice, or give the pleasure found in reading the originals, that those languages contain all science, that one of them is become almost universal, being the language of learned men in all countries, and that to understand them is a distinguishing ornament, they may be thereby made desirous of learning those languages, and their industry sharpened in the acquisition of them.’

Dove was master of the English school; and Theophilus Green was master of the Mathematical school. In May, 1753, Dr. Franklin writes to Mr. Smith—'Mr. Peters has just now been with me, and we compared notes on your new piece. We find nothing in the scheme of Education, however excellent, but what is in our opinion very practicable. The great difficulty will be to find the Aratus [the ideal name given to the Principal of the Ideal College of Mirania] and other principal persons to carry it into execution. For my own part I know not when I have read a piece that has more affected me,—so noble and just are the sentiments, so warm and animated the language.'

The College of Mirania—Extracts.

The following idea of a Seminary of Learning, adapted to the circumstances of a young colony, was drawn up and published, at the desire of some gentlemen of New York, who were appointed to receive proposals relative to the establishment of a College in that province; and it contains a pretty exact representation of what the author is now endeavoring to realize in the Seminary over which he has the honor to preside in another colony, he thought that it might be no improper introduction to the subsequent account of that Seminary.

These extracts may be considered as the highest ideal of a College in the field when the author labored in Maryland and Pennsylvania, at the date of their earlier and later publication. The College originated in a desire of the Miranians to secure for their province the protection of wise and equal laws, and nationalize the large number of foreigners who had sought, in the enjoyment of the rights of conscience and the fruits of their own labor, a country of such natural advantages of climate and soil.

They reflected that the only method of making these natural advantages of lasting use to themselves and posterity, the only infallible source of tranquillity, happiness, and glory, was to contrive and execute a proper scheme for forming a succession of sober, virtuous, industrious citizens, and checking the course of growing luxury. They were convinced that, without a previous good education, the best laws are little better than *verba minantia*, and would often be infringed by powerful villainy; that the magistrate can at best but frighten vice into a corner, and that it is education alone which can mend and rectify the heart.

They saw also, that, among the foreigners, who were as numerous as the English themselves, many distinctions were forming upon their different customs, languages, and extractions, which, by creating separate interests, might, in the issue, prove fatal to government. They wisely judged, therefore, that nothing could so much contribute to make such a mixture of people coalesce and unite in one common interest, as the common education of all the youth at the same public schools under the eye of the civil authority. By these means, said they, indissoluble connections and friendships will be formed, prejudices worn off, and the youth will, in time, either forget their extraction, or, from a more liberal education and manly turn of thought, learn to contemn those idle distinctions that arise among the vulgar, because their fathers first spoke a different language, or drew air in a different clime.

The object they kept always in sight, was the easiest, simplest, and most natural method of forming youth to the knowledge and exercise of private and public virtue; and therefore they did not scruple to reject some things commonly taught at colleges, to add others, and shorten or invert the order of

others, as best suited their circumstances. They often had this sentence in their mouth, which, I think, in other words, I have read in Tillotson, that the knowledge of what tends neither directly nor indirectly to make better men and better citizens, is but a knowledge of trifles. It is not learning, but a specious and ingenious sort of idleness.

With regard to learning, the Miranians divide the whole body of people into two grand classes. The first consists of those designed for the learned professions; by which they understand divinity, law, physic, and the chief offices of the State. The second class consists of those designed for the mechanical professions, and all the remaining people of the country.

Any scheme, then, that either proposes to teach both these grand classes after the same manner, or is wholly calculated for one of them, without regarding the other, must be very defective. And yet so it is, that public seminaries are almost universally calculated for the first class; while a collegiate school for the instruction of the latter is rarely to be met with. This class of people, by far the most numerous, being also the hands and strength of every government, are overlooked, and have nothing but this alternative left them, either to be satisfied with what small portion of the arts and sciences they can glean at private schools, or to go through a course of learning at colleges, for which they have neither time nor use.

Academy or Mechanic's School.

These considerations gave rise to what is called the Mechanic's School, or Academy, in this seminary, which is no other way connected with what is called the College, (by way of distinction) than by being under the inspection of the same trustees, and the government of the same body of masters. Most of the branches of science, taught in the college, are taught in this school; but then they are taught without languages, and in a more compendious manner, as the circumstances and business of the common class of people require. This school is no much like the English school and academy in Philadelphia, that a particular account of it here is needless.

Nine years are sufficient to complete the mechanic's education in this school; proportionable to which are nine forms or classes. In the three lowest, English is taught grammatically, and as a language, with writing. In the six higher classes, English and writing are continued, at the same time that accounts, mathematics, oratory, chronology, history, the most plain and useful parts of natural and mechanical philosophy, are taught; to which is added, something of husbandry and chemistry, which, as improved of late, they esteem a very useful branch of instruction.

Thus, at about fifteen years of age, the mechanic's education is finished; and he comes out well qualified to make a good figure in every profession, wherein languages are not required.

The Latin School.

This school is divided into five great forms, or classes, corresponding to the five years the youth continue in it; which, in a general way, is found to be long enough. Such of the youth as are intended for the learned professions, are moved into this school from the third form of the academy, or the English school mentioned above, provided they be nine years of age, can write tolerably, and can read and articulate the English tongue. The first four years are wholly given to the Latin tongue, and improving the youth in English and writing at leisure hours. The fifth year, the highest class divides the day between Latin and Greek; proceeding through the Greek declensions and conjugations, St. Luke's gospel, Lucian's dialogues, &c. Thus, at fourteen years of age, well versed in the Latin tongue, with some foundation in the Greek, the youth are entered into

The College.

The curriculum of the College embraces five classes of one year each:—

1. The *First Class* is called the Greek Class, in which they read Theocritus' Idyllia, with some select pieces of Hesiod, Homer, and Xenophon. In the

afternoon they learn arithmetic, vulgar and decimal; merchant's accounts, some parts of algebra, and some of the first books of Euclid.

2. In the *Second Class*, the master, who is styled Professor of Mathematics, carries the youth forward in algebra, teaches the remainder of the first six books of Euclid, together with the eleventh and twelfth, and also the elements of geometry, astronomy, chronology, navigation, and other most useful branches of the mathematics. So much of logic and metaphysics, as is useful, is joined with mathematics; but a small space of time serves for these studies, logic in particular, as commonly understood, being in some disrepute among them. . . . At proper seasons, when the weather permits, this class is exercised in practical geometry; in surveying lands and waters; and in plotting and ornamenting the maps of such surveys. There is a weekly exercise for their further improvement in Greek and Latin.

3. In the *Third Class*, the Professor of Philosophy divides the day between the studies of ethics and physics. Under the latter, the Miranians comprehend natural history, with mechanical and experimental philosophy; for the illustration of which they are provided with a complete apparatus. In this class, at present, they read the philosophic books of Plato and Cicero, in their originals, with Locke, Hutcheson, Puffendorf, &c., the professor taking care to guard the youth against every thing in which any of these authors are singular.

4. In the *Fourth Class*, the Professor [of Rhetoric and Poetry] begins with giving the students a general notion of the precepts and different kinds of rhetoric. He then proceeds to make them read Tully's oration for Milo, leisurely, in its original; applying, as they go along, the precepts of oratory; and making them apprehend its plan, series, delicacy of address; the strength and disposition of the proofs; the justness of the tropes and figures; the beauty of the imagery and painting; the harmony and fullness of the periods; the pomp and purity of the diction; and, in fine, that grandeur of thought, that astonishing sublime, that torrent of eloquence, which, moving, warming, seizing the soul, sweeps all irresistibly down before it. After this, Demosthenes' harrangue for Ctesiphon, which Tully (I think) calls the model of perfect eloquence, is read in the original, and explained in the same manner.

These two celebrated orations, thus explained and apprehended, are judged sufficient to give youth a right idea of oratory, and fix its precepts in their mind, which is not to be done so much by reading many orations as by studying a few thoroughly; and, therefore, only three more orations, one in Greek, one in Latin, and one in English, are read in the school through the whole year. These are successively handled thus: In the evening the professor prescribes a certain portion of the oration, and appoints the students to write out their observations upon its conformity to the laws of rhetoric; the plan, thoughts, &c., by way of criticism. This they bring with them next day, when the part prescribed is read over, and this criticism of theirs examined and corrected. A new portion, as before, is prescribed again next meeting, till, in this manner, they have finished the whole three orations.

The remainder of the year, which is about six months, is spent in composing and delivering orations; and it is no wonder that this exercise is attended with great success, when deferred to this its proper season. Philosophy, rhetoric, and poetry, being sufficiently tasted and admired; the youth can not but be animated, in their compositions, to imitate those bright models that gave them so much pleasure in the reading. The study of poetry, in particular, elevates their thoughts, warms their imagination, leads them to give lively descriptions, inspires them with strength, variety, copiousness, and harmony of style, and diffuses a delicacy over every thing they compose.

5. The *Fifth Class* is instructed by the President, who is called Aratus, in Agriculture and History. The knowledge of physics, acquired in the third class, contributes greatly to make the study of agriculture easy at this time. In some previous lectures, Aratus resumes this subject; and, particularly, gives the youth a good knowledge of the animal structure and anatomy, which is not only of great use to teach them the proper care of their own health and bodies, but highly necessary by way of analogy to explain the economy and mechanism of plants, the structure of their vessels, their generation, manner of life and ac-

cretion, perspiration, circulation of sap, &c. After this, he examines, with the youth, the mineral strata of the earth; inquires into the nature of those saline and aqueous juices that constitute the nutritious matter or food of vegetables; and of those other fossils, which, being either heterogeneous to the vegetable substance, or too gross to enter the roots of plants, serve, however, to soften and separate the concreted parts of the earth, and prepare it for vegetation. The whole is illustrated by a course of chemical and statistical experiments. After this foundation is laid, they proceed to read Varro, Columella, Tull, Bradley, &c., assigning, as they go along, the rationale, for the natural phenomena and rules of tillage, recorded in these authors, upon the principles and philosophy of modern naturalists.

As the study of agriculture was made easy, by a previous knowledge in natural philosophy, so is the previous knowledge of the fundamental principles of ethics a fine introduction to the philosophical study of history. This subject Aratus resumes before entering upon history. He considers man, in the solitary state of nature, surrounded with wants and dangers, and nothing secure to any of the species, but what can either be acquired or maintained by force. From thence he takes occasion to show the necessity mankind lay under of entering into society, and voluntarily resigning some share of their natural freedom and property, to secure the rest. Then he explains the different forms of government, with the advantages and inconveniences in the administration of each. [The history of Greece occupies about one month—the President prescribes the portion to be read each day, of which a summary or abstract is made by each member.] These summaries are revised in the class by the principal, who is careful to make them apprehend the blamable and praiseworthy, in the constitution of the several states; and, in the familiar way of dialogue, to make them give their opinion upon the facts mentioned, the manners and customs of the people, &c., drawing proper and moral inferences from the whole. In this manner a portion is abridged and decanted upon, every day, till they have gone over the history of the flourishing ages of Greece; which they perform in about the space of a month. The history of Rome (Mr. Hooke's judicious collection of it) is studied, in the next place, down to the days of Augustus. This requires about two months more. After that, they descend to study the history of England, from the beginning of the said century, in the same manner that they had before studied the history of Greece and Rome; the Principal taking care, as they go along, to note the rise, interests, dependencies, and constitutions of the several nations and states, whose histories are interwoven with that of England. They conclude the whole, with a view of our colonies in this hemisphere; their state, produce, interests, government, &c.; taking some notice, as they go along, of the French and Spanish settlements that we are chiefly concerned with in trade. Every Sunday night about an hour is spent in the study of the Bible history.

Though this is but a small part of the history of mankind, yet it is as much as can conveniently be brought, and much more than generally is brought, into a scheme of public education. The youth are thus sent into the world well acquainted with the history of those nations they are likely to be most concerned with in life; and also with the history of Greece and Rome, which may be justly called the history of heroism, virtue, and patriotism. This is enough to prepare them for society, and put them in a method of studying the history of any other nations they think proper, in a philosophical manner, whenever their inclination and leisure shall prompt them to it.

The studies of agriculture, history, and politics seldom enter much into the scheme of education, but are left for every man's private reading after his education at the university is finished, it is plain that they should be last, if they are at all brought into such a scheme. They are indeed the studies of men, and require a ripe judgment. But besides this, all the former studies, as I have observed already, are necessary and subservient to them. Even the knowledge of rhetoric itself is of great use in reading a well written history, as many of the chief beauties thereof would otherwise be lost and untasted. And if this was not the case, yet still, methinks, history and agriculture should be placed last, in order to send youth abroad into the world warm (if I may so express it)

from those studies which their own interests and the service of their country will generally require them chiefly to cultivate.

Saturdays are set apart for public class exercises. Upon these days, the masters, scholars, and as many of the citizens as please to attend, being assembled in the chapel after morning prayers, one of the students in the first or Greek class appears as respondent with an opponent or interrogator from the third class. The latter pitches upon any Greek author, which the respondent has read during the course of the year in his class, and prescribes a passage in it to be rendered into English extempore. This the respondent does, pointing out the author's beauties, clearing up his obscurities and difficulties, and giving an account of the case, tense, mood, derivation, construction, &c., of every word. The opponent takes care to set him right where he errs, and gives him an opportunity, by proper interrogations, to display his skill and improvements to the best advantage. The master of the class to which the opponent belongs, superintends these exercises, and may interfere with his assistance if there should be occasion. But this seldom happens.

After these, one of the second class appears as respondent, with an opponent from the fourth, who endeavors to impugn a thesis given out and defended by the other. Then he changes the subject, and interrogates him concerning his skill in such branches of the mathematics as he (the respondent) has learned in his class.

In the next place, a respondent appears from the third class with an opponent from the fifth. The method of exercise the same as above. The subject ethics and physics.

Besides bearing a part, as interrogators, in the foregoing exercises, the fourth and fifth classes have an exercise of declamation peculiar to themselves. First, one of the youth in the class of rhetoric delivers a speech with proper grace and action on any philosophical subject, or on the nature, rules, and advantages of eloquence and poetry, which are the studies of the present year.

Lastly, one of the fifth or highest class delivers an oration, framed according to the exact rules of rhetoric, upon any civil topic that is, or may be, disputed with regard to the interest of their country. And such harangues I have often known to be of very public service, not only when delivered, but when thought worthy of being published. Sometimes, too, their subject is the usefulness of history and agriculture; the pleasures of retirement, or any moral topic. Thus, when there are not above twenty boys in each class, every boy in the three lower classes appears in public twice a year, and those of the two higher classes four times. There are exercises of the same kind in the higher classes of the academy and mechanic's school. And, in the Latin school, there are quarterly examinations, and proper rewards distributed to excite emulation.

[These exercises are commonly in the English tongue, although there are some Latin orations and disputations at the anniversary commencement.]

There are likewise masters in the college for teaching the French, Italian, Spanish, and German tongues, at private hours; and a fencing-master, who, besides the use of the sword, teaches the military exercise. There is, lastly, a dancing-master, whom I should have mentioned first; as this art is learned by the boys when very young; viz., in the lowest classes of the Latin and mechanic's school. None of the youth, however, are obliged, by the statutes of the college, to attend these masters; and if they do attend them, it must not be before they are entered in the fourth or rhetorical class, because they will not suffer any thing to interfere with the duties of the two higher classes; which, as you will remember, consist chiefly in reading and writing in private.

Religious instruction and training is secured by selecting only such men as professors whose disposition, manners, and character will inspire love and reverence, and whose habits of mind leads them to see and speak of the wisdom and goodness of God in all science and occupations—especially in the science of nature, and the material and processes of agriculture.

[These masters are not included in the Faculty, and are paid by special fees.]

CONNECTION WITH ACADEMY AND COLLEGE AT PHILADELPHIA.

On the strength of these views, Mr. Smith was invited, in 1753, to become Teacher of Logic, Rhetoric, Natural and Moral Philosophy, in the Academy, which he accepted, on condition of being allowed to go to England to receive his regular introduction into the Ministry of the Church of England. He was accordingly ordained Deacon by the Bishop of London, on the 21st of December, 1763, and on the following day, Priest, by the Bishop of Carlisle. On his return, in May, 1754, he entered on his duties at the head of the advanced class, or School of Philosophy, in Philadelphia. Before the year closed, the Trustees applied to the Provincial Governor (Morris) for a new charter, confirming the former, and authorizing the Trustees to institute a College, or 'Seminary of Universal Learning,' with the privilege of conferring the usual Academic Degrees. In this new charter, Mr. Smith is named as Provost, and Mr. Alison as Vice-Provost—a change in their relations to the institution, made, doubtless, with their approbation, for they continued to act in unison for a period of twenty-four years. The School of Philosophy and the Latin School were henceforth known as the College. Of the course of instruction pursued, Mr. Smith drew up an account at the request of the Trustees, and which he thought of sufficient value to be included in his collected works.

ACCOUNT OF THE ACADEMY IN 1758.*

[This institution was opened in January, 1750, with three schools—the English, Mathematical, and Latin. To these the College was added in 1758. At present there are—

Two *Charity Schools*: one with ninety boys, under one master and one assistant; and a second, with 120 girls, under one mistress. The girls are taught reading, writing, and sewing; and the boys, reading, writing, and arithmetic.

The *Academy*, organized in two classes or schools; viz., the English School, under a Professor of English and Oratory, with one assistant and a writing-master; and a School of Mathematics, under a Professor, with ninety pupils in both schools.

The *College*, divided into three Philosophy schools, under the Provost and Vice-Provost; and the Latin and Greek schools, under a Professor of Languages, three tutors, and a writing-master—with a total of 100 students.

The chief masters are William Smith, D.D., Provost of the Seminary, and Professor of Natural Philosophy; Francis Alison, D.D., Vice-Provost, and Professor of Moral Philosophy; Ebenezer Kinnersley, M.A., Professor of Oratory; John Beveridge, M.A., Professor of Languages; Hugh Williamson, M.A., Professor of Mathematics.

The studies of the Latin and Greek schools are identical with those of the Grammar school of the period, and occupy from three to five years, according to the age of the pupil when he begins. When mastered, which is ascertained by a public examination, the pupils proceed to the study of the sciences in the Philosophy schools, with the privilege of wearing an undergraduate's gown. The order and method of study is as following:—]

* Smith's Works, Vol. I., pp. 230-248. Account of the College, Academy, and Charitable School of Philadelphia.

FORENOON.				AFTERNOON.				PRIVATE HOURS.			
FIRST YEAR.		INSTRUMENTAL PHILOSOPHY.		CLASSES AND RHETORIC.							
LECTURE I.		LECTURE II.		LECTURE III.							
Primum, May 15. First term. Three months.	Logic and Eng. exercises continued. — — —	Common Arithmetic reviewed. Decimal Arithmetic. Algebra.	History, May 15. First term. Three months.	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —
Second term. Three months.	The same. — — —	Problems and Extrinsic Books. Exercises, Simple and Quadratic. Recall, first six books.	Second term. Three months.	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —
January. Third term. Four months.	Logic with Metaphysics. — — —	Recall, a second time. Logarithmic Arithmetic.	January. Third term. Four months.	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —
Remarks.	N. B.—At leisure hours disputation begun.	— — —	Remarks.	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —
SECOND YEAR.	Logic, &c., reviewed. Surveying and dialing. Navigation.	— — —	SECOND YEAR.	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —
Third term. Three months.	— — —	— — —	Third term. Three months.	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —
Second term. Three months.	— — —	— — —	Second term. Three months.	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —
First term. Three months.	— — —	— — —	First term. Three months.	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —
Remarks.	— — —	— — —	Remarks.	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —
January. Third term. Four months.	— — —	— — —	January. Third term. Four months.	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —
Second term. Three months.	— — —	— — —	Second term. Three months.	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —
First term. Three months.	— — —	— — —	First term. Three months.	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —
Remarks.	— — —	— — —	Remarks.	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —
January. Third term. Four months.	— — —	— — —	January								

From this view, it will be seen, that in these various schools all branches of education are carried on which are found necessary for the learned professions, merchandise, mechanic arts, or inferior callings. Discipline is maintained through the Trustees (24 in number) resident within five miles of the city. The second Tuesday of every month is set apart for visiting and examining the schools, advising with the masters, encouraging the students, and attending to any business brought before them. All degrees are conferred on their mandate, after an examination in their presence.

Under these Trustees, the principal masters are constituted into a Faculty, or Common Body, with all the powers necessary for the ordinary government of the schools and good education of the youth. They are to meet in Faculty, at least once in every two weeks, and at such other times as the Provost, or Senior Member present, shall think fit to call them, or any two members desire him so to do. At these meetings they are to inquire into the state of the schools, and see that the several parts of education be regularly carried on, and the laws of the institution duly executed and observed. They have also power to enact temporary rules and ordinances, to be in force as laws, till the first ensuing meeting of the Trustees; before whom they are then to be laid, in order to be altered, amended, or confirmed, or left probationary for a longer period, or wholly laid aside, as they shall think fit.

By this method, all laws either do, or may, take their rise from masters, who being daily present in the institution, know best what regulations and orders may be wanted. At the same time, as these regulations are to receive their last sanction from the Trustees and Visitors, who are men of experience, influence, and probity, and have children of their own to educate, we may be certain that nothing can obtain the force of a standing law, but what is found salutary and good upon trial.

As many of the youth are too big for corporal punishment, there are small fines by the laws agreeable to the nature of the offense, and the custom of other colleges. Whatever money is thus raised from the slothful and refractory in fines, is appropriated in rewards to the diligent and obedient; so that any youth, who has once been a delinquent, may have an opportunity of getting back, by future care, what he forfeited by former neglect.

These rewards and punishments are both administered in the most public manner; and, in short, the whole discipline is so reasonable and just, that any youth who might desire to break through the rules of this institution in his younger years, can hardly be expected to submit to the rules of civil society when grown up.

The youth all lodge, or will shortly, in the houses of their parents, or in lodgings within the walls of the college; a proper number of which are now erecting, at a very considerable expense.

In this institution, there is a good apparatus for experiments in Natural Philosophy, done in England by the best hands, and brought over from thence, in different parcels. There is also, in the experiment room, an electrical apparatus, chiefly the invention of one of the professors, Mr. Kinnerley, and perhaps the completest of the kind now in the world.

Work Outside of the College.

Mr. Smith was not a non-resistant—through life he returned blow for blow, and he was not slow to assail what he believed to be wrong, and to assert what he thought to be right—and on many of the controversies of his day he preached his sermon, and printed his book. In the agitation which followed Braddock's defeat, he issued a pamphlet on the 'Condition of the Province,' in which he bitterly denounced the position taken by the Quakers in the Assembly, and the dissatisfaction of the Germans, who, having fled to escape the horrors of war at home, were slow to enlist in such en-

terprise here. Mr. Smith's remedies were 'heroic'—every member of the Assembly should be compelled to sign a declaration that he would not refuse to defend the country against his Majesty's enemies; no German should be allowed to vote for members of Assembly until he had some knowledge of the English language, and that no newspaper or other periodical, in any foreign language, should be permitted to circulate in the Province.' The ill-feeling provoked by this pamphlet, and his military sermons composed in the same spirit, made him a conspicuous object of attack by the party assailed. In 1758, he delivered and printed, at the request of General Forbes, on the opening of the campaign in 1758, an address urging the Colonies to active and aggressive measures. This involved the author in some side issues with the Assembly, in the progress of which he was committed to jail 'for high and manifest violation of the rights and privileges of the Representatives of the people.' The Trustees thought their Provost was in the right, and directed his classes to attend his instructions in the jail. On his release, at the end of three months, they permitted him to go to England and prosecute his appeal to the Privy Council from the judgment of the Assembly. In this appeal he was successful—for he had the sympathy of 'great and influential personages,' the elder Pitt, among others, who admired his boldness in urging the defense of a distant portion of the Empire against French invasion, as well as for the overthrow of French power on this continent. His discourses were reprinted in England in 1759, and were compared favorably by the *Critical Review* with those of Bossuet. Before his return he was honored with the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Aberdeen, and also from the University of Oxford; and still later from the University of Dublin. He returned to Philadelphia in October, 1759, with an Order in Council, affirming that the Assembly had been guilty of high and unwarrantable invasion, both of his Majesty's royal prerogative, and the liberties of the subject. He also presented to the Trustees, from the Hon. Thomas Penn, as a permanent fund, the deed of 2,500 acres of land—one-fourth part of the manor of Perkasia in Bucks county.

At the commencement exercises of the College and Academy, in May, 1761, Dr. Smith delivered a discourse before the Trustees, Masters, and Scholars, which is printed in his collected works. In this discourse he sums up the work of a College under the heads of Language, the Science of the Human Mind, the Phenomena of Nature and their subserviency to Human Life, Moral Philosophy, and the Power of Expression by Voice and Pen.

*Collections in England in Aid of his College.**

In 1761 (November) the Trustees found themselves growing poorer in money as the College grew stronger in number of pupils—the support of the institution having exceeded its income for several years about \$700, while there was a pressing necessity for more rooms. In this emergency a Committee of the Board recommended an appeal to English liberality as follows:—

‘We have no resource but once for all to betake ourselves to the generosity of the public; and when we consider the encouragement that has heretofore been given by the mother country to Seminaries of learning on this Continent, at a time when the affairs of America were not thought of half the importance which they are at present, and these Seminaries far less extensive in their plan than this Academy, and countenanced by the Governments in which they are erected, we can not entertain the least doubt but under our circumstances, a Seminary placed in this large and trading city, and which promises to be of so much use for the advancement of true learning and knowledge, must at this time meet with great encouragement in England, where there are thousands who want nothing more than the opportunity of showing their beneficence and good will to any thing calculated for the benefit of these Colonies. And we have the greatest hopes in this affair from the assurance given by Dr. Smith, of the disposition which he found in sundry persons of distinction, when he was lately in England to befriend the Seminary on a due application to them, and which some of them have been pleased to repeat in their private letters to him.’

The recommendation was adopted, and Dr. Smith was selected, and he embarked from New York in February, 1762. He was furnished with an Address from the Trustees ‘to all Charitable persons, Patrons of Literature, and Friends of Useful Knowledge,’ and with a letter to ‘the Honorable Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, Esquires.’ These documents, prepared by Rev. Mr. Peters, President of the Board, gave a complete *resumé* of the history of the College, and explained its great usefulness and its present pressing wants. To the Penns, especially, an appeal was made to aid the enterprise in England. Thomas Penn was called the principal Patron of the College, (and well he might have been, for he contributed to its support during his life time nearly £4,500,) and it is evident that great reliance was placed upon his influence in England.

On reaching London he at once waited upon those to whom he looked for aid in his design. ‘Mr. Thomas Penn,’ he says, ‘received me with his usual kindness, and said that he was glad to see me on the scheme of a collection, and would forward it all in his power. It is impossible, indeed, for me to express how hearty and zealous Mr. Penn is in this business. He has put himself down for five hundred pounds sterling.’

‘March 19, I waited on the Archbishop of Canterbury, who most cordially assured me that he would do every thing to forward my

* Abridged from Dr. Stille's *Memoirs*.

design by mentioning it to his friends, and contributing to it in person, asking if there was any thing else that I expected from him, and if I intended to apply for a Brief, adding that there had been so many applications of that sort of late that he feared it would produce little.' The 'Brief,' spoken of by the Archbishop, was the technical term given to letters patent written in the royal name to the incumbent of every parish in England, (at that time about 11,500 in number), directing him to recommend to his congregation some charitable object which the King was particularly desirous of promoting, and authorizing collections to be made by specially-appointed Commissioners from house to house throughout the kingdom in aid of the undertaking. It had been the practice to issue such Briefs only in cases of great general interest, such, for instance, as when deep sympathy was excited for the Protestant refugees who flocked to England after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, or when succor was asked for the inhabitants of portions of the country which had suffered from the overwhelming disasters, of famine or pestilence. In later years, it had been the custom to appeal to the public in this way for the support of such societies as that for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts, as well as for various undertakings of a charitable sort in the Colonies.'

In the meantime he made his business known to the Archbishop of York and to several of the most eminent of the other Bishops. They all declared, he says, 'their readiness to concur with the Archbishop of Canterbury in any scheme his Grace might propose for countenancing and forwarding the design.' Nor did he forget to invoke the powerful aid of Rev. Dr. Chandler, at that time the most eminent Dissenting Minister in England. 'That gentleman,' writes Dr. Smith, 'sent for me this week, and told me that though he had been afraid that all his Court interest was gone with the Duke of Newcastle, yet he had been with the present Minister Lord Bate, who had most graciously received him, and told him that none of the charities which the Doctor was concerned in should suffer from the late change, and that if there was any good design that the Doctor could recommend it should be mentioned to the King, who was graciously disposed to favor all pious and laudable undertakings.'

Pleasing as was the prospect thus far (July 10, 1762,) when he writes: 'Just as I was about to set out for Edinburgh, taking several trading towns on the way, Dr. Jay, from New York, which he left June 1st, has just called on me, and told me that some business of his own calling him to England, the people of the College at New York had applied to and empowered him to solicit money for

them.' After a good deal of negotiation, during which Dr. Smith's friends, Mr. Penn, Dr. Chandler, and the Archbishop, convinced him that, as the New York College, had applied for a Royal Brief, it must be a joint one for the benefit of both, or else the whole scheme would be ruined, and that nothing would be gained by their entering upon the same field as rivals, it was agreed that a joint application on behalf of both Colleges, should be made to the King. 'His majesty expressed his approval of the plan, and said he would do something to begin the design, that to King's College in New York he would order four hundred pounds sterling, and that in respect to the College in Philadelphia, he observed that it had a liberal benefactor in our Proprietors, who stood, as it were, in his room, but he must not suffer so good a design to pass without some mark of his regard, and therefore would order two hundred pounds sterling for us.'

The King having signified his royal pleasure that the petition should be granted, it was unanimously and without more difficulty agreed to on the 12th of August, 1762, by the King in Council.

The order in Council directed that 'the Right Honorable the Lord High Chancellor in England, do cause letters patent to be prepared and passed under the great seal for the collections of the charity of all well-disposed persons for the assistance and benefit of the said two Seminaries.'

The next step in the business, was to attend to the stamping of the Brief, and the distribution of a copy to each of the eleven thousand parishes of the kingdom. With each copy was sent a circular letter to the clergyman of the parish, written by Dr. Smith, and signed by him and Dr. Jay. This letter explained more fully the object of the collection, and urged most earnestly upon the clergy the importance of aiding it by their personal influence, and when practicable, by preaching with special reference to it. Leaving this part of the business, for the present, in the hands of the 'Brief-layers,' as the Commissioners were called, he prepared to make a journey to the north of England and to Scotland, while Dr. Jay went to the south and west, in order to gather what they could by personal application, in addition to what might be contributed under the authority of the Brief.

He writes to Mr. Peters, September 14th:—

'I find you have strange stories of my being made Commissary, Rector, and the Lord knows what, and that my chief scheme here was to hunt something for myself. I leave the issue of things to show how ill-treated I am in all these matters by low tattling people, who, because they never do any thing disinterested themselves, are unwilling to allow it in others. These things might pro-

voke any man to quit all connections with such a people. But the honor I propose to myself in being a kind of *Founder of our College*, you may rest assured shall over balance every other consideration, and this business shall be most faithfully finished be my treatment what it will.

On the 29th of September, Dr. Smith left London for the north. The following is the account he gives of his journey:—

'I have traveled more than twelve hundred miles in seven weeks, and two-thirds of that through the most dismal rains I ever saw, and on two hackney horses which I bought to save money for the design. I set out for Edinburgh, and from thence went one hundred miles further north to see my aged and good father, with whom I remained but a few days. At Edinburgh, I waited on Dr. Robertson, Dr. Wishart, Dr. Cumming, and others. They are well disposed to serve us, but think that their joint interest, though at the head of the Church of Scotland, will not be able, till next Assembly at least, to procure us a national collection. At Glasgow I found the same encouragement as at Edinburgh among the clergy, who professed themselves pleased with the Catholic plan of having professors of different persuasions, and told me that the party in the Church of Scotland to whom that would be an objection were not many. On my return, I visited all the clergy on or near the great road, and wrote letters to others. In places where it was thought my presence would assist the collection, we agreed to delay it till March, when I promised to go down again, especially to Yorkshire. Thus, in about six weeks I got back to London to meet Dr. Jay, who had taken a like tour to the southward, on the same plan. After two or three days in London, we set out again for Oxford, thinking it a compliment due to them to be both there. From Oxford we went to Gloucester, and to the manufacturing towns in that county: Dr. Jay taking part of them, and myself the other part, so as to meet at Bath, which we did a day or two before Christmas, and then proceeded to London.'

The various Colleges of the University of Oxford gave £163, although Dr. Smith complains in his diary 'that at St. John's and Baliol, Dr. Franklin's friends* were very averse.' At the University of Cambridge he collected £166. Liverpool gave £211; Halifax, £52; Birmingham, £127; Bristol, £112; Gloucester and the neighboring towns, £85. These amounts are made up of small sums, far the larger portion of them not exceeding a guinea each, contributed by several hundred different persons, and the labor attending such a collection can only be estimated by those who have had experience in such undertakings. In this way were gathered for the two Colleges about £2,400.

Every means was resorted to of attracting the attention and securing the donations of charitably disposed persons. Every Sunday, from March to June, 1763, the London pulpits were occupied by the most popular preachers of the day who had been induced by Dr. Smith to preach in favor of the design, and he himself preached

* Possibly, Dr. Smith, being conscious that he had acted with the spirit of Academic exclusiveness (if it does not deserve the name of meanness) in entering a written protest to the authorities of Oxford to a proposal to confer the Degree of Doctor of Laws on Dr. Franklin, may have fancied opposition to himself or his scheme from Dr. Franklin's friends, who naturally felt indignant at Dr. Smith's presumption in the matter, especially as Dr. Smith owed his position in the College of Philadelphia to Dr. Franklin.

twice every Sunday on the same subject. Nor were other means of a more worldly character neglected. Dr. Smith writes:—‘We are to have a benefit oratorio at Drury Lane, and Mr. Beard leaves his own house to perform for us at the other. Mr. Garrick has been exceedingly kind in the matter. The principal performers, vocal and instrumental, serve *gratis*, and we are favored with the boys from the Chapel Royal, and every other mark of distinction. Mr. Tyer even put off the opening of Vauxhall, which was fixed for Wednesday night, in order to favor us.’

The money collected by Dr. Smith in England came from the following sources:—

	£	s.	d.
One-half of the ‘Brief Money,’	4,800	0	0
One-half of the private collections,	1,136	10	6
His Majesty’s Royal Bounty,	230	0	0
Proprietaries of Pennsylvania,	500	0	0
Collections before the Scheme for New York was united with that of Phila.,	284	17	0
Total,	6,921	7	6

It was estimated by Dr. Smith, that more than eleven thousand persons contributed to the collection made under the authority of the ‘Brief,’ and more than eight hundred to that undertaken by Dr. Jay and himself, the best proof of the wide-spread public interest felt in the object.

On Dr. Smith’s return in June, 1764, the Trustees voted him ‘their unanimous thanks in the warmest and most affectionate manner for the great zeal, diligence, ability, and address which he had shown in the management of this collection, for which all the friends of this Institution, as well as of learning in general are under the greatest obligations to him.’ He brought with him letters from the Archbishop of Canterbury, Mr. Penn, Dr. Chandler, and others, to the Trustees, speaking in the warmest terms of his devotion to the interests of the College while in England. The following extract from a letter of the Rev. Dr. Llewellyn, an eminent Baptist Clergyman in London, will show what enthusiasm his success had caused among those who were not of the Church of England. . . . ‘I congratulate you on the extraordinary success of our common friend Dr. Smith; you ought to welcome him home with ringing of bells, illuminations, and bonfires. The Professors of the College ought to meet him at least half way from New York, and from thence usher him into Philadelphia with all the magnificence and pomp in their power. The scholars, students, and fellows should all attend in their proper order and habits, and the procession should march to the Hall, where verses and orations in various languages should be delivered in praise of the liberality and gener-

osity of the mother country, of the unanimity and harmony of Pennsylvania, and especially of the Catholic College of Philadelphia, with vows for its continual prosperity and success. As a *Baptist*, as a friend of learning, as a hearty approver of a plan so free and open, I would add my wish, *quod felix faustumque sit*.'

Before he left England, Dr. Smith took measures to insure the perpetuation of that 'free and catholic plan' in the management of the College, which he had urged upon those to whom he applied for money as one of the very strongest reasons for its support. Just before he embarked, he went to his friend, Dr. Chandler, who thus writes: 'As there have been some suspicions entertained on both sides that the present constitution of the College may be altered, and the Professors and Masters, now of different denominations, in time may all be of one prevailing denomination, to the exclusion of those of the other, by the act and power of the prevailing party, and as Dr. Smith justly apprehended, this would be contrary to the intention of those who have contributed to the support of the College, who have been of all parties among us, and inconsistent with its prosperity, by his desire, I waited upon the good Archbishop of Canterbury. His Grace highly approved of the present plan upon which the College is established, and gave his opinion that the plan should be preserved without alteration.'

The receipt of the large fund collected in England, stimulated the desire of Dr. Smith and the Trustees to increase still farther the resources of the College. In the winter of 1771-2, Dr. Smith paid a visit to Charleston, South Carolina, and in the course of a few months, collected nearly a thousand guineas for the College, from the inhabitants of that city. On his return, he set on foot a subscription for the same object, in Philadelphia, and in a short time raised nearly £1,200, besides receiving subscriptions to a much larger amount, payable at a future time. At his suggestion, Dr. Morgan, one of the Professors in the Medical Faculty, applied to the people of the Island of Jamaica for contributions, and from them he received about £3,000. In looking back at this period of the history of the College, it is hard to say which most to admire, the liberality of its benefactors, or the intelligent zeal and enterprise of those who were then intrusted with the management of its affairs. There can be little doubt that had it not been for the calamities which befell all material interests growing out of the Revolution, the College of Philadelphia, and its successor, the University, would have been among the best endowed institutions in the country.

Part taken in the Struggle for Independence.

Dr. Smith, from the personal kindness and hospitality extended to him in his repeated visits to the mother country, and the correspondence maintained with men of science, and dignitaries of the English Church, entered slowly and reluctantly into measures which were calculated to exasperate and prevent reconciliation.

In the measures which culminated in the Declaration of Independence, and the maintenance of that declaration by military force, Dr. Smith's course was patriotic, but not aggressive. On the great principle of resistance to all taxation by stamps or otherwise, save through the Colonial legislatures, he planted himself early and firmly. In reference to the appeal of the town of Boston for sympathy and coöperation, in 1774, on the passage of the Boston Port Bill, the answer of Philadelphia, drawn up by Dr. Smith, was not as positive and warm as the Bostonians expected, but was, doubtless, the expression of the public sentiment, which, in Philadelphia, was decidedly in favor of moderate measures and did not anticipate separation. As a member of the Provincial Convention of 1744, he openly advocated armed resistance, should the measures of the ministry be persisted in, and on the 23d of June, 1775, he preached a sermon before a revolution corps, under the command of Colonel Cadwallader, which was printed, and produced a great sensation in England—for the strong ground on which he placed the duty of resistance to any further encroachment on the constitutional rights of the Colonies. In pursuance of a resolution of the Continental Congress, in January, 1776, he delivered an oration in commemoration of the gallant services of General Montgomery, his officers and men, who fell in the unsuccessful storming of Quebec, but he still counseled moderation, and prayed for the restoration of the former harmony between Great Britain and these Colonies. Such counsel and such prayers were not in unison with the views of John Adams and the more advanced spirits of the period, and with them he lost position and influence. In a letter addressed to the Bishop of London, in June, 1775, and signed by all the Episcopal clergymen of Pennsylvania, he says, 'We are not backward to say that our consciences will not permit us to injure the rights of this country.' 'Its inhabitants are entitled, as well as their brethren in England, to the privilege of granting their own money, and any attempt to deprive them of it will be found abortive in the end, or be attended with evils which will infinitely outweigh all the benefits to be obtained by it.' In a note addressed to Lady Juliana Penn, in March,

1776, he says: 'God grant that the terms [the Commissioners then expected from England] may have to offer may be proper, and that reconciliation may take place.' This was in harmony with the views of the Assembly, as expressed in June, 1776—We are for reconciliation with Great Britain, if consistent with the happiness of these Colonies. But our choice must be determined by the overruling law of self-preservation.'

In the first Constitution of Pennsylvania, he drew the provisions by which all property devoted to 'pious and charitable uses,' that is, for the support of Churches, Colleges, and Hospitals, are protected from legislative interference. They were presented by Dr. Franklin, and read as follows:—

'All useful learning shall be duly encouraged and promoted in one or more Universities.'

'All religious societies or bodies of men heretofore united or incorporated for the advancement of religion and learning, and other pious and charitable purposes, shall be encouraged and protected in the enjoyment of the privileges, immunities, and estates which they were accustomed to enjoy, or could of right have enjoyed under the laws and former Constitution of this State.'

These provisions, although not sufficient to protect the institution in its chartered privileges from temporary invasion, were efficacious in preserving the funds from misappropriation and waste, and in the end of confirming all its ancient powers under a new name and on a wider and firmer base, as will be seen from the sequel of this narrative copied from Dr. Stillé's Memoir.

The College during the Revolution.

The large fund collected by Dr. Smith in England had been increased, as has been stated, by contributions in Jamaica, in Carolina, and in Philadelphia. The reputation of the institution had never been higher; the number of pupils in all the departments being, in the year 1773, nearly three hundred. Its financial concerns were at last upon a sound footing, and their condition was constantly improving, one proof of which is found in the ability of the Corporation to erect, in the year 1774, the large house still standing at the south-west corner of Fourth and Arch streets for the residence of the Provost. The high standing of the College was maintained by the instructions of Professors of well-established reputation throughout the Colonies, and of long experience in this particular institution. Dr. Smith gave lectures in the Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, and Rhetoric; Dr. Alison, in Logic, Metaphysics, and Moral Philosophy, besides having charge of the instruction in the higher Classics; Mr. Davidson was the Professor of Ancient Languages; Mr. Kimbrey, who for twenty years had been Professor of English and Oratory, had just resigned, and Mr. Paul Fooks was Professor of French and Spanish. Besides, there was a Medical School, even then giving promise of its future reputation, under Drs. Morgan, Shippen, Kuhn, Rush, and Bond.*

* In order to show the relative position occupied by the College of Philadelphia before the Revolution, it may be worth while to state the nature and extent of the instruction given at Harvard College at the same period.

The first Professor in that College, the Hollis Professor of Divinity, was appointed in 1721. Down to the commencement of the nineteenth century only two additional Professors were appointed in the Undergraduate Department, viz., the Hollis Professor of Mathematics and

The College had acquired such a national reputation that the Annual Commencement, held May 17, 1775, was attended by the Continental Congress in a body, and by General Washington, who had just been appointed Commander-in-Chief, and was on his way to take command of the army before Boston.

The College exercises were continued until the close of June, 1777, although, of course, with a decreasing number of students. From that time until September, 1778, the College was closed, and the Professors dispersed, Dr. Smith retiring to his farm near Norristown, where he remained during the occupation of the city by the British Army.

On the re-opening of the Schools pupils soon flocked to them, so that in the beginning of the year 1779 there were in all more than two hundred, the greater portion of them, however, in the lower departments.

On the 23d of February, 1779, the Assembly of the State passed the following resolution:—

Ordered, that Mr. Clymer, Mr. Mark Bird, Mr. Hoge, Mr. Gardiner, and Mr. Knox be a Committee to inquire into the present state of the College and Academy of Philadelphia, its rise, funds, &c., and report thereon to the House, and that they be empowered to send for persons and papers.

This Committee was met by a Committee of the Board of Trustees, who on the 16th of March, 1779, delivered to them an elaborate statement prepared by Dr. Smith, containing a complete history of the College. It was designed to meet, and it did meet fully, every objection which had been made against the Institution by ill-disposed persons.

The Committee of the Assembly made no report. In deference to the expressed opinion of the President of the State [Gen. Reed] no Commencement was held in July [1779], and in September, General Reed again called the attention of the Assembly to the College. The Committee, to whom the message was referred, reported in favor of 'a reorganization of the College, by which every denomination of Christians will be represented, the interests of American liberty and independence will be advanced, and obedience to the Constitution of the State pursued.'

A Bill was accordingly brought in, and on the 27th of November, 1779, was enacted into a law, declaring the Charter of 1755 void, dissolving the Board of Trustees and the Faculty, and vesting the College estates in a new Board of Trustees composed of certain State officials, of the senior Clergymen of each of the principal religious denominations in the city, and of sundry other persons who were conspicuous members of the political party which at that time controlled the State. The Act provided also that the Council should reserve for the use of the new Institution, which was called 'The University of the State of Pennsylvania,' £1,500 a year from the proceeds of the confiscated estates.

[After a careful examination of the reasons set forth for this Act, Dr. Stillé adds:—]

We are, therefore, compelled to conclude that the conduct of the Assembly rested upon no legal authority, nor upon the broader ground of an overruling necessity; but that it is the most striking instance of the baneful effects of an unscrupulous party spirit recorded in our State history. Its object was to strike down and disfranchise the purest and best men in the community, associated in

Natural Philosophy in 1753, and the Hancock Professor of Hebrew in 1765. Accordingly, almost all the regular instruction by recitation was still given by Tutors, the practice having been introduced of appointing a Tutor to each class, and as these officers often held the place but one year, and seldom more than three years, and instructed not in one branch only, but in four or five, it is obvious how inadequate the instruction must have been.—*Report of Overseers of Harvard College, 1868.*

an undertaking which had brought nothing but honor and advantage to the State. To conciliate the unthinking masses, and as some apology for the spoliation, a pretense was made of establishing a new Institution upon a broader basis than the old, and the cheap device was resorted to of endowing it with the proceeds of the confiscated estates. One of the complaints against the old College had been, that it had never applied to the State authorities for money, and it was thought that the prosperity of the new, was certainly assured by the Legislative grant of £1,500 a year. But it never prospered. The original taint of its birth seems to have poisoned all its sources of growth, so that on the 22d of August, 1791, just before its dissolution, when the College estates had been restored to their rightful owners, its debts are stated in a minute of that date to be £5,187, nearly all due to the Professors for arrears of salary, while its resources from its income were: 'Debts recoverable by next March, say £2,000; due from the State, £375.'

He must indeed have been a bold and sanguine man who thought it possible to establish, with any chance of success, a new College in this State in the year 1779. In the very crisis of the Revolution, with the fortune of every man who had been engaged in trade ruined by the worthlessness of the currency, with the cost of living increased in the proportion of sixty to one, with every nerve strained to keep up the sinking fortunes of the war, with dissensions among the best men in the State more bitter than their hatred of the common enemy; with the belief among nearly all who had been real supporters of learning that the Charter had been taken away from party malice, and that the new institution would be managed in such a way as to subvert party ends; above all, with the ever present consciousness, that the money they were using did not belong to them in law or morals, it is not to be wondered at that the projectors of the new establishment soon found that they had been building upon the sand. There was certainly but one man living in this State, at that time, who could have carried even an old College successfully through the dangers which threatened the interests of learning during the Revolution, and for ten years afterward, and that was the very man whom a blind party zeal had driven from his post. When we consider what Dr. Smith did for those interests during the twenty-five years in which they had been in his special charge, we may form some estimate of the loss sustained, both by the College and the State, by the forced employment of the remaining twenty-five years of his life in other pursuits.

As the removal of Dr. Smith was, no doubt, the great object aimed at in the abrogation of the Charter, so he was the chief victim of that measure. He had to mourn not merely, in common with all his friends, that the work he had been so long painfully building up was in ruin, and that the pledges which he had given as to the management of the funds which he had collected were shamefully violated, but he was ejected from his office, and without the means of supporting his family.

But that party ceased to reign in 1783, and Dr. Smith lost no time in seeking justice at the hand of those who took its place. At the September session, 1784, the Trustees and Dr. Smith presented their petition to the Assembly, asking that so much of the Act of 1779, which took away their estates and franchises, should be repealed. The Committee to whom the matter was referred made a report favoring the application, and brought in a Bill granting it. But when the Bill was about to pass, the minority left the House (in modern phrase, 'bolted'), and thus dissolved the Assembly. The matter lingered for several years, and until March 6, 1789, when the Assembly passed the Bill, the preamble to it stating as the reason for its action that the Act of 1779 was 'repugnant to justice, a violation of the Constitution of this Commonwealth, and dangerous in its precedent to all incorporated bodies, and to the rights and franchise thereof.'

The College was soon after opened with Dr. Smith as Provost; but the friends of both institutions were satisfied that a consolidation would advance the interests of good learning, and on the petition of the Trustees of the Academy and College of Philadelphia,

and the Trustees of the University of the State of Pennsylvania, a new corporation was created by the Legislature on the 30th of September, 1791, as the *University of Pennsylvania*, with a Board composed of an equal number of members chosen from the Trustees of the former College and University.

RESIDENCE AND WORK IN MARYLAND—1779-1784.

Finding himself ejected from the College, for which his own personal efforts had secured large endowments, and which had grown in public estimation beyond the limits of the city in consequence of his teaching and administration, and without any occupation or means of supporting his family in Philadelphia, he went to Chestertown, in Maryland, and became Rector of a church there. He found at that place an academy with a few pupils. He was made Principal of it, and in a short time one hundred and forty scholars were in attendance. He then applied to the Legislature of Maryland for a Charter, erecting this Academy into a College, modeled upon the plan of the College of Philadelphia, to be called 'Washington College.' The Charter was granted in the Spring of 1782, and within one year from that time, this indefatigable man collected, principally from the planters of the Eastern Shore of Maryland, nearly £10,300 toward its endowment. General Washington contributed fifty guineas, and General Cadwallader headed the Maryland subscriptions.

Dr. Smith never held any parochial charge until driven to Maryland in 1779, yet there can be no doubt that he was in many respects one of the foremost of the Episcopal clergy of his day, not only in this State, but in the country. His reputation as a Pulpit orator, in particular, seems to have been widely extended. He preached frequently, and on all occasions of special importance in Christ Church and in St. Peter's, Philadelphia. In the latter church he preached on the 4th of September, 1761, the dedication sermon upon its being first opened for Divine worship. He preached, also, before the General Convention of the Episcopal church in 1785, and again in 1789, as well as at the consecration of Bishops Claggett, Robert Smith, and Bass in 1792. By his own church, his sermons were considered so valuable, that the General Convention of 1789 unanimously adopted a resolution requesting him to publish them. He was also one of the committee appointed by the first General Convention to revise the English Prayer-book, so as to accommodate it to the changes produced by the Revolution.

On the 26th of August, 1783, Dr. Smith was unanimously elected

Bishop of Maryland by the Convocation of the Episcopal clergy of that State, twenty-two in number, and a letter signed by all of them was addressed to the Bishop of London asking for his consecration.

PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

In 1769, Dr. Smith appears as one of the founders of the American Philosophical Society, for which he drew the charter and fundamental laws, and carried on its correspondence abroad as one of its secretaries. He superintended the publication of the first volume of its transactions, in 1771, in which was issued the accurate observations, by himself and Mr. Rittenhouse, of the transits of Venus and Mercury. He engaged in many local enterprises, and labored for a system of internal improvements by canals for the whole State—having, as he wrote to the Bishop of London, in 1774, an 'enthusiastic persuasion that this great continent was designed by Providence to be the best soil of liberty and knowledge, and that no human purpose or power could finally defeat this gracious intention of Heaven toward this country.'

In 1791 (March 1), he pronounced an oration, before and on the appointment of the American Philosophical Society, and in the presence of General Washington and both Houses of Congress, on Benjamin Franklin, in which he rises above all academic prejudices and does ample justice to the great services of Dr. Franklin in the three distinct relations:—

1st.—As a *Citizen of Pennsylvania*, eminent in her councils, the founder and patron of most of those useful institutions which do honor to her name.

2d.—As a *Citizen of America*, one of the chief and greatest workmen, in the foundation and establishment of her empire and renown.

3d.—As a *Citizen of the World*, by the invention of useful arts, and the diffusion of liberal science, incessantly and successfully laboring for the happiness of the whole human race.

In his domestic relations, Dr. Smith was peculiarly fortunate and happy. The strength and ruggedness of his nature seemed melted to tenderness when he was surrounded by his wife and children. He was, as his letters abundantly show, an affectionate father and a most devoted and loving husband. He married Rebecca, daughter of Hon. William Moor, of Moor Hall, Delaware County, who bore him five children. This lady fell a victim to the yellow fever in October, 1793, and I transcribe from a letter of Dr. Smith to Dr. Rush an account of the circumstances attending her death, not merely as an expression of his feeling at her loss, but also as a striking picture of the horrors of the time:—'Decently as the time would permit, my mournful family, assisted only by a worthy and pious black, Richard Allen, she was laid in her coffin. Silent, but

more awful and instructive than all the funeral pomp in the world—and short the distance we had to go—I followed her, accompanied only by the coffin maker and by Richard Allen, and my own weeping and faithful black boy to the spot she had chosen. It was nine o'clock in the evening, neither moon nor torchlight, but light sufficient through the gloom of the evening to deposit all that was mortal. . . . Alas! how shall I live without her? I never had a joy which became a joy to me till she had shared it. I never had a sorrow which she did not alleviate and participate. I never did an action which I could consider as really good, till she confirmed my opinion. For my many failings and infirmities she had a friendly vail. Her conversation was enlightened, and that with her correspondence by letter, during my many absences, have been my joy for thirty-five years and more.'

Dr. Smith passed the last ten years of his life at his country seat near the Falls of Schuylkill, occupied chiefly in advocating a system of internal improvements in Pennsylvania, by means of canal navigation, and in preparing for the press a complete edition of his writings. Death, however, overtook him in the midst of these labors, and two volumes only, out of the four or five which he had arranged, were published after his death. He died in Philadelphia on the 14th of May, 1803, in his seventy-sixth year.

FREDERIC EBERHARD VON ROCHOW.

MEMOIR.

FREDERIC EBERHARD VON ROCHOW, the third son of the Prussian Minister of State, Frederic William von Rochow, was born October 11, 1734, at Berlin. After receiving the best education which private teachers and the 'Knights' Academy' at Brandenburg could give, he became, in 1750, ensign in the regiment of Carbineers at Rathenau, where Frederic II. noticed him in a military review and promoted him to the *Garde du Corps* at Potsdam. In 1752, he was commissioned, and in 1756, he was in active service, captured the Imperial General Labkonitz at the battle of Labkonitz, and was wounded in his left arm. In the next campaign, in the battle around Prague, he was wounded in the right arm; and in 1758, resigned his commission, and retired to his estate at Rekahn, near Brandenburg—married the daughter of Chancellor von Bere, and devoted himself to agricultural pursuits and scientific studies. Endowed with a lively sensibility and active benevolence, he studied the condition of the laboring population on his estates, and devoted himself to its amelioration. Becoming acquainted with Basedow's 'Aims and Methods of Education,' he devoted himself with sound judgment and discriminating charity to improving the schools and homes of his own peasantry—but not without encountering many untoward hindrances and much opposition from those whom he strove to benefit.

During the years 1771 and 1772 wet weather prevailed and much hay and grain were ruined, and, in consequence, famine and disease befell man and beast. Rochow did all in his power to relieve his tenants and his country people by advice and active help. He engaged a regular physician at a fixed salary to treat his people without charge for attendance, medicine, and advice; but an unreasonable prejudice, superstition, a total ignorance of reading and writing, rendered his best efforts useless. The people accepted the remedies, which he paid for, but did not use them; the most simple prescriptions of cleanliness and order were not followed, and they would secretly employ other remedies, consult quacks, miracle-doc-

tors, and old women, for which they paid roundly, while many died a miserable death.

Profoundly grieved by these terrible consequences of ignorance and superstition, von Rochow was one day sitting before his writing desk, engaged in sketching a lion held by the hunter's net. 'So,' he mused, 'the noble gift of God, reason, which every man possesses, is surrounded by a tissue of prejudice and ignorance,—so much so, that, like the lion here, it can not make use of its strength. If only a little mouse would come, to gnaw and cut a few meshes of the net, perhaps the lion would apply his strength and break his bonds.'—And he began to draw the mouse, which has cut some of the meshes of the net which holds the lion. Then a sudden thought occurred to him: 'Suppose you were that mouse!'—And the whole chain of cause and effect lay clear before him. The peasant was so ignorant—because he grows up like an animal among animals. His instruction can have no effect upon him, since the schools are so mechanically conducted; and the church is no better, since the clergyman speaks a language which he can not understand. The sermon is a connected discourse, which he hears from duty, but which tires him, because, not accustomed to such style and language, he can not follow up its ideas, and even if good and compact, it leaves no conviction in his mind. Such teachers, as Christ said of old, are generally 'blind guides,' and 'thus the state suffers more from this condition of the peasantry, than from defeat after the bloodiest battle.'

'My God!' he mused, 'can not the peasantry, the true strength of the state, be instructed and become better qualified for all good work? How many men could I have saved to the country, who have been sacrificed to their own ignorance, which ought to have been prevented? Yes! I will be the mouse; and may God help my purpose.'

School Books.

And the next morning, on the very sheet upon which he had sketched the lion and mouse, he began to write the titles of the thirteen chapters of a '*School book for Country Teachers*. At noon he showed it to his clergyman, Stephen Rudolph, who approved it and recommended him to advise with Chief-Counselor Teller, in Berlin. The latter appreciated his enterprise and gave him his hearty support. His first literary effort appeared in 1772, under the title: '*School Book for Children of Country People and for the use of Village Schools*.' Its chief object was to elevate the intelligence and practical skill of teachers; and he advocates an increase

of their salary, so as to dispense with tuition fees, so that all instruction might be free, and poor parents have no excuse for withholding their children from school.

This book, of which several editions were published during his life, created much interest among educators, and arrested the attention of Minister von Zedlitz, deserves a description, as being the first beginning of a sound elementary instruction for country schools, and because there are still many countries that might learn from it much on popular education.

In the introduction to the first edition, the author modestly inquires: 'Who called you to be a teacher of the country people?' And he answers: 'My heart yearns to help men who, besides the severity of their condition, are suffering under the burden of ignorance and prejudice. The cause of many evils, destructive to the state, lies in the neglected education of the young in rural districts.' He knew the rudeness and barbarism of the peasantry; but felt that the soul of a peasant child is as precious as the soul of a child of the nobleman.

Want of Competent Teachers.

'Not having found any thing that to him appeared directly suitable for the common people and their children, he had attempted to produce it,'—closing with the remark—'all efforts to improve their education will be unavailing without competent teachers.'

On this last point, Büsching, Counselor of the Consistory, in his '*Journey from Berlin to Rekahn*,' communicates his conversation with Rochow (June, 1775): 'The children can not learn without teachers, on whom, consequently, all depends.' 'I know not,' says Büsching, 'whether I ought to be astonished or vexed, that so little is done to provide schools in cities and the country with able teachers. There are plenty of complaints, wishes, and writing, but no money or respect for their work; and yet without these nothing can be done, especially in common schools. I can hardly tolerate the common idea, that for the first elements, moderate skill is sufficient, since it is all-important that children are not only not spoiled in their first learning, but are taught in the best and most careful manner.' Rochow says: 'Since there is no state (1775) which provides for the proper remuneration and honor of the teacher, so as to render the position desirable, it appears necessary to find candidates who will devote themselves to it with the same pious enthusiasm which inspires others to become missionaries among the heathen.' 'Without teachers full of this missionary spirit, the true reform of the people must fail. He who is not

penetrated by the saving power of the doctrine of Jesus, who desires not from all his heart the welfare of man, will be an hireling; and reading, writing, and ciphering will in the end be the only product of our schools, and thus hold out but little hope for the extension of the kingdom of God. The coldness with which hirelings in the church speak of religion is more injurious than their silence. He, whose heart is not warmed by the spiritual power of religion, has no call to be its teacher.

In the introduction to his School book, Rochow remarks: 'As medicine is given to sick children through their nurses, so also this attempt at reform; I want to infuse into teachers what I consider good methods for them to use.' He then defines the plan of his book;—'the beginning consists of exercises of observation, which are continued for about six months, and are then followed by demonstrations of cause and effect, to lead to reflection and the use of language in description.' All of which, though familiar now, was unheard of as the preparatory conditions of instruction proper at that day.

In a preface to the second edition of his book, he treats on catechetical instruction, by which he means instruction by conversation, not theological or church catechising. 'By conversation children learn quicker and more accurately; for they can ask questions, and by questions the attention is kept awake, and they learn to comprehend, to form, and express their thoughts on what they understand—in a word, they become rational.' With this view, he decidedly opposed the so-called literal and tabulated method, introduced by the Berlin Real-school, as not at all suitable for country schools. Abbot Felbiger, who had been trained in the Berlin system, and had published the principles of morality in tabular form for the schools of Silesia, entered into a friendly correspondence with Rochow on his book, which, however, soon ceased, as Felbiger, in all probability, was not inclined to adopt the views of its author.

The contents of Rochow's School book consists of 16 chapters, which, in ordinary but attractive style, treat of:—1. Attention and Studiousness; 2. Cause and Effect; 3. The Foundation; 4. Truth, Certainty, Probability, Error, Faith, Unbelief, Credulity, Superstition; 5. On the Human Soul; 6. On Religion; 7. Doctrine of Virtue according to the Bible; 8. Society and Government, Law and Soliery; 9. Relations; 10. Politeness in Intercourse and Conversation, Letter-writing; 11. Arithmetical Exercise of Reason; 12. Measurements of Surfaces and Solids, and something on Mechanics, with a table of Weights and Measures; 13. Of Optical Illusion; 14. Com-

mon Phenomena, for the increase of useful knowledge; 15. Recreation, for the preservation of health, and simple remedies for reëstablishing lost health; 16. Farming, and what is necessary in all kinds of agricultural work. These subjects are all treated in a practical manner, with dignity and originality. Much that has since been prepared, as the basis of common school instruction, is here anticipated, and in many particulars developed in a masterly manner.

His second publication was the '*Reader*,' the first edition of which bore the title of '*Peasants' Friend*,' which, in the next edition, was changed into '*Children's Friend*.'

Rochow and Von Zedlitz.

The publication of these books brought Rochow into correspondence and personal intercourse with Baron von Zedlitz, and other higher officials at Berlin, connected or interested in the establishment and improvement of schools.

The Minister, in a letter dated Jan. 17, 1773, writes:—'Praise is due the man who could be induced to prepare school books from a sole regard to their general utility. Allow me to consult you as a person, who is able to render powerful aid to the great plans of the best of kings for the improvement of country schools, and who has patriotism enough to be disposed to render such service.' From this date, the Minister does not enter on any great or small reform in popular schools, without obtaining Rochow's opinion. In regard to the application of the sum of 100,000 thalers, from the interest of which the salaries of teachers in the electorate of Brandenburg should be paid, the Minister desires some Saxon schoolmasters. Rochow, in answer, says: 'With all due deference I beg your gracious preference for my own countrymen. The Saxons, as much as I honor the Tellers, Gellerts, etc., *nantes in gurgile vasto*, are not specially qualified for schoolmasters among the Brandenburgians. An offending accent, an effeminate manner of living, *orthodoxy*, that means punctuality in form, not in essentials, etc., are, I am sorry to say, the characteristics of the Saxon, and in the end will prove no patriotic attachment for our State.' 'The attraction of Saxon manners around Dresden and Leipsic is deceptive, and disappears upon close investigation; it can not stand the test of good morals. Our intentions of colonization can not be realized here. If the Prussians, from the Margraviate and from Silesia (my new schoolmaster is from Halberstadt) are *honored and paid*, I hope we shall soon find an abundance of good teachers, and be able to engage some also for this part of the country.' 'I have some young

people trained on my plan of making good teachers. For as we have seen for many years in the cathedral school of Halberstadt, nobody teaches after a method better than he who has found out its advantages in himself.' Basedow, in reference to this suggestion, adds: 'Nor should the method, except in your Rekahn and some schools near by, where you can exercise a personal superintendence, be introduced in other communes until a sufficient number of teachers have been trained, which can be done by two years practice in Rekahn' (January, 1773). Again Rochow writes to Zedlitz, in reference to the king's pressing any body into the service: 'I need not mention that such trained teachers must not, of necessity, on account of their size, be good soldiers.' As early as 1773, Rochow gives way to the following expressions on instruction in religion: 'Much more perfection could be obtained, by having taught outside of the school all that is Lutheran, Reformed, or Roman Catholic, which the clergyman can supply during a long preparation for confirmation; while in school, nothing should be taught but such a knowledge of God as can be derived from reading his works, and the general principles of Christian morality.' In December, of the same year: 'What punishments shall I devise for parents who, notwithstanding a free school, detain their children at home to work? My principle is: children belong to the State,—the State must provide for their education, and that they learn reading, writing, ciphering, and how to think correctly. The proper school period can not be replaced in after life.' He then makes propositions for the establishment of teachers' seminaries.

In 1774, Counselor Zedlitz pays a visit to Rochow's school, and Büsching the next year; Zedlitz writes to the latter: 'Rochow is too impatient because things do not progress as fast as he desires.' Zedlitz also made a report of his visit to the king, and spoke to Rochow of his intention to organize a teachers' seminary in Klosterbergen, complaining of the obstacles put in his way by the Chief Consistory. 'He who will improve the schools,' replies Rochow, 'must not be a schoolman but an honest statesman. There are no universal prescriptions for schools, no more than we have universal medicines.' Rochow describes the wants of country schools, and what he has done to relieve them. Zedlitz writes in 1775: 'Help me to some patience, and to means by which ecclesiastical inspectors and clergymen may become more active, or may be entirely withdrawn from the supervision of country schools.' In 1776, a difference of opinion sprang up between Zedlitz and Rochow. 'Especially, I think,' writes the former, 'that metaphysi-

cal education of the peasantry should be managed with caution, and never be recommended. Where schoolmasters have not such a good superintendent (as Rochow), they very often will go astray and do injury; they become pragmatical.' Hence this last favorite expression; after this doubts sprang up in the ministry, whether it would be generally beneficial, to let the common classes be made *sensible* (be educated). Rochow, in his reply, endeavors to refute these objections, and declares, as the final object of his labors and thoughts, to train good Christians, obedient subjects, and skillful farmers; and he is not insensible to an expression of Zedlitz, who, in an academical discourse, termed him a '*cosmopolitan enthusiast*.' The letters become shorter and less frequent, more formal and reserved; Rochow waits for the Minister of State to make inquiries; no direct communication comes from him any longer. His correspondence with other persons, however, increases, though it is not of a like importance. Afterward Zedlitz offers a position to Rochow, which the latter declines, and recommends, in the absence of other teachers, to the Minister the appointment of Dr. Bahrtdt of Halle, as director of a seminary shortly to be established: 'I know you will smile; but would it not be better for Bahrtdt, than to starve in Halle with wife and child?' The Minister replies August 7th, 1799: 'It is true Bahrtdt would be a good principal of the seminary. But (1) he is married and has children; you know we do not want that in teachers; (2) the instruction in school should not be given over to the clergy, but neither should we intentionally offend them. They would believe themselves entitled to cry out, if we would confide the instruction of teachers to a man who is not strictly orthodox. I take it my duty not to regard the stings in the heel of superstition if I have to take my way right over the snake's body; but when I can pass around and yet reach my place, why should I cause the beast to hiss; it is only the devil's music.'

Only one volume of Rochow's correspondence has been published; and nothing more is known about his further intercourse. There are six letters of Rochow to Gleim, in one of which, after expressing his thanks for a copy of '*Halladat*,' he says: 'Not in words of such value, but with similar feelings, I expect to return your favor, as I have just finished an enlarged second edition of the work which has for two years engaged my attention, but could not be finished without many experiments. Many of your excellent pieces contain consolation for the heterogeneous labors of the pro-

* Trendelenburg: Frederic the Great and Minister von Zedlitz. Berlin. 1830.

fession I have chosen, namely: by enlightening the people, (who, according to Isaiah [chap. ix., verse 11], without metaphor, "walk in darkness,") to lay a foundation for salutary reforms. Hitherto, an all-governing providence has blessed my weak endeavors beyond my expectation. This gives me confidence, and supports my failing courage, when I see my aim, its perfection, so far away from my work. But great and small powers must act in concert, if darkness is ever to be lifted from the nations. By all, and for all, abilities must be worked toward a general felicity; and while I attempt, from the numerous instances of truth, to select for the peasant what is most useful to his understanding, you raise yourself to the height of a great teacher and governor of mankind, and by the all-powerful strength of poetry, devoted to noble objects, you convert discord into harmony. Oh, that for all spiritual gifts there were general objects. I almost undertake to find such a plan in the exclamation of the angels: Glory to God on high, on earth peace and good will toward all men! A good work of genius aiming at this end testifies that its author, that he is in sympathy with the angels.'

March 13th, 1776, he sent to Gleim a copy of his work and requested him to state frankly his opinion: 'As undeserved and as humiliating is often to me the praise, which expresses too warmly friendship, yet your approval is a prize I have wished for. If I can obtain that, and from all a general opinion on my book, that it is useful, I am satisfied.'

Local School Reforms.

Beside this authorship and correspondence in the interest of public instruction generally, Rochow began a reform in the schools on his own estates, which before had only ordinary teachers, old and incompetent. When the old teacher at Rekahn died, in 1773, the place was offered to Henry J. Bruns, a pupil of the cathedral school at Halberstadt, who had been an inmate of Rochow's family for seven years, as musician and copyist, and had made himself familiar with Rochow's ideas, as well as increased his knowledge by aid of that nobleman's library, and afterward had become cantor and organist of St. John's church in Halberstadt. This excellent man, full of tenderness, amiability, and childlike disposition, became the instrument through which Rochow's principles of education were carried out for the next twelve years.*

Reforms in the other two schools, at Gettin and Krahne, were introduced in 1774. Rochow made to each of these schools a gift

* He died in 1794—forty-eight years old. Rochow had a monument placed in his garden, with this significant inscription: HE WAS A TEACHER.

of one hundred thalers. He commenced his improvements by first building new school-houses; the one at Rekahn, for that time, was an excellent building. All tuition fees were abolished, and the necessary books and other aids of instruction were furnished. The Reader (Rochow's *Kinderfreund*) was given to every child in the schools, of whom there were sixty to seventy, divided in two classes, under separate teachers. The smallest children of the lower class attended school but one hour daily during the first year; gradually their attendance was prolonged. Generally they were admitted at the age of six years, and promoted at the end of every school year. A vacation of two weeks occurred at harvest time, and a like one in the spring. An industrial school for girls was established in the hall of the castle, where a lady taught needle-work, knitting, etc. The period for attending school was fixed from six to fourteen years; during the last year the pupils were instructed in religion preparatory to their confirmation. After confirmation the child was permitted to withdraw from the school, but up to that age, his attendance was continuous.

The subjects of instruction were selected for these schools on Rochow's principle: 'No man can do any work without reason, i.e., he can not expect a regular result and success.' 'Right or wrong, acts or omissions, are decided by what every one thinks on right or wrong; in one word, whether he acts conscientiously.' 'Every thing in school must be understood; all new and difficult things must be explained orally and by conversation.'

In a circular addressed to his teachers, May 6, 1776, he expresses himself on religious instruction, describing, as its main object, 'to train the children to become sincere worshipers of God, who, by their deportment, prove that they belong to Christ, and desire to become subjects of his blessed kingdom for ever; next to train them into such men, skillful in every good work, because they know the road to heaven passes over this earth; that fidelity to the duties of life is a practice of Christianity, making easier the duties of religion, and causing the light to shine before the people in the usefulness and skill of daily labor.' He was of opinion that, by the largest possible cultivation of the mind, the knowledge of duty, and the practice of it, would be furthered. School education should aim to make children practical and useful men.

For progressive instruction in reading and in the subjects submitted to the pupils, Rochow wrote his '*Kinderfreund*' in two parts, and proposed that they should be published by the government and be generally introduced in country schools. The manu-

script was for a long time before the school authorities, without any decision being made, when the author reclaimed it, and the first edition of the first part appeared in 1776, the second part in 1777, and the work attained great reputation. It was translated into French, Danish, Polish, and modified to suit the Catholic schools in the Rhine provinces, and passed through four editions.

When the author was introduced to King Frederic William III., the latter said: 'I learned to read from your *'Kinderfreund.'*' Rochow must have known this before; for as early as 1785, he wrote: 'Hail to the young prince, who from this school book learns more than he can ordinarily of the condition of those, to increase whose happiness will be one day his duty.' And Frederic William III. seems to have remembered many important things from Rochow's Reader.

If it is remembered that the present authors of school readers only have to collect from the many noble materials existing in order to find excellent selections for their purpose, so that in our day it is almost hard to produce a bad reader, Rochow was not so favorably situated. In the first place, he found no good material on hand which he could employ as subjects of useful instruction for country scholars; the whole spirit of the same economy, and special employment being new, he was obliged to compose himself. In the second place, his book had to carry out consistently a purpose within distinct limits, and thus all his material had to be similar in character and each limited; and Rochow consequently was under the necessity of writing all himself. It is not easy to conceive the simple relations of ordinary rural life in their variety, significance, and importance, to render them easily understood in their original causes, to make attractive whatever is laudable, and create aversion to all evil, and to do this always in a childlike, noble, sensible, instructive, and, so to say, in an always novel manner, within the limits of the faculties of the young. In all this, Rochow had been eminently successful. The late School Counselor, O. Schulz, of Berlin, had not despised to learn from Rochow's *Kinderfreund*, when he composed his own very excellent Readers. More than 100,000 copies of the *'Kinderfreund'* has been distributed; and in 1830, a new edition was published by Counselor Turk, at Brandenburg, under the title, *'The New Children's Friend.'*

Educational Publications.

In addition to his Reader, Rochow published the following educational works:—1. *Manual of Catechetical Forms for Teachers.* First edition, 1783. Second edition, 1789. This book contains

material on four subjects, viz.: Object of Teaching, Means, Order and Method of Teaching; the author's opinion against the prevailing opinion, that education was not beneficial to the lower classes, and his aim to show that a true power of reason can be attained only by a genuine education. He maintains in the introduction: 'From the power of thinking, directed early and in a proper manner, come good principles, and from good principles issue good actions. Knowledge gives ability. He who can speak distinctly and intelligently, makes himself understood easily; he who knows language and is attentive, is able to understand; he who knows only that mankind is obliged, by their mutual relations, to live in love, and can enjoy happiness only as far as they love God and one another, can not be the enemy of mankind; and he who observes only the injurious tendencies of bad habits, will be inclined to guard against them. To do all this is, to enlighten and to cultivate.

2. '*Catechism of Sound Reason*, or an attempt to define important words, in their general signification, illustrated by examples for the purpose of a more just and more improving knowledge.' Berlin and Stettin: F. Nicolai, 1786. From this book the teachers of our day may learn how to abstract ideas, not only by definitions but also by examples. It contains in all, definitions of 67 words.

3. '*The Regulations of the Cathedral Chapter for the better Government and Organization of the Teachers' Seminary at Halberstadt*,'—first issued in 1789.

4. '*Corrections*.'—A collection of definitions, full of pedagogic suggestions, not intended for the school alone, but for the educated classes of his time, was issued in 1792. Two years afterward he published a second volume, in which he gives the fruits of his reflections on the most important ideas on politics and morals of his age.

5. In 1792, he translated Mirabeau's '*Discourse on National Education*.' He also wrote on *Schools for the Poor*; on *Abolition of Public Beggary*; on the *Credit System*; on *Government*; on the *Formation of National Character by Popular Schools*; on *German Law and Christian Principles*; on *A History of My Schools*.

These various writings gave him many friends, as well as some enemies, or at least, many opponents who would not agree to the success of his schools, which were visited by strangers so frequently that the work of the teachers was much disturbed. In Riemann's '*Description of the Schools at Rekahn*,' of 1798, we find: 'Mr. Rudolph, the clergyman, who assisted in the organization of the schools, expresses himself, twenty-five years afterward, thus: "The people have become more considerate; they more freely enter into conver-

sation, and are less timid than before. Their morals are much better than in other villages, though an outward demeanor and abstaining from excess is not yet become general."

The greatest merit of Rochow's schools and efforts lies in this, that in the countries of Prussia, especially in many parts of Saxony, they imparted the first impulse to a reformation of the popular schools, which at that time were in a wretched condition. At present, the schools on the Rekahn estates are no better than elsewhere; but during the life of Rochow they shone as brilliant examples, and have carried the well deserved reputation of their founder to the present day. The proprietor of another large estate had scarcely seen the schools of Rochow, when he established a free school for the children of his tenants, which became a model school; after which other institutions in his neighborhood were formed. And this influence went beyond Germany. When Count Reventlow, from the island of Fünen, heard of Rochow's school, he caused three schools to be built in 1784, in which he introduced the *Kinderfreund* and the methods of Rekahn. More than any man of his time, he gave a rational aim and method to the popular school, and in thousands of schools scattered all over the German States, by means of his school books; and the teachers trained after his methods, helped to convert the peasant into an observing, thinking, self-governing man.

Von Rochow died in his own home May 16, 1805, at the age of seventy, and was buried in a new graveyard laid out by himself, and called *Rochow's Rest*. A monument is also dedicated to his memory in a grove near Halberstadt. He is one of the representative men of his age and country—one of those men who, if he did not lay the foundations, helped to build up a system of popular education for a great nation. He had the sagacity to see the identity of interests in the different classes of the same community. Born to the inheritance of a great estate, he expended his time and money, to make his dependents, and the common people every where, partakers of the civilization of his age.

FERDINAND KINDERMANN.

FERDINAND KINDERMANN, whose great services to popular education from 1771 to 1801, in Bohemia, were recognized by the Empress Theresa in conferring on him the title of Von Schulstein (school stone), and nominating him, in 1779, Bishop of Leitmeritz, was born in 1740 at Koenigswalde, near Schluckenau, and educated at the University of Prague. While a student he heard lectures on the Art of Education by Prof. Seibt, which so impressed him that when he became pastor of a church at Kaplitz, in South Bohemia, he included the education of youth and the improvement of schools in his clerical duties; and there was no more pressing demand on the paternal care of the church and the government throughout the whole of this province, which had been swept by ravages of the Thirty Years' War, and rent by relentless religious dissensions and persecutions. At the close of the Seven Years' War it was estimated that not one in twenty of the children in Bohemia were in school of any kind, or were in villages where the facilities of school organization existed. The condition of the schools was deplorable. Kindermann, in speaking of the schools of his parish at Kaplitz, in 1771, writes: 'The children, big and little, old and young, were assembled in the schoolroom—without regulation—passing in and out without reference to the wishes of the teacher—some eating their bread, and others complaining that they had none—a few reciting, some learning their lessons, and all doing in their own way what each thought best—the schoolmaster incapable of stopping the hubbub, and creating order out of the confusion. The methods of instruction were purely mechanical—confined to the repetition of words without meaning for the intellect, or emotion for the heart. The whole of the religious instruction was the literal repetition of the answers dictated to the questions of the Catechism.'

To fit himself for his work of school reform, Kindermann resorted to Sagan, and put himself under the training of Felbiger; and on his return, he writes 'my first day was spent in the parish school, and the second with the teacher and class of pupils in my own room, instructing now the teacher how to teach, and then the scholars

how to learn a lesson in the Catechism.' Within a month the pupils learned the whole Catechism understandingly, which formerly occupied the whole year, without any thorough understanding of the words committed to memory. His work prospered, and the school soon became the teachers and the pupils' delight, and the admiration of parents and the community. Its fame went abroad into the other villages, and his methods were followed by other teachers, till it became a *normal school*, under his direction and that of his curate, Simon Kudler, in whose heart he had kindled a similar zeal. In his whole movement he was guided by great discretion and unostentatious industry—avoiding all promises and all display, in which he differed from Felbiger, who was more demonstrative and exacting—making much of outward organization, mechanical methods and illustrations, and frequent exhibitions of results. While Kindermann pushed his improved methods into every study, he carefully drew attention only to his penmanship, which people generally could appreciate, and to the vocal music, which parents were delighted to have their children excel in. His better methods in every study gradually became the habits not only of his own village schools, but of a wide circle of schools whose teachers resorted to Kaplitz for information and training.

When Maria Theresa, in 1774, had decided on a general reorganization of the popular schools, and called Felbiger as director to the central Normal Institute for Teachers in Vienna, she placed Kindermann at the head of a School Commission for Bohemia, and Professor of Pedagogy in the Gymnasium of Minor Prague; subsequently he was made director of the training course in the Real School at Prague, founded by Amand Schindler, in 1776. Kindermann opened his course by an oration on 'the influence of the Lower Schools on Public Life and Education generally.' In a circular entitled 'Incentives to the Public Examinations of the Scholars in the Imperial Normal School of Little Prague,' he gave publicity to the school ordinances of Maria Theresa, and included an account of all the important improvements introduced into different parts of Bohemia, drawn from the reports of district inspectors, school directors, and official examiners.

As early as 1777 Kindermann had sent out five hundred teachers trained in his new methods, into as many schools, situated in cities, on the domains of the nobility, and in connection with religious establishments—each of which became a model for the schools of a still wider section, and the center of direct influence on the people.

One peculiarity of the training system of Kindermann was the

organic union of mental activity and the industrial element in both the normal and the popular school. Not only were teachers familiarized with practical subjects and with methods which dealt with realities instead of words, and called for the frequent use of the blackboard and visible illustrations, but they were trained to some handicraft with the special object of communicating the same to the children of peasants, whose habits of industry had been broken up by continuous military service, and the destruction of harvests by moving troops and armies. The value of habits of diligence, perseverance, neatness and thrift was constantly inculcated and demonstrated practically. Pupil teachers were taught at Kaplitz and Prague how to occupy a portion of their own time, and that of their older pupils, in and out of school hours in such in-door industries as knitting, sewing, wool-carding and spinning, and out-door work as kitchen gardening, tree culture, and raising silk-worms. And the reasons assigned by Kindermann for this new curriculum was to protect society against beggary, vice, and crime, and promote the welfare of the peasant class.

That his efforts in this direction were followed by the happiest results, the increased prosperity of the peasant classes in Bohemia, and the speedy adoption, in some form, of the industrial feature of his plan in other states is ample proof.

The further history of his work is absorbed in the general history of educational reform in the Austrian Empire. He lived a quiet though active life, preferring to work unostentatiously in smaller circles than to win fame as a great reformer—and his published works, besides those already named, are '*Report on the School at Kaplitz*,' '*Thoughts on the means of disseminating the Religious Instruction of the Improved Common Schools among Adults*, with two prize themes: One for an instructive text-book for the people, and one for a condensed *Explanation of Religious Customs and Ceremonies*.'

The honors bestowed upon him by his sovereign show the estimation in which his services were held, and at the same time prove the spirit with which Maria Theresa undertook the work of reform. Shortly after his removal from Kaplitz to Prague, he was made Dean of the Collegiate Church of All Saints and given the Abbey of Petur, in Hungary, in *commendam*, and at the same time raised to the Equestrian rank with the title of Von Schulstein. In 1779 he was made Provost of the Church of Maria Schein, near Teplitz, and nominated Bishop of Leitmeritz, which dignity he held at the time of his death in 1801.

GERARD VAN SWEITEN.

In the reforms in the Austrian High School, inaugurated by Maria Theresa, Gerard Van Sweiten took an active part. This eminent physician was born in Leyden in 1700, and after pursuing his preliminary studies at Louvain, he returned to his native city. Here it was his good fortune to attract the attention of Boerhaave, who became his friend and patron. His love of study was unbounded, and his application so great as to threaten his health, until the good counsels of his distinguished teacher restrained his ardor. Besides a profound and systematic study of his own profession, he found time to push his acquirements in other fields, and when he attained his doctor's degree at the age of twenty-five, he was regarded as one of the *savans* of Europe. He began a course of lectures at the University of Leyden which were attended by unprecedented numbers. His success, however, did not fail to excite jealousy; and after a time his enemies made the fact of his being a Catholic a pretext for his removal. He devoted himself at once to his 'Commentaries on the Aphorisms of Boerhaave,' the chief literary work by which he is known, until the Empress Maria Theresa invited him to Vienna, where, in 1745, he became first physician to the Empress, and a baron of the empire.

He immediately distinguished himself by his activity in his new field. He reformed the study of medicine at the University, and lectured himself until new and more important duties forced him to desist, but not until he had seen his place worthily filled. It was at his instigation that the clinical school was established which was the model of the now famous schools in France and the north of Germany, and it was also owing to him that the Empress rebuilt the University. He was also Imperial Librarian and Director-General of Medical Affairs in Austria, and in 1760 became a member of the State Board of Studies, in which he was associated with Migazzi, Archbishop of Vienna.

As Imperial Librarian he was instrumental in making the library accessible to every one. A senseless rule had been enforced which forbade any one from making notes of what they read there. He not only abolished this, but offered every facility to those who wished to avail themselves of the great treasures contained in the library by arranging and cataloguing its contents.

As a member of the Board of Studies, he was influential in introducing into the University lectures on experimental physics, and in developing realistic studies, especially those which related to agriculture and commerce in special schools at Prague and Vienna.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

MEMOIR.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, who began and closed his public life with efforts to improve the system and institutions of education of his native State, and who wished to be remembered by posterity as the Father of the University of Virginia, was born April 2, 1743, at Shadwell, in Goochland (after 1744 Albemarle) County, not far from the conical elevation which afterward became his own residence under the name of Monticello (*Little Mountain*). His ancestors on the father's side were Welsh, emigrating among the first settlers of Virginia from the neighborhood of Snowdon, and on his mother's side, from the Scotch family of the Randolphs. His parents belonged to the middle class of Virginia families—the father being a resolute man, of gigantic stature, but of limited education, who, by force of character, was the foremost man in his district, and whose rule of life was, 'Never ask another to do for you what you can do for yourself.' He died at the age of fifty, having done what his means and the situation of the country enabled him to do to start his children on a higher plane of education than he had traveled; and for his son Thomas his dying directions were, that he should receive a thorough classical training. This son, when five years old, had been placed at the English school at Tuckahoe, where the father resided at the time; and on the return of the family to Shadwell, he went to the school of Mr. Douglas, a Scotch clergyman, who taught him the rudiments of Latin, Greek, and French. On the death of his father, at the age of nine years, he was removed to the family school of the Rev. James Maury, at the base of Peter's Mountain, fourteen miles from Shadwell. In his rambles over the mountain, with his dog and gun, and under the genial, encouraging instruction of an elegant classical scholar and zealous teacher,† the young student spent two or three years in the rapid and vigorous development of his mind and body.

In 1760, in his seventeenth year, Jefferson entered the junior

* We shall follow, in this brief sketch, the early chapters of Randall's exhaustive *Life* in 3 vols.

† See Barnard's *Educational Biography*. Vol. I. James Maury. Edition, 1876.

class (third year) at William and Mary College. Here it was his good fortune to come into intimate relations with Dr. Small, the Professor of Mathematics, and for the time discharging the duties of the Professor of Philosophy. He was a Scotchman of elegant manners, general culture, and of a peculiarly liberal and comprehensive mind. As an instructor, he had the happy, if not rare, art of making the road to knowledge both easy and profitable. Attracted by the correct and modest deportment of young Jefferson, struck with his singular proficiency and his energy of thought, he not only instructed him with peculiar zest from the professorial chair, but he made him the friend and companion of his leisure hours; and he did much to create, or rather to encourage in him, that thirst for a general culture—those enlarged views of ‘the expansion of science and of the system of things in which we are placed’—for which his pupil, sixty years afterward, covered with honor and renown, poured out his fervid acknowledgments. Indeed, Mr. Jefferson, with some, we can not but think, of that exaggeration with which generous minds are prone to regard the services of early benefactors, declared in his Memoir that it was Doctor Small’s instruction and intercourse that ‘probably fixed the destinies of his life.’ Under the influence of Doctor Small’s teachings and conversation, the young student was withdrawn from the temptations of fast horses and faster young men, to which he was at first exposed, and to which he alludes in a letter to his grandson at college, written when occupying the Presidential Mansion at Washington, Nov. 24, 1808:—

Your situation, thrown on a wide world, among entire strangers, without a friend or guardian to advise, so young, too, and with so little experience of mankind, your dangers are great, and still your safety must rest on yourself. A determination never to do what is wrong, prudence, and good humor, will go far toward securing to you the estimation of the world. When I recollect that at fourteen years of age, the whole care and direction of myself was thrown on myself entirely, without a relation or friend, qualified to advise or guide me, and recollect the various sorts of bad company with which I associated from time to time, I am astonished I did not turn off with some of them, and become as worthless to society as they were. I had the good fortune to become acquainted very early with some characters of very high standing, and to feel the incessant wish that I could ever become what they were. Under temptations and difficulties, I would ask myself—what would Dr. Small, Mr. Wythe, Peyton Randolph do in this situation? What course in it will insure me their approbation? I am certain that this mode of deciding on my conduct, tended more to correctness than any reasoning powers I possessed. Knowing the even and dignified line they pursued, I could never doubt for a moment which of two courses would be in character for them. Whereas, seeking the same object through a process of moral reasoning, and with the jaundiced eye of youth, I should often have erred. From the circumstances of my position, I was often thrown into the society of horse racers, card players, fox hunters, scientific and professional men, and of dignified men; and many a time have I asked myself, in the enthusiastic moment of the death of a fox, the victory of a favorite horse, the issue of a question eloquently argued at the bar, or in the great council of the

nation, Well, which of these kinds of reputation should I prefer? That of a horse jockey? a fox hunter? an orator? or the honest advocate of my country's rights? Be assured, my dear Jefferson, that these little returns into ourselves, this self-catechizing habit, is not trifling nor useless, but leads to the prudent selection and steady pursuit of what is right.

His second year in college was more diligently employed than the first. Company, the riding-horse, and even the favorite violin, were nearly discarded. He habitually studied, as he often afterward declared, fifteen hours a day. The only time he took for exercise, was to run sharply a mile out of the city and back at twilight. He left college at the end of his second year, a profound and accomplished scholar for one so young. Few probably have been better educated at the same age; and he had a good and broad foundation laid for that superstructure of learning which he continued to erect on it throughout his life. He united, what is not common among students, a decided taste for *both* mathematics and the classics. The first was perhaps at this period of life rather the favorite, and intricate must be that process in it which 'he could not read off with the facility of common discourse.*' He maintained his familiarity with this science, kept up with its advances, and made a practical use of it in all the concerns where it is applicable, through life. In later years, we shall find him giving the most attention to the classics. He was a fine and even a critical Latin and Greek scholar. The most difficult authors in those languages were read by him with ease—were habitually read by him as recreations, snatched from official and other labors, and they became the most prized solaces of his old age. Of French, as a written language, he had a thorough knowledge. His acquaintance with Anglo Saxon, Italian, and Spanish, have been assigned to his college period; but this is a mistake, unless so far as mere rudiments are concerned. He studied the Anglo Saxon during his law studies, to enable him to dip for himself into the ancient fountains of the English Common Law. The Italian was taken up immediately after. The impressions of his family were, that he did not study Spanish until he went to France in 1784; and confirmatory of this, we find an entry in one of his account books of the purchase of a Spanish dictionary as he was on the point of embarking. He probably found it necessary to *improve* his knowledge of Spanish at that period.

There was no grand department, and scarcely a branch of liberal

* He wrote Colonel William Duane, October 1, 1819: 'When I was young, mathematics was the passion of my life. The same passion has returned upon me, but with unequal power. Processes which I then read off with the facility of common discourse, now cost me labor and time and slow investigation.'

learning then taught, in which he was not comparatively well versed; and he seems to have relished them all with two exceptions—ethics and metaphysics. He greatly approved of reading works calculated to foster the moral sense, and strongly recommended a favorite nephew to read Epictetus, Xenophontis Memorabilia, Plato's Socratic Dialogues, Cicero's Philosophies, Antoninus and Seneca. He repeatedly expresses his unbounded admiration of the teachings of Christ, putting them above all other written moral systems. But it must be confessed that, as a *science*, he derided ethics. His theory on the subject is contained in a letter to a nephew:—

I think it is lost time to attend lectures on Moral Philosophy. He who made us would have been a pitiful bungler, if he had made the rules of our moral conduct a matter of science. For one man of science, there are thousands who are not. What would have become of them? Man was destined for society. His morality, therefore, was to be formed to this object. He was endowed with a sense of right and wrong, merely relative to this. This sense is as much a part of his nature, as the sense of hearing, seeing, feeling; it is the true foundation of morality, and not the *το καλον*, truth, etc., as fanciful writers have imagined. The moral sense, or conscience, is as much a part of man, as his leg or arm. It is given to all human beings in a stronger or weaker degree, as force of members is given them in a greater or less degree. It may be strengthened by exercise, as may any particular limb of the body. This sense is submitted, indeed, in some degree, to the guidance of reason; but it is a small stock which is required for this; even a less one than what we call common sense. State a moral case to a plowman and a professor. The former will decide it as well, and often better than the latter, because he has not been led astray by artificial rules. In this branch, therefore, read good books, because they will encourage, as well as direct your feelings. The writings of Sterne, particularly, form the best course of morality that ever was written. Besides these, read the books mentioned in the inclosed paper; and above all things, lose no occasion of exercising your dispositions to be grateful, to be generous, to be charitable, to be humane, to be true, just, firm, orderly, courageous, etc. Consider every act of this kind, as an exercise which will strengthen your moral faculties, and increase your worth.

Mr. Jefferson had little relish for metaphysics. His mind was rather objective than subjective in its tendencies. He was eminently perceptive. He studied the actual, and his philosophy had in it a strong dash of utilitarianism. Recondite speculation, having no connection with practical questions, and especially with practical interests, could not long interest his attention. Though not destitute of imagination, and even fond of its higher *objective* creations, as for example, in the Greek poets, he could not tolerate its intrusion in systems designed to influence the sober realities of life, or the solemn questions of the hereafter. His early reading was wide and various, including, in chosen departments, most of the standards of the Greek, Latin, and English tongues, and, to a considerable extent, of the French and Italian. He was more partial to the Greek than the Roman literature; and among the Greeks, the Athenians were, in all respects, his chosen people. In the 'dense logic' and burning de-

clamation of oratory, he placed Demosthenes immeasurably above Cicero; but he ranked the philosophies of the latter with those of Socrates, and above those of Epictetus. Among the ancient historians he gave a decided preference to Thucydides and Tacitus. Plutarch was first disliked, but afterward liked by him. Among the moderns, he admired Hume's style, but from his very first perusal of him detested his political sentiments, and therefore preferred the older and less elegant historians of England. For fiction he had little relish, and disapproved of much novel reading for the young. In poetry he was a pretty general reader, and was the owner of all the old and new authors in all the languages he could read. 'The glow of one warm thought is worth more than money.'

Soon after leaving college, Mr. Jefferson entered upon the study of the law with Wythe. He says in his Memoir:—

He [Dr. Small] returned to Europe in 1762, having previously filled up the measure of his goodness to me, by procuring for me, from his most intimate friend, George Wythe, a reception as a student of law, under his direction, and introduced me to the acquaintance and familiar table of Governor Fauquier, the ablest man who had ever filled that office. With him, and at his table, Dr. Small and Mr. Wythe, his *amici omnium horarum*, and myself, formed a *partie quarrée*, and to the habitual conversations on these occasions I owed much instruction.

During his law course of five years, he usually spent the summer months at home, at Shadwell, where the rest of the family continued to reside. The systematic industry of his college life continued. Notwithstanding the time given to company, he contrived to pass nearly twice the usual number of hours of law students in his studies. He placed a clock in his bedroom, and as soon as he could distinguish its hands in the gray of the summer morning, he rose and commenced his labors. In winter, he rose punctually at five. His hour of retiring in the summer, in the country, was nine—in the winter, at ten. At Shadwell, his studies were very little interrupted by company. He usually took a gallop on horseback during the day, and at twilight walked to the top of Monticello. An hour or two given to the society of his family, and the favorite violin, completed the list of interruptions, and still left fourteen or fifteen hours for study and reading.

Before his admission to the bar as practitioner, in 1766, Mr. Jefferson had been amply instructed in the political questions which were then agitating the public mind. In his Memoir he says:—

When the famous Resolutions of 1765, against the Stamp Act, were proposed, I was yet a student of law in Williamsburg. I attended the debate, however, at the door of the lobby of the House of Burgesses, and heard the splendid display of Mr. Henry's talents as a popular orator. They were great indeed; such as I have never heard from any other man. He appeared to me to speak as

Homer wrote. Mr. Johnson, a lawyer, and member from the Northern neck, seconded the resolutions, and by him the learning and the logic of the case were chiefly maintained.

In narrating the same scene to Mr. Wirt he adds these details:—

Mr. Henry moved, and Mr. Johnson seconded these resolutions successively. They were opposed by Messrs. Randolph, Bland, Pendleton, *Wythe*, and all the old members, whose influence in the house had, till then, been unbroken. They did it, not from any question of our rights, but on the ground that the same sentiments had been, at their preceding session, expressed in a more conciliatory form, to which the answers were not yet received.

He then mentions that the last resolution was carried but by a single vote—that the debate on it was ‘most bloody’—that Peyton Randolph, the Attorney-General, coming to the door where he was standing, said as he entered the lobby, ‘By God! I would have given five hundred guineas for a single vote,’ (for that would have made a tie, and the Speaker, Robinson, would have negatived the resolution)—that Mr. Henry left town that evening—that Colonel Peter Randolph, then of the Council, came to the House next morning, and looked over the journals to find a precedent for expunging a resolution—that as soon as the House met a motion was made and carried to expunge it. In another letter to Wirt, he said, in addition to the preceding enumeration, that the resolutions were opposed by Robinson ‘and all the ciphers of the aristocracy.’ It was on this occasion that occurred the incident thus narrated by Wirt:—

It was in the midst of this magnificent debate, while he [Henry] was descanting on the tyranny of this obnoxious act, that he exclaimed, in a voice of thunder, and with the look of a god, ‘Cæsar had his Brutus—Charles the First his Cromwell—and George the Third’—(‘Treason!’ cried the Speaker—‘treason! treason!’ echoed from every part of the House. It was one of those trying moments which is decisive of character. Henry faltered not an instant; but rising to a loftier attitude, and fixing on the Speaker an eye of the most determined fire, he finished his sentence with the firmest emphasis)—‘*may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it.*’

When Mr. Henry sat down, the real leadership of the opposition had passed away from the Pendletons, the Wythes, the Blands, the Randolphs, and the Nicholases; and the ‘forest-born Demosthenes’ was the idol of the people—the head of that class of Whigs who (whether they had yet formed resolutions on the subject or not) were sure to make their opposition to tyranny commensurate with the necessity. Of the old leaders, Mr. Jefferson afterward said:—

These were honest and able men, had begun the opposition on the same grounds, but with a moderation more adapted to their age and experience. Subsequent events favored the bolder spirits of Henry, the Lees, Pages, Mason, &c., *with whom I went in all points.* Sensible, however, of the importance of unanimity among our constituents, although we often wished to have gone faster, we slackened our pace, that our less ardent colleagues might keep up with us; and they, on their part, differing nothing from us in principle, quickened their gait somewhat beyond that which their prudence might of itself have advised, and thus consolidated the phalanx which breasted the power of Britain.

By this harmony of the bold with the cautious, we advanced with our constituents in undivided mass, and with fewer examples of separation than, perhaps, existed in any other part of the Union.'

In 1776 Mr. Jefferson commenced keeping a minute record of his daily expenses, doings, observations, and reflections, by which he formed habits of economy and method, and treasured up a mass of meteorological, statistical, and scientific facts, to be classified and systematized afterward into available knowledge.

In this practice of taking notes—of observing, thinking, and acting with pen in hand, on the outer world, as Jonathan Edwards did on the inner, originated his *Notes on Virginia*—prepared in 1782, almost off hand, in answer to inquiries by the Marquis of Barbé-Marbois, respecting the natural history, statistics, and institutions of his native State. It was first printed in Paris in 1794.

In 1772 (Jan. 1), Mr. Jefferson was married to Mrs. Martha Wayles Skelton, daughter of John Wayles and Martha Eppes—she was young, beautiful, and accomplished for the period, and their married life was eminently happy, founded on congenial tempers, and the practice of mutual help. This union added largely to his estate, and placed him among the wealthy planters of Virginia. His letters to his two daughters exhibit the domestic side of his character in the most amiable light.

Mr. Jefferson was introduced to the practice of the law at the bar of the General Court of Virginia by George Wythe, whom he styles 'the faithful and beloved master of his youth, and a most affectionate friend through life.*' He at once secured a large and lucrative practice, which he justified by his diligent study of cases, as adjudicated by the highest courts of England, and of principles as discussed by the ablest authorities. His standard of professional qualification was high, as will be seen by the course of Legal Reading drawn up about this time for the use of a young friend, and his official papers, involving municipal, constitutional, and international law, show his mastery, not only of general principles, but of details.

* Mr. Jefferson thus draws the character of Judge Wythe, with whom he was associated as a student, as member of the Legislature, and in the revision of the statutes of Virginia:

No man ever left behind him a character more venerated than George Wythe. His virtue was of the purest tint; his integrity inflexible, and his justice exact; of warm patriotism, and devoted as he was to liberty, and the natural and equal rights of man, he might truly be called the *Osato* of his country, without the avarice of the Roman; for a more disinterested person never lived. Temperance and regularity in all his habits gave him general good health, and his unaffected modesty and suavity of manners endeared him to every one. He was of easy elocution, his language chaste, methodical in the arrangement of his matter, learned and logical in the use of it, and of great urbanity in debate; not quick of apprehension, but with a little time, profound in penetration and sound conclusion. In his philosophy he was firm, and neither troubling, nor perhaps trusting, any one with his religious creed, he left the world to the conclusion, that that religion must be good which could produce a life of exemplary virtue. His stature was of the middle size, well formed and proportioned, and the features of his face were manly, comely, and engaging. Such was George Wythe, the honor of his own, and the model of future times.

From May, 1769, as member of the House of Burgesses from Albemarle county, Jefferson participated directly in all the movements which severed the connection of the Colonies with Great Britain, and inaugurated for them and the world a new form of civil government. He signalized his entrance into public life by introducing a bill to authorize masters to manumit their slaves—the first step in the direction of emancipation, which was not actually taken by Virginia till 1782. A few years later, in the draft of instructions to govern the delegates to the first General Congress, he proclaims 'the abolition of slavery as the great object of desire in those Colonies, where it was unhappily introduced in their infant state;' 'and all efforts to exclude all further importations from Africa have been defeated by his Majesty's negative in the interests of a few British corsairs, to the lasting injury of the American States, and to the rights of human nature, deeply wounded by this infamous practice.' In the great measure to bring the Colonies into associated action through a Committee of Correspondence, Jefferson was one of the members who secured its adoption by the House of Burgesses in Virginia, in March, 1773, although the Massachusetts Assembly had appointed a similar committee in 1770. When the news of the Boston Port Bill reached Virginia, during the spring session of 1774, 'after the fashion of the Puritans of the English Commonwealth,' he was one of the originators of the legislative action by which a day of general fasting and prayer was appointed 'to implore Heaven to avert from us the evils of civil war, to inspire us with firmness in support of our rights, and to turn the hearts of the King and Parliament to moderation and justice.' For this action the House was dissolved, but its members at once met at the Apollo tavern, and entered into an association not to purchase tea and other commodities included in the Boston Port Bill, and resolved to consider an attack on one Colony an attack on all; and recommended the Committee of Correspondence to confer with other Colonies on the expediency of holding a general annual Congress. Before dispersing, they further agreed to call a convention of delegates from the several counties at Williamsburg on the first day of August, to take the situation of affairs into consideration, and, if the proposition for a General Congress was favorably received, to appoint delegates to the same. The Burgesses, on their return to their several counties, invited the clergy to meet in their respective parishes, conduct the devotions, and address the people. This was done; and Mr. Jefferson records that 'the effect of the day through-

out the whole Colony was like a shock of electricity, assuring every man, and placing him erect and solidly on his center.'

The Freeholders of Albemarle met on the 26th day of July, 1774, and appointed Thomas Jefferson and James Walker deputies to the Convention at Williamsburg, and passed resolutions, which have the ring of the Declaration of '76. They affirm the constitutional right of all the Colonies to make laws by their respective legislatures, duly constituted and appointed by their own consent; that no other legislature whatever can rightly exercise authority over them; that their natural and legal rights have in frequent instances been invaded by the Parliament of Great Britain, and particularly by an act which takes away the trade of the inhabitants of the town of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts Bay; which assumptions of unlawful power are dangerous to the rights of the British Empire in general, and should be considered as its common cause; and pledging themselves ready to join with their fellow-subjects in any part of the empire, in executing all their rightful powers which God has given us, for the reestablishment and guaranteeing such their constitutional rights, when, where, and by whomsoever invaded.'

The Convention met on the first day of August, and at once inaugurated a revolutionary movement by appointing delegates to a General Congress of all the Colonies, to be held in Philadelphia. Mr. Jefferson was prevented from attending the Convention by a severe attack of dysentery on the way, but his views were represented by a draft of instructions for the delegates to the General Congress, which was presented by Mr. Peyton Randolph. This paper was printed by order of the Convention, under the title of '*A Summary View of the Rights of British America.*' It was reprinted in England, 'interpolated by Edmund Burke,' as Mr. Jefferson writes, and secured for the author the distinction of having his name enrolled with those of Hancock, John and Samuel Adams, Peyton Randolph, and some twenty others, in a bill of attainder, as worthy of special proscription for their advocacy of the Colonial cause. The document is full of American ideas of government; and no one, on reading it in connection with the Declaration of Independence, drafted after two years more of discussion, and consolidation of thought and expression on the same themes, can doubt of their being the production of the same mind and pen. It was this 'Summary View,' and the 'Conciliatory Proposition' of the House of Burgesses which he drafted, that introduced the author into the

second session of the General Congress at Philadelphia, in June, 1775, as the successor of Peyton Randolph, with the reputation of 'a happy talent of composition,' 'a peculiar felicity of expression,' which at once placed him, the youngest member but one, on a footing of equality with the oldest and most distinguished members. Five days after he took his seat, he was placed on the committee to draw up the 'Address on the Causes of taking up Arms.' The Address was drawn by Mr. John Dickinson, the leader of the Conservative party, with a few paragraphs and the peroration from a first draft made by Mr. Jefferson, which was thought 'to be too strong and decisive for the occasion.' Acceptable as the whole Address was, those paragraphs and the peroration were the portions which found the warmest welcome in the public heart. On the 22d of July, Congress elected a Committee to consider and report on Lord North's Conciliatory Proposition—and on this Committee Mr. Jefferson was placed, by the ballots of members, second only to Benjamin Franklin, and above John Adams and Richard Henry Lee. He was designated by his colleagues to draft the paper,* which he did to their satisfaction, and it was adopted by Congress, July 31,—the last great measure of the session which closed the next day, August 1, 1775.

Mr. Jefferson was re-elected to the Congress of 1775-76, by the Virginia Convention, and took his seat on the 25th of September. Although absent for nearly four months of the Session (from December 18, 1775, to May, 1776), it was his privilege to be a member of the Committee, charged with the consideration of the Resolutions of the Colonial Conventions and Legislatures looking toward a separation from the mother country and a Declaration of Independence. This Committee, elected by ballot, stood in the following order:—Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston. To him was assigned the drafting of the Declaration—and of his work, Daniel Webster, in his Funeral Eulogy, remarks:—

As a composition, the Declaration is Mr. Jefferson's. It is the production of his mind, and the high honor of it belongs to him, clearly and absolutely. To say that he performed his work well, would be doing him injustice. To say that he did excellently well, admirably well, would be inadequate and halting praise. Let us rather say, that he so discharged the duty assigned him, that all Americans may well rejoice that the work of drawing the title-deed of their liberties devolved upon him.

* Mr. Jefferson's election to the exclusion of Richard Henry Lee, who moved the Resolution, was due to the fact that Mr. Lee had already been made Chairman of the Committee on Confederation, and on the day the ballot was taken, had obtained leave to absent himself on account of the dangerous illness of his wife.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

Proceedings in the Congress of the United Colonies respecting "A Declaration of Independence, by the Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled."

SATURDAY, JUNE 8, 1776.

Resolved, That the resolution respecting independency [moved by the delegates from Virginia on the 7th] be referred to a committee of the whole Congress.

The Congress then resolved itself into a committee of the whole; and, after some time, the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Harrison reported, that the committee have taken into consideration the matter to them referred, but not having come to any resolution thereon, directed him to move for leave to sit again on Monday.

Resolved, That this Congress will, on Monday next, at 10 o'clock, resolve itself into a committee of the whole, to take into their farther consideration the resolutions referred to them.

MONDAY, JUNE 10, 1776.

Agreeable to order, the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into their further consideration the resolutions to them referred; and, after some time spent thereon, the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Harrison reported, that the committee have had under consideration the matters referred to them, and have come to a resolution thereon, which they directed him to report.

The resolution agreed to in committee of the whole being read,

Resolved, That the consideration of the first resolution be postponed to Monday, the first day of July next; and in the meanwhile, that no time be lost, in case the Congress agree thereto, that a committee be appointed to prepare a Declaration to the effect of the said first resolution, which is in these words: "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved."

TUESDAY, JUNE 11, 1776.

Resolved, That the committee for preparing the Declaration consist of five:—The members chosen, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. John Adams, Mr. Franklin, Mr. Sherman, and Mr. R. R. Livingston. [The Declaration was drawn up by Mr. Jefferson, and, being approved by the committee, was reported by him to the House on Friday, June 28th, when it was read and ordered to lie on the table.]

MONDAY, JULY 1, 1776.

The order of the day being read,

Resolved, That this Congress will resolve itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the resolution respecting independency.

That the Declaration be referred to said committee.

The Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole. After some time the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Harrison reported that the committee had come to a resolution, which they desired him to report, and to move for leave to sit again.

The resolution agreed to by the committee of the whole being read, the determination thereof was, at the request of a colony, postponed until to-morrow.

Resolved, That this Congress will, to-morrow, resolve itself into a committee of the whole, to consider the Declaration respecting independence.

TUESDAY, JULY 2, 1776.

The Congress resumed the consideration of the resolution reported from the committee of the whole, which was as follows:

Resolved, That these United Colonies are, and, of right, ought to be, Free and Independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.

Agreeable to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole; and, after some time, the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Harrison reported, that the committee have had under consideration the Declaration to them referred; but, not having had time to go through the same, desired him to move for leave to sit again.

Resolved, That this Congress will, to-morrow, again resolve itself into a committee of the whole, to take into their further consideration the Declaration respecting independence.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 3, 1776.

Agreeable to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into their farther consideration the Declaration; and, after some time, the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Harrison reported, that the committee desired leave to sit again.

Resolved, That this Congress will, to morrow, again resolve itself into a committee of the whole, to take into their farther consideration the Declaration of Independence.

THURSDAY, JULY 4, 1776.

Agreeably to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into their farther consideration the Declaration; and after some time the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Harrison reported that the committee had agreed to a declaration, as follows:

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having, in direct object, the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world:

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the danger of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose, obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined, with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment, for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the powers of our governments:

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress, in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by

repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts made by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of DIVINE PROVIDENCE, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The foregoing declaration was, by order of Congress, engrossed, and signed by the following members:

<i>New Hampshire.</i>	<i>Rhode Island.</i>	<i>Virginia.</i>
Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, Matthew Thornton.	Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery.	George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson, jun., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton.
<i>Massachusetts Bay.</i>	<i>New York.</i>	
Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry.	William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris.	
<i>Connecticut.</i>	<i>New Jersey.</i>	<i>North Carolina.</i>
Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams, Oliver Wolcott.	Richard Stockton, John Witherspoon, Francis Hopkinson, John Hart, Abraham Clark.	William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn.
<i>Pennsylvania.</i>	<i>Delaware.</i>	<i>South Carolina.</i>
Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, John Morton, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, James Wilson, George Ross.	Cesar Rodney, George Read, Thomas M'Kean.	Edward Rutledge, Thomas Heyward, jun., Thomas Lynch, jun., Arthur Middleton.
	<i>Maryland.</i>	<i>Georgia.</i>
	Samuel Chase, William Paca, Thomas Stone, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton.	Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, George Walton.

Resolved, That copies of the Declaration be sent to the several assemblies, conventions, and committees, or councils of safety, and to the several commanding officers of the continental troops; that it be proclaimed in each of the United States, and at the head of the army.

HIS PART IN THE FORMATIVE LEGISLATION OF VIRGINIA.

In June, 1776, Mr. Jefferson was reelected to Congress for the year commencing August 11; but on the 2d of September he vacated his place to take part in the organization and administration of civil government for the State of Virginia—taking his seat in the House of Delegates, October 7, 1776. He had previously contributed the Preamble to the Constitution, adopted June 20, and which was the work mainly of George Mason, whom Mr. Jefferson calls a 'really great man, and of the first order of greatness.' This Preamble was written prior to the Declaration, and contains the same justification for separating from the Colonial relations with Great Britain. On the 11th of October, he was placed on several important committees; and as soon as those committees were organized, (on the 12th) his hand was directing the plowshare of reform into the constitution of the courts of justice, and on the 14th, into the law of entails and primogeniture, by which the great estates of Virginia, were no longer to be handed down from generation to generation to the eldest son, but were brought into distribution from time to time among all the members of a common family—each share to be subject to increase, diminution, and disposition by the owner's good management or abuse. On the same day he introduced a bill establishing the right of expatriation, and encouraging foreigners to become citizens, on giving assurance of fidelity to the Commonwealth. He was on the 28th placed on a committee to encourage domestic manufactures, and headed in the standing committee on Religion, and in the House, a determined party to rid the State of all church establishments by law, and to inaugurate not toleration but entire liberty of religious opinion and worship.

In 1777, in the Committee for Revision of the Statutes, to Mr. Jefferson was assigned the Common Law and Statutes prior to the 4th of James I., when a Colonial Legislature was established in Virginia. In the final action of the Legislature on these and other bills introduced by Mr. Jefferson, and on the Reports of the Legal Revisers, Mr. Jefferson's views were, in the end, substantially followed, but not without heated and able opposition. The following is the original bill of the act, the authorship of which Mr. Jefferson regarded among his titles to the grateful remembrance of his countrymen. The Bill encountered immediate and strenuous opposition, and did not become a law, with several subsidiary acts, protecting the property of organized ecclesiastical corporations, until 1786.

A Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom.

Well aware that the opinions and belief of men depend not on their own will, but follow involuntarily the evidence proposed to their minds; that Almighty God hath created the mind free, and manifested his supreme will that free it shall remain by making it altogether insusceptible of restraint; that all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments or burthens, or by civil incapacitations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness, and are a departure from the plan of the Holy Author of our religion, who being Lord both of body and mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coercions on either, as was in his Almighty power to do, but to extend its influence on reason alone; that the impious presumption of legislators and rulers, civil as well as ecclesiastical, who, being themselves but fallible and uninspired men, have assumed dominion over the faith of others, setting up their own opinions and modes of thinking as the only true and infallible, and as such, endeavoring to impose them on others, hath established and maintained false religions over the greatest part of the world, and through all time: that to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves and abhors, is sinful and tyrannical; that even the forcing him to support this or that teacher for his own religious persuasion, is depriving him of the comfortable liberty of giving his contributions to the particular pastor whose morals he would make his pattern, and whose powers he feels most persuasive to righteousness, and in withdrawing from the ministry those temporary rewards, which, proceeding from an approbation of their personal conduct, are an additional incitement to earnest and unremitting labors for the instruction of mankind; that our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, any more than our opinions in physics or geometry; that, therefore, the proscribing any citizen as unworthy the public confidence by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to the offices of trust and emolument, unless he profess or renounce this or that religious opinion, is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages to which, in common with his fellow-citizens, he has a natural right; that it tends also to corrupt the principles of that very religion it is meant to encourage, by bribing, with a monopoly of worldly honors and emoluments, those who will externally profess and conform to it; that though indeed these are criminal who do not withstand such temptation, yet neither are those innocent who lay the bait in their way; that the opinions of men are not the object of civil government, nor under its jurisdiction; that to suffer the civil magistrate to intrude his powers into the field of opinion and to restrain the profession or propagation of principles, on the supposition of their ill tendency is a dangerous fallacy, which at once destroys all religious liberty, because he being of course judge of that tendency will make his opinions the rule of judgment, and approve or condemn the sentiments of others only as they shall square with or differ from his own; that it is time enough for the rightful purposes of civil government for its officers to interfere when principles break out into overt acts against peace and good order; and finally, that truth is great and will prevail if left to herself; that she is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error, and has nothing to fear from the conflict unless by human interposition disarmed of her natural weapons, free argument and debate; errors ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them.

We, the General Assembly, do enact, That no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burdened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer, on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.

And though we know well that this Assembly, elected by the people for the ordinary purposes of legislation only, have no power to restrain the acts of succeeding Assemblies, constituted with powers equal to our own, and that therefore to declare this act irrevocable would be of no effect in law; yet we are free to declare, and do declare, that the rights hereby asserted are of the natural rights of mankind, and that if any act shall be hereafter passed to repeal the same or to narrow its operation, such act will be an infringement of natural rights.

We do not propose to follow Mr. Jefferson step by step through his eminently conspicuous political career. In 1779 he was elected Governor of Virginia as successor to Patrick Henry, in the most trying period of the war; and satisfied that the executive power could be administered with more energy, promptitude, and effect by an officer trained to military command, he resigned at the end of his second year, and was succeeded by General Nelson in the Spring of 1781.

In June, 1781, he was appointed by the General Congress one of the commissioners to negotiate treaties of peace, as he had been before in 1776—which in both instances he declined; but on a renewal of the appointment in 1782, he accepted, only to make preparations for his departure. In November he took his seat in Congress, taking an active part in settling our present decimal system of Federal currency, and in providing a *Committee of States*, to act for Congress in the recess. The result of this experiment, and the experience of the French Directory, satisfied him of the futility of a dual executive.

In May, 1783, Mr. Jefferson was added to the Ministers Plenipotentiary to negotiate treaties of commerce with foreign nations. On his arrival in Paris, to save his literary reputation, he had to make a hasty revision of a French translation of his Notes on Virginia; they were also issued in English at London, in the same year. In 1785, on permission being given to Dr. Franklin to return to America, Mr. Jefferson became his successor at Paris. In 1789, he received from President Washington the appointment of Secretary of State; in 1796, he was elected Vice-President of the United States; and in March, 1801, he took his seat as Chief Magistrate of the nation—and after eight years in that office, he retired from public life. In every position in which he was placed, he proved himself an intelligent, considerate, and economical administrator—meeting the exigencies of a new government with general preparedness and prompt decision, acting at all times with a keen perception of the popular will, and without leaving even a suspicion of any pecuniary advantage to himself. In fact, he retired from political office poorer than when he entered, and the hospitalities of his house were such as to exhaust his estate from year to year, until he was glad to get temporary relief by the sale of his library to Congress for the sum of \$25,000. Before giving an account of his educational labors for Virginia, we will introduce an interesting survey of his public life, made by himself, only one year before his death.

Enumeration of Mr. Jefferson's Public Services.

In 1826, Mr. Jefferson was driven to the necessity of an appeal to the Legislature for permission to sell by lottery a portion of his lands for the purpose of paying his debts. To justify this application for special legislation in his behalf,—at a time when land in the public market would not sell for more than a third or fourth of the price it would have brought at the time the debts were contracted, and all agricultural produce was selling below the cost of production—Mr. Jefferson drew up a paper from which the following summary of his official life is taken:—

I came of age in 1764, and was soon put into the nomination of Justice of the county in which I live, and at the first election following, I became one of the representatives in the Legislature.

I was thence sent to the old Congress.

Then employed two years with Mr. Pendleton and Mr. Wythe, on the revision and reduction to a single code of the whole body of the British Statutes, the Acts of our Assembly, and certain parts of the Common Law.

Then elected Governor.

Went to the Legislature, and to Congress again.

Sent to Europe as Minister Plenipotentiary.

Appointed Secretary of State to the new Government.

Elected Vice-President and

President. And lastly, a Visitor and Recorder of the University. In these different offices, with scarcely any interval between them, I have been in the public service now sixty-one years; and during the far greater part of the time, in foreign countries or in other States. Every one knows how inevitably a Virginia estate goes to ruin, when the owner is so far distant as to be unable to pay attention to it himself; and the more especially, when the line of his employment is of a character to abstract and alienate his mind entirely from the knowledge necessary to good, and even to saving management. If it were thought worth while to specify any particular service rendered, I would refer to the specification of these made by the Legislature itself in their Farewell Address, on my retiring from the Presidency, February, 1809.

There is one, however, not therein specified, the most important in its consequences, of any transaction in any portion of my life; to wit, the head I personally made against the Federal principles and proceedings, during the administration of Mr. Adams. Their usurpations and violations of the constitution at that period, and their majority in both Houses of Congress, were so great, so decided, and so daring, that after combating their aggressions, inch by inch, without being able in the least to check their career, the Republican leaders thought it would be best for them to give up their useless efforts there, go home, get into their respective Legislatures, embody whatever resistance they could be formed into, and if ineffectual, to perish there as in the last ditch. All, therefore, retired, leaving Mr. Gallatin alone in the House of Representatives and myself in the Senate, where I then presided as Vice-President. Remaining at our posts, and bidding defiance to the brow-beatings and insults by which they endeavored to drive us off also, we kept the mass of Republicans in phalanx together, until the Legislature could be brought up to the charge; and nothing on earth is more certain, than that if myself particularly, placed by my office of Vice-President at the head of the Republicans, had given way, and withdrawn from my post, the Republicans throughout the Union would have given up in despair, and the cause would have been lost forever. By holding on, we obtained time for the Legislatures to come up with their weight; and those of Virginia and Kentucky particularly, but more especially the former, by their celebrated resolutions, saved the constitution at its last gasp. No person who was not a witness of the scenes of that gloomy period, can

form any idea of the affecting persecutions and personal indignities we had to brook. They saved our country, however. The spirits of the people were so much subdued and reduced to despair by the X Y Z imposture, and other stratagems and machinations, that they would have sunk into apathy and monarchy, as the only form of government which could maintain itself.

If Legislative services are worth mentioning, and the stamp of liberality and equality, which was necessary to be imposed on our laws in the first crisis of our birth as a nation, was of any value, they will find that the leading and most important laws of that day were prepared by myself, and carried chiefly by my efforts; supported, indeed, by able and faithful coadjutors from the ranks of the House, very effective as seconds, but who would not have taken the field as leaders.

The prohibition of the further importation of slaves was the first of these measures in time.

This was followed by the abolition of entails, which broke up the hereditary and high-handed aristocracy, which, by accumulating immense masses of property in single lines of families, had divided our country into two distinct orders, of nobles and plebeians.

But further, to complete the equality among our citizens, so essential to the maintenance of Republican government, it was necessary to abolish the principle of primogeniture. I drew the law of descent, giving equal inheritance to sons and daughters, which made a part of the revised code.

The attack on the establishment of a dominant religion, was first made by myself. It could be carried at first only by a suspension of salaries for one year, by battling it again at the next session for another year, and so from year to year, until the public mind was ripened for the bill for establishing religious freedom, which I had prepared for the revised code also. This was at length established permanently, and by the efforts chiefly of Mr. Madison, being myself in Europe at the time that work was brought forward. To these particular services, I think I might add the establishment of our University, as principally my work; acknowledging, at the same time, as I do, the great assistance received from my able colleagues of the Visitation. But my residence in the vicinity threw, of course, on me the chief burden of the enterprise, as well of the buildings as of the general organization and care of the whole. The effect of this institution on the future fame, fortune, and prosperity of our country, can as yet be seen but at a distance. But a hundred well educated youths, which it will turn out annually, and ere long, will fill all its offices with men of superior qualifications, and raise it from its humble state to an eminence among its associates which it has never yet known; no, not in its brightest days. That institution is now qualified to raise its youth to an order of science unequalled in any other state; and this superiority will be the greater from the free range of mind encouraged there, and the restraint imposed at other seminaries by the shackles of a domineering hierarchy, and a bigoted adhesion to ancient habits. Those now on the theater of affairs will enjoy the ineffable happiness of seeing themselves succeeded by sons of a grade of science beyond their own ken. Our sister States will also be repairing to the same fountains of instruction, will bring hither their genius to be kindled at our fire; and will carry back the fraternal affections which, nourished by the same *alma mater*, will knit us to them by the indissoluble bonds of early personal friendship. The good Old Dominion, the blessed mother of us all, will then raise her head with pride among the nations, will present to them that splendor of genius which she has ever possessed, but has too long suffered to rest uncultivated and unknown, and will become a center of radiance to the States whose youth she has instructed, and, as it were, adopted.

I claim some share in the merits of this great work of regeneration. My whole labors, now for many years, have been devoted to it, and I stand pledged to follow it up through the remnant of life remaining to me. And what remuneration do I ask? Money from the Treasury? Not a cent. I ask nothing from the earnings or labors of my fellow-citizens. I wish no man's comforts to be abridged for the enlargement of mine. For the services rendered on all occasions, I have been always paid to my full satisfaction. I never wished a dollar more than what the law had fixed on.

It is painful to think that the evening of such a life should have been clouded by hopeless pecuniary embarrassment, and that Thomas Jefferson, who had filled in succession the highest offices in the State and Nation, and retired from each position without having used his power of appointment to the pecuniary gain of any member of his own family, near or remote, and without the suspicion of having diverted one dollar of all the public funds that passed through his hands, to his own uses, or speculated on his knowledge of the policy of the government which he administered, for the benefit of himself or friends—should have been brought face to face with actual want, and had to contemplate the stern necessity of seeing the home which he had planned in his youth and built as the shelter of his old age, and made the seat of the most bountiful hospitality, pass into the hands of strangers. There is some consolation in the fact, that when his situation became known, there were such immediate demonstrations of grateful recognition of his past services out of the State as to relieve his pressing necessities, and to fill his heart with the assurances that all would end well. In that assurance, he died on the 4th of July, 1826—and such a death—as associates his name for ever with the great historic event of his age and country—it was given only to himself and John Adams, to die.

Among his papers there were found written on the torn back of an old letter the following directions for his monument and its inscription:—

Could the dead feel any interest in monuments or other remembrances of them, when, as Anacreon says,

*Ὀλὴν δὲ σκευὰς
Κόριν, σέριον Ἀδίσσας,*

the following would be to my manes the most gratifying: on the grave a plain die or cube of three feet without any moldings, surmounted by an obelisk of six feet height, each of a single stone; on the faces of the obelisk the following inscription, and not a word more:

HERE WAS BURIED
THOMAS JEFFERSON,
Author of the Declaration of American Independence,
Of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom,
And Father of the University of Virginia;

because by these, as testimonials that I have lived, I wish most to be remembered. [It] to be of the coarse stone of which my columns are made, that no one might be tempted hereafter to destroy it for the value of the materials. My bust, by Ceracchi, with the pedestal and truncated column on which it stands, might be given to the University, if they would place it in the dome room of the Rotunda. On the die of the obelisk might be engraved:

Born Apr. 2, 1743, O. S.
Died — — — —

His grandson, Colonel Randolph, followed his directions in erecting the monument which is placed over him. He lies buried between his wife and his daughter, Mary Eppes; across the head of these three graves lie the remains of his eldest daughter, Martha Randolph. This group lies in front of a gap in a high brick wall which surrounds the whole graveyard, the gap being filled by a high iron grating, giving a full view of the group.

JEFFERSON'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY FOR VIRGINIA.

At the request of the Law Revisers, in 1777, Mr. Jefferson, drafted three bills relating to Education, viz. :—

1. For the more General Diffusion of Knowledge by means of Common Schools, and Grammar Schools.
2. For Amending the Constitution of William and Mary College, and substituting more certain revenues for its support.
3. For establishing a Public Library.

1. *Common Schools.*

The Preamble of the Bill for the more General Diffusion of Knowledge reads as follows:—

Whereas it appeareth that however certain forms of government are better calculated than others to protect individuals in the free exercise of their natural rights, and are at the same time themselves better guarded against degeneracy, yet experience has shown, that even under the best forms, those intrusted with power have, in time, and by slow operations, perverted it into tyranny; and it is believed that the most effectual means of preventing this, would be to illuminate, as far as practicable, the minds of the people at large, and more especially to give them knowledge of those facts, which history exhibiteth, that, possessed thereby of the experience of other ages and countries, they may be enabled to know ambition under all its shapes, and prompt to exert their natural powers to defeat its purposes: And whereas it is generally true that the people will be happiest whose laws are best, and are best administered, and that laws will be wisely formed, and honestly administered, in proportion as those who form and administer them are wise and honest; whence it becomes expedient for promoting the public happiness, that those persons, whom nature hath endowed with genius and virtue, should be rendered by liberal education worthy to receive, and able to regard the sacred deposits of the rights and liberties of their fellow-citizens, and that they should be called to that charge without regard to wealth, birth, or other accidental condition or circumstance; but the indigence of the greater number disabling them from so educating, at their own expense, those of their children whom nature hath fitly formed and disposed to become useful instruments for the public, it is better that such should be sought for, and educated at the common expense of all, than that the happiness of all should be confided to the weak or wicked.

This Preamble recognizes the right and duty of the State to secure the great mass of the people from the abuses of government by popular intelligence, and to bring the advantages of liberal education within the reach of those who can profit by the same without regard to wealth, birth, or other accidental condition. For these purposes the bill provides for the establishment of an Elementary School in each Hundred—into which each county was to be divided by their county officers, designated 'Aldermen,' who were charged with erection and repair of a suitable house on a site selected by the inhabitants of the Hundred. In these schools all free children were entitled to receive tuition gratis, for three years, and as much longer as desired at the expense of their parents. Reading, writing, and common arithmetic were to be taught in them; and the reading of books were to be such 'as would, at the

same time, make them acquainted with Grecian, Roman, English, and American History.'

Over every ten of these schools the Aldermen were to annually appoint an Overseer, 'eminent for his learning, integrity, and fidelity to the Commonwealth,' who was to appoint and remove teachers, visit the school as often as once each half year, examine the scholars, and see if the plan of instruction recommended by the visitors of William and Mary College was properly carried out. Every teacher was to receive a fixed annual salary from the county, and 'his diet, washing, and lodging,' be at the expense of the 'hundred.'

Higher grade of Common Schools, or Grammar Schools.

The bill also provides for a higher grade of Common Schools by dividing the State into twenty districts—the Overseers in each district being charged to procure one hundred acres of land centrally situated, and to erect thereon suitable buildings of brick or stone for a school, each having a proper school-room, a dining hall, four rooms for a master and usher, and ten or twelve lodging rooms for pupils, and necessary offices. The site was to be paid for by the State. In these 'grammar schools' were to be taught 'the Latin and Greek languages, English grammar, geography, and the higher parts of numeral arithmetic.'

A Visitor was to be annually appointed from each county by the Overseers, and these Visitors, in a district, were to have about the same powers and duties in regard to the Grammar Schools, that the Overseers had over those of the hundreds.

Each Overseer, 'after the most diligent and impartial examination and inquiry,' and after being sworn to act 'without favor or affection,' was to annually select from the schools under his charge, a pupil of at least two years' standing, 'of the best and most promising genius and disposition,' to be sent to the Grammar School of the district—to be there boarded and educated at the expense of the State for at least one year. At the end of that time the Visitors were to discontinue the attendance of one-third of the least promising. All were to be discontinued at the end of the second year, save one from each district of the greatest merit, who was then at liberty to remain four years longer on the public foundation, and was thenceforth deemed a 'Senior.' From these Seniors, the Visitors of the district were annually to choose one, and send him to William and Mary College, to be educated, boarded, and clothed for three years at the expense of the State.

This bill was not acted upon until 1796, and then its execution was virtually defeated by the provisions of the Act itself.

2. *Reorganization of William and Mary College.*

By the second of Mr. Jefferson's bills, the College of William and Mary was to be reorganized, and converted into a University. In place of a College whose Visitors were required to be members of the Church of England, whose Professors must subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles, and whose students must learn its Catechism, Mr. Jefferson proposed to do away with all religious tests for Visitors, Professors, or Students, with the following Professorships:—

1.	Ethica.	{ Moral Philosophy, Law of Nature, Law of Nations. Sculpture. Painting, Gardening, Music, Architecture, Poetry, Oratory, Criticism. Common Law, Equity, Law Merchant, Law Maritime, Law Ecclesiastical.	6.	{ Natural Philosophy.	{ Chemistry, Statics, Hydrostatics, Pneumatics, Agriculture.
	Fine Arts.					{ Natural History.	{ Animals Zoology, Vegetables—Botany, Minerals—Mineralogy.
2. Law.	Municipal.		7. Ancient Languages.	{ Oriental. Northern.	{ Hebrew Chaldee, Syriac, Mosses Gothic, Anglo Saxon, Old Icelandic.
4. Mathematics.	Pure. Mixed.		{ Arithmetic, Geometry, Mechanics, Optics, Acoustics, Astronomy, Anatomy, Medicines.	Missionary for Indian History, etc.	
					5.

While Governor, Mr. Jefferson was one of the Visitors to the College of William and Mary; and during his official residence in Williamstown, he effected a change in the organization of the institution by abolishing the Grammar School, and the two Professorships of Divinity and Oriental languages, and substituting a Professorship of Law and Politics; one of Anatomy, Medicine, and Chemistry, and one of Modern languages; adding the Law of Nature and Nations and the Fine Arts to the duties of the Professor of Moral Philosophy, and Natural History to those of the Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.

Public Library.

The third educational bill provided for the annual disbursement of two thousand pounds from the State Treasury, by three persons of learning and attention to literary matters, appointed by the Legislature, to purchase books and maps for a State Library at Richmond. Of the action of the Assembly we have seen no mention. No effectual legislation for realizing such a library was had till 1822-23, when the annual income from the sale of reports and statutes, &c., was appropriated to the purchase of a State library.

For the next thirty years, Mr. Jefferson was in the constant service of the National Government, which taxed all his faculties, and yet his correspondence shows that he never in a single year, while abroad as Ambassador, or at home as Secretary of State, Vice-President, or President, and the acknowledged head of a great political party, struggling for the supremacy in the National and State Administration, did he lose his interest, or cease his efforts to promote the establishment of schools and other agencies for the advancement of education in its higher as well as in its more popular forms. Indeed, in this education we find the inspiration of all his hopes, and all his efforts for the good of his state and country.

Removal of Geneva Professors to Washington or Virginia.

In 1791, he communicated to President Washington a proposition from M. D'Ivernois and his colleagues in the Academy of Geneva, Switzerland, to remove in a body to the United States and inaugurate here an institution of learning of the most comprehensive character,—and suggests that 'the accession of such a body of professors would at once give to the National University (which Washington had recommended, in his first Message to Congress, in 1790, and which he subsequently had intimated to Mr. Jefferson his intention to aid by a testamentary devise) such solid advantages as would insure a very general concurrence to it of the youth from all our States, and probably from all parts of America.' In a subsequent letter (1799), he addressed another letter from Monticello, in which he suggests: 'For a country so marked for agriculture as ours, I should think no professorship so good as one of agriculture, who, before the students should leave college, should carry them through a course of lectures on the principles and practice of agriculture; and that this professor should come from no country but England,' and names Young (author of *Letters on the Agriculture of France and England*) as the man to be obtained. This is one of the earliest suggestions of a Professorship of Agriculture in this country. While calling President Washington's attention to the proposition of Professor D'Ivernois', and introducing a number of learned professors into a National University, he writes (in 1794) to Wilson Nicholas and others, to ascertain the feeling in the Assembly of Virginia, as to the possibility of securing such a corps of scientific teachers for Virginia.

In a letter to Wilson Nicholas, Esq., Nov. 22, 1794, he writes:—

The sum of his proposition is to translate the Academy of Geneva in a body to this country. You know well that the colleges of Edinburgh and Geneva, as seminaries of science, are considered as the two eyes of Europe; while Great Britain and America give the preference to the former; and all other countries give it to the latter. I am fully sensible that two powerful obstacles are in the

way of this proposition. 1st. The expense. 2d. The communication of science in foreign languages; that is to say, in French and Latin; but I have been so long absent from my own country as to be an incompetent judge either of the force of the objections, or of the dispositions of those who are to decide on them. The respectability of Mr. D'Ivernois' character, and that, too, of the proposition, require an answer from me, and that it should be given on due inquiry. He desires secrecy to a certain degree for the reasons which he explains. What I have to request of you, my dear sir, is, that you will be so good as to consider his proposition, to consult on its expediency and practicability with such gentlemen of the Assembly as you think best, and take such other measures as you shall think best, to ascertain what would be the sense of that body, were the proposition to be hazarded to them.

In 1795 (Feb. 6), he writes to M. D'Ivernois:—

Your proposition, however, for transplanting the College of Geneva to my own country, was too analogous to all my attachments to science, not to excite a lively interest in my mind, and the essays which were necessary to try its practicability. This depended altogether on the opinions and dispositions of our State Legislature which was then in session. I immediately communicated your papers to a member of the legislature, whose abilities and zeal pointed him out as proper for it, urging him to sound as many of the leading members as he could, and if he found their opinions favorable, to bring forward the proposition; but if he should find it desperate, not to hazard it; because I thought it best not to commit the honor of our State or of your College, by an useless act of éclat. It was not till within three days that I have had an interview with him, and an account of his proceedings. He communicated the papers to a great number of the members, and discussed them maturely, but privately, with them. They were generally well-disposed to the proposition, and some of them warmly; however, there was no difference of opinion in the conclusion, that it could not be effected. The reasons which they thought would, with certainty, prevail against it, were—1, that our youth, not familiarized but with their mother tongue, were not prepared to receive instructions in any other; 2, that the expense of the institution would excite uneasiness in their constituents and endanger its permanence; and, 3, that its extent was disproportioned to the narrow state of population with us.

In 1810, he writes from Monticello to Governor Tyler, who had expressed a wish to see him in the Legislature:—

This is impossible. I have, indeed, two great measures at heart, without which no Republic can maintain itself in strength. 1. That of general education, to enable every man to judge for himself what will secure or endanger his freedom. 2. To divide every county into hundreds, of such size that all the children of each will be within reach of a central school in it. But this division looks to many other fundamental provisions. Every hundred, besides a school, should have a Justice of the Peace, a Constable, and a Captain of Militia. These officers, or some others within the hundred, should be a corporation to manage all its concerns, to take care of its roads, its poor, and its police by patrols, &c., (as the selectmen of the Eastern townships). Every hundred should select one or two jurors to serve where requisite, and all other elections should be made in the hundreds separately, and the votes of all the hundreds be brought together. Our present Captaincies might be declared hundreds for the present, with a power to the courts to alter them occasionally. These little Republics would be the main strength of the great one. We owe to them the vigor given to our resolution in its commencement in the Eastern States, and by them the Eastern States were enabled to repeal the embargo in opposition to the Middle, Southern, and Western States, and their large and lubberly division into counties which can never be assembled. Several orders are given out from a center to the foreman of every hundred, as to the sergeants of an army, and the whole nation is thrown into energetic action, in the same direction in one instant and as one man, and becomes absolutely irresistible. Could I once see this, I should consider it as the dawn of the salvation of the Republic, as any with old Simeon, 'nunc dimittas Domine.' But our children will be

as wise as we are, and will establish in the fullness of time those things not yet ripe for establishment. So be it, and to yourself health, happiness, and long life.

Mr. Parton, in his 'Life of Thomas Jefferson,' remarks:—

In his endeavors to reconcile the people of Virginia to the cost of maintaining a common school in each 'ward' of every county, he showed all his old tact and skill. His 'ward' was to be 'so laid off as to comprehend the number of inhabitants necessary to furnish a captain's company of militia,'—five hundred persons of all ages and either sex. The great difficulty was to convince the average planter that he, the rich man of the ward, had an *interest* in contributing to the common school, the teacher of which was to receive a hundred and fifty dollars a year, and 'board round.' Jefferson met this objection in a letter that still possesses convincing power. And his argument comes home to the inhabitants of the great cities now rising every where, and destined to contain half of the population of this continent. What are they but a narrow rim of elegance and plenty around a vast and deep abyss of squalor, into which a certain portion of the dainty children of the smiling verge are sure to slide at last? How eloquent are these quiet words of Jefferson, when we apply them to our own city! Would that I could give them wings to carry the passage round the world.

And will the wealthy individual have no retribution? And what will this be? 1. The peopling his neighborhood with honest, useful, and enlightened citizens, understanding their own rights, and firm in their perpetuation. 2. When his descendants become poor, which they generally do within three generations (no law of primogeniture now perpetuating wealth in the same families), their children will be educated by the then rich; and the little advance he now makes to poverty, while rich himself, will be repaid by the rich to his descendants when they become poor, and thus give them a chance of rising again. This is a solid consideration, and should go home to the bosom of every parent. This will be seed sown in fertile ground. It is a *provision for his family* looking to distant times, and far in duration beyond that he has now in hand for them. Let every man count backwards in his own family, and see how many generations he can go, before he comes to the ancestor who made the fortune he now holds. Most will be stopped at the first generation; many at the second; few will reach the third; and not one in the State can go beyond the fifth.

Like Franklin, he was not content with appealing only to the higher motives. State pride was a chord which he touched with effect. He reminded Virginians, that, before the Revolution, the mass of education in Virginia placed her with the foremost of her sister colonies; but now 'the little we have we import, like beggars, from other States, or import their beggars to bestow on us their miserable crumbs.' He pointed to Virginia's ancient friend and ally, Massachusetts, only one-tenth as large as Virginia, and the twenty-first state in the Union in size. But she has 'more influence in our confederacy than any other State in it.' Why? 'From her attention to education unquestionably. There can be no stronger proof that knowledge is power and that ignorance is weakness.'

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

Jefferson was forty years in getting the University of Virginia established. Long he hoped that the ancient college of William and Mary could be freed from limiting conditions and influences, and be developed into a true university. As late as 1820 he was still striving for a 'consolidation' of the old college with the forming institution in Albemarle. It was already apparent that the want of America was, not new institutions of learning, but a suppression of one-half of those already existing, and the 'survival of the fittest,' enriched by the spoils of the weak. But William and Mary, like most of the colleges of Christendom, is constricted by the ignorance and vanity of 'benefactors,' who gave their money to found an institution for all time, and annexed conditions to their gifts which were suited only to their own time. Nothing remained but to create a new institution. In 1794 a strange circumstance occurred, which gave him hopes of attaining his object by a short cut. Several of the professors in the College of Geneva, Switzerland, dissatisfied with the political condition of their canton, united in proposing to Mr. Jefferson to remove in a body to Virginia, and continue their vocation under the protection and patronage of the legislature. On sounding influential members, he discovered that the project was premature, and it was not pressed. The coming of Dr. Priestly, followed by some learned friends of his and other men of science, revived his hopes. A letter to Priestly in 1800 shows that the great outlines of the scheme were then fully drawn in his mind. He told the learned exile that he desired to found in the center of the State a 'university on a plan so broad and liberal and *modern* as to be worth patronizing with the public support, and be a temptation to the youth of other States to come and drink of the cup of knowledge, and fraternize with us.' He proposed that the professors should follow no other calling; and he hoped 'to draw from Europe the first characters in science by considerable temptations.' He asked Dr. Priestly to draw up a plan, and favor him with advice and suggestions. During his presidency, he still embraced opportunities to increase his knowledge of such institutions. After his retirement, the war of 1812 interposed obstacles; but, from the peace of 1815 to the close of his life, the University of Virginia was the chief subject of his thoughts, and the chief object of his labors.

* Compiled from Parton and Randall Biographies, and the authorities cited by them. The most exhaustive history of the University in its early stages will be found in the *Letters of Thomas Jefferson* and *Joseph C. Cabell*, with Mr. Jefferson's original Bill, and a biography of Mr. Cabell—329 pages. 1834.

In 1814, an effort was made to revive the Albemarle academy, located at Charlottesville, and on the suggestion of Mr. Jefferson, whose coöperation was invited, the plan of studies was enlarged into the usual college curriculum, and the administration confided to a Board of Visitors. The total subscription collected in the central counties of Virginia was about \$40,000, toward which Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, Mr. Monroe, George Divers, John Harris, Reuben Lindsay, John H. Cocke, Joseph C. Cabell, John Patterson, Wilson C. Nicholas, each gave \$1,000. Under the presidency of Mr. Jefferson, the institution was incorporated by the name of the Central College; and the establishment of an efficient system of public instruction embracing colleges, academies, and schools, to diffuse the benefits of education throughout the commonwealth, with Central college as the university, was agitated in the legislature of that year. A plan drawn up by Mr. Jefferson, and closely resembling the plan drawn up by him in 1779, was submitted at the session of 1817, which passed the House of Delegates, and was postponed by the Senate, that the public might be better informed of its features, to the ensuing session, in February, 1818. To effectuate this, by a joint resolution of both Houses, the report, which preceded the bill, the bill itself, and the proposed amendments, Mr. Jefferson's original bill of 1779, and his letter to the president of the Albemarle academy in 1814, proposing an expansion of that institution into a college as part of a State system—was ordered to be printed and distributed throughout the State.

At the session of 1818, an act was passed appropriating from the revenues of the Literary Fund forty-five thousand dollars *per annum* for the primary education of the poor, and fifteen thousand dollars *per annum* for the support of a university, on a site and on a plan to be fixed by a commission consisting of twenty-four members, one taken from each senate district. The commissioners assembled at Rockfish Gap, August 1, 1818, and after a session of five days, located the university on the site of Central college, which institution was thereby merged in it, and decided on the plan of a building; the branches of learning to be taught; the number and description of professorships; and certain general principles of administration to be incorporated into the organic law. The report embodying the action of the commission, drawn up by Mr. Jefferson, whose recommendations were substantially adopted, was submitted to the legislature; and in January, 1819, the law organizing the university was enacted.

In February, 1819, the first Board of Visitors was chosen, and it

consisted of Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Chapman Johnson, James Breckenridge, Robert B. Taylor, John Cocke, and Joseph C. Cabell. On the 29th of March, 1819, the visitors held their first meeting, and unanimously appointed Mr. Jefferson as Rector. Of these eminent men, the most active and efficient in all the struggles to establish the institution, to secure the necessary legislation, to enlighten and conciliate the people of the State in all the misunderstandings which the large pecuniary outlay on building and the religious jealousies of denominations evoked—was Joseph Carrington Cabell. Of an ancient and opulent family—distinguished in both the paternal and maternal line, himself a man of practical ability, highly educated by competent teachers and foreign travel, a warm personal friend of Mr. Jefferson's, whose aims he resolved to see fairly carried out without any ambition to draw attention to his own views and labors—Mr. Cabell deserves the credit, next to its projector, of being the founder of the University of Virginia. The institution is situated on a hill which commands fine views. The buildings, erected after Mr. Jefferson's plan, on three sides of a square or lawn, front inwards. One side is occupied by the rotunda and some other structures for the common use of the students, and two sides by professors' houses (called *pavilions*), and intervening rows of students' apartments, each one story in height and faced with colonnades. The partitions, ten in number, display different architectural order, the capitals of which were executed in Italy. The students' rooms, both in the location and construction, receive certain points of necessary supervision, and avoidance of accidents by fire and panic, but involved increased appropriations, which finally ran up from \$75,000, as estimated, to \$300,000, and had well nigh wrecked the institution before the professors or students had entered into residence.

The appointment to a professorship of Dr. Cooper (celebrated as Dr. Priestley's friend, whose religious opinions he shared, and also as one of the victims of the Sedition Law) in 1820, under an arrangement made by the visitors of Central college in 1818, was made the occasion of violent attacks on the institution both in and out of the State, which for a time threatened to alienate a majority of the members of the legislature. Dr. Cooper's withdrawal on terms satisfactory to him, and the subsequent appointment of able and learned men to the different professorships without any question or test, so far as Mr. Jefferson was concerned, as to their religious opinions, and yet all of them of strong religious convictions, should for ever relieve the founder of the university of any suspicion of using it in the service of proselytizing.

The university was opened on the 1st of April, 1825, with forty students—and thus Mr. Jefferson succeeded in planting on Virginia soil a university, unique in two particulars.* In all other American colleges then existing, the controlling influence was wielded by one of the learned professions; and all students were compelled to pursue a course of studies originally prescribed by that one profession for its own perpetuation. In the University of Virginia, founded through the influence and persistent tact of Jefferson, seconded at every stage by the zeal and ability of Joseph C. Cabell, all the professions are upon an equality, and every student is free to choose what knowledge he will acquire, and what neglect. It is a secularized university. Knowledge and scholarship are there neither rivals nor enemies, but equal and independent sources of mental power, inviting all, compelling none. Jefferson's intention was to provide an assemblage of schools and professors, where every student could find facilities for getting just what knowledge he wanted, without being obliged to pretend to pursue studies for which he had neither need nor taste. He desired, also, to test his favorite principle of trusting every individual to the custody of his own honor and conscience. It was his wish that students should stand on the simple footing, of citizens, amenable only to the laws of their State and country, and that the head of the faculty should be a regularly commissioned magistrate, to sit in judgment on any who had violated those laws. This part of the scheme he was compelled, at a critical moment, to drop; but he did so only to avoid the peril of a more important failure. But he held to the principle. He would have no espionage upon the students; but left all of them free to improve their opportunities in their own way, provided the laws of the land were not broken, and the rights of others were respected. His trust was in the conscience and good sense of the students, in the moral influence of a superior corps of instructors, and in an elevated public opinion.

The institution differs from other American colleges in these particulars: there is no president; all the professors are of equal rank, except that one of their number is elected chairman of the faculty, and performs the usual representative duties. They get from the university a small fixed salary, meant to be sufficient for subsistence. Besides this, every professor receives a small fee from each of the students attending his 'school.' There are no rewards given by the university and no honors, except a statement of the student's proficiency in each of the 'schools' which he attends; and that profi-

* Parton's Life of Jefferson.

ciency is ascertained, not by a system of daily marks, but by an examination which is intended to be thorough and just. 'Graduation' signifies only that a student has acquitted himself well in one of the 'groups' of schools. A great point is made of the examinations. 'Rigorous written examinations,' Dr. Charles Venable, the chairman of the faculty, has recently written, 'are held periodically in each school, and the diploma of the school is conferred on those students only whose examination-papers come up to a fixed standard. That is, the candidate for graduation must obtain four-fifths (in some of the schools three-fourths) of the values assigned to the questions set in the examinations. No distinctions are made among the graduates. A student either graduates *cum laude* or not at all. In the lower classes of the schools like examinations are held, and certificates of distinction given to those who come up to the standard of three-fourths of the values of the questions set.'

Another peculiarity of this institution is the homage it pays to religion. This is unique. In other colleges it is assumed that students will neither go to church nor attend prayers unless they are compelled to do so. This university, on the contrary, assumes that religion has an attractive power of its own, and leaves it to each student to go to church and attend prayers, or to abstain from so doing. Daily prayers are held, and a service on Sunday is conducted by a clergyman of the vicinity, elected in rotation from the chief denominations of the State; and he is maintained by the voluntary contributions of the inmates of the university. But the dishonor is not put upon him of compelling attendance at his ministrations. Dr. Venable states that the results of this system of freedom are such as might have been expected. 'The students,' he says, 'contribute with commendable liberality to the support of the chaplain, who goes constantly in and out among them as their friend and brother, laboring earnestly in the promotion of Christian activity and all good works. There is always a respectable attendance of student worshipers at morning prayers, a good attendance of students in the Sunday services in the chapel as well as in the churches in the town. There is an earnest Christian activity among the students, which employs itself in the different enterprises of the University Young Men's Christian Association. They keep up six Sunday-schools in the sparsely-settled mountain districts of the neighborhood,—five for whites and one for freedmen, with an average attendance on each of thirty pupils. This steady Christian activity is not a thing of to-day, but it has been the rule for years.'

Dr. Venable bears explicit testimony also to the happy results of

Mr. Jefferson's darling system of *trusting* the students, instead of spying them. 'I have seen,' he says, 'the plan of trusting to the student's honor, and of the abolition of all espionage, tested here and in the University of South Carolina. It has also been adopted in most of the Virginia colleges with the best results. Its effects in imbuing the body of the students with the spirit of truth and candor, in giving them the proper scorn for a lie, and in promoting a frank and manly intercourse between the students and professors, can not be too highly estimated. A student who is known to have been guilty of a violation of his examination pledge, or of any other falsehood in his dealings with the authorities,—things of rare occurrence,—is not permitted by his fellows to remain in the institution.'

It is also his opinion, that the university has signally answered the great design of its founder, which was to raise the standard of liberal education in Virginia. The mere fact of keeping its diplomas, so far as is possible to human scrutiny, free from falsehoods, and issuing no diplomas of the kind called honorary, has had a perceptible effect, he thinks, in restoring to parchment a portion of the power it once had to confer honorable distinction.

Like all other institutions of learning in the Southern States, it was subjected to a most severe ordeal during the late war. The number of students had gone on increasing from year to year, until it had reached an average of six hundred and fifty. Then came the rude blast of war, which a Southern student must have been much more or something less than human, not to have obeyed. Abstract truth is usually powerless when father, mother, sisters, brothers, friends, and neighbors are all pulling the other way. Hundreds of alumni (the strength of a university) fell in battle, never doubting that they died for their country and their rights. But during the whole of the four years' struggle, the university was kept open, and only once did the war come near it. In March, 1865, General Sheridan was at Charlottesville with a body of cavalry; but during the few days of his stay in the neighborhood he placed guards around the grounds of the university, and preserved its property uninjured. For the first two or three years after the peace, education being in arrears, and the people, it is said, more hopeful than they are now, the number of students was again nearly five hundred. The Catalogue for 1876 shows three hundred and sixty-five. Virginia, besides bearing up under a great load of debt, has nobly continued the annual appropriation of fifteen thousand dollars; and two citizens of the State, Samuel Miller and Thomas Johnson, have recently [1778] given one hundred and forty thousand dollars to found a department of industrial chemistry and engineering.

Mr. Jefferson was often called on to advise the sons of his warm personal and political friends, as to studies and conduct, of which we introduce examples in this place.

COURSE OF LAW READING—1767.

The following Course of Legal Study was drawn up by Mr. Jefferson about the year 1765 for the use of a young friend whose course of reading was confided to him, and revised by him in 1814 in respect to subsequent publications:—

Before you enter on the study of the law a sufficient groundwork must be laid. For this purpose an acquaintance with the Latin and French languages is absolutely necessary. The former you have; the latter must now be acquired. Mathematics and Natural Philosophy are so useful in the most familiar occurrences of life, and are so peculiarly engaging and delightful as would induce every one to wish an acquaintance with them. Besides this, the faculties of the mind, like the members of the body, are strengthened and improved by exercise. Mathematical reasonings and deductions are therefore a fine preparation for investigating the abstruse speculations of the law. In these and the analogous branches of science the following books are recommended:—

Mathematics.—Beyzout, Cours de Mathématiques—the best for a student ever published; Montucla or Bossut, Histoire des Mathématiques.

Astronomy.—Ferguson, and le Monnier or de Lalande.

Geography.—Pinkerton.

Nat. Philosophy.—Joyce's Scientific Dialogues; Martin's Philosophia Britannica, Muschenbroek's Cours de Physique.

This foundation being laid, you may enter regularly on the study of the law, taking with it such of its kindred sciences as will contribute to eminence in its attainment. The principal of these are Physics, Ethics, Religion, Natural Law, Belles Lettres, Criticism, Rhetoric, and Oratory. The carrying-on several studies at a time is attended with advantage. Variety relieves the mind as well as the eye, palled with too long attention to a single object, but, with both, transitions from one object to another may be so frequent and transitory as to leave no impression. The mean is therefore to be steered, and a competent space of time allotted to each branch of study. Again, a great inequality is observable in the vigor of the mind at different periods of the day. Its powers at these periods should therefore be attended to, in marshaling the business of the day. For these reasons I should recommend the following distribution of your time:—

Until Eight o'clock in the morning, employ yourself in Physical Studies.

Ethics, Religion, natural and sectarian, and Natural Law, reading the following books:—

Agriculture.—Dickson's Husbandry of the Ancients; Toll's Horse-hoeing Husbandry; Lord Kames' Gentleman Farmer; Young's Rural Economy; Hale's Body of Husbandry; De Serres's Théâtre d'Agriculture.

Chemistry.—Lavoisier, Conversations in Chemistry.

Anatomy.—John and James Bell's Anatomy.

Zoology.—Abrégé du Système de la nature de Linné par Gillibert; Manual d'Histoire Naturelle by Blumenbach, Buffon, including Montbeillard and La Cépède; Wilson's American Ornithology.

Botany.—Barton's Elements of Botany; Turton's Linneus; Persoon's Synopsis Plantarum.

Ethics and Natural Religion.—Locke's Essay; Locke's Conduct of the Mind in the Search after Truth; Stewart's Philosophy of the Human Mind; Enfield's History of Philosophy; Condorcet, Progrès de l'Esprit Humain; Cicero de Officiis, Tusculanae, de Senectute, Somnia Scipionis; Seneca Philosophica; Hutchinson's Introduction to Moral Philosophy; Lord Kames' Natural Religion; Traité Élémentaire de Morale et Bonheur La Sagesse de Charron.

Religion, Secularism.—Bible; New Testament, Commentaries on them by Middleton in his Works, and by Priestley in his Corruptions of Christianity and Early Opinions of Christ; The Sermons of Sterne, Massillon and Bourdaloue, *Natural Law.*—Vattel, *Droit des Gens*; Rayneval, *Institutions du Droit de la Nature et des Gens.*

From Eight to Twelve read Law.

The general course of this reading may be formed on the following grounds. Lord Coke has given us the first views of the whole body of law worthy now of being studied; for so much of the admirable work of Bracton is now obsolete that the students should turn to it occasionally only, when tracing the history of particular portions of the law. Coke's Institutes are a perfect digest of the law in his day. After this, new laws were added by the Legislature, and new developments of the old law by the judges, until they had become so voluminous as to require a new digest. This was ably executed by Matthew Bacon, although unfortunately under an alphabetical instead of analytical arrangement of matter. The same process of new laws and new decisions on the old laws going on, called at length for the same operation again, and produced the inimitable Commentaries of Blackstone.* In the department of the Chancery, a similar progress has taken place. Lord Kames has given us the first digest of the principles of that branch of our jurisprudence, more valuable for the arrangement of matter than for its exact conformity with the English decisions. The reporters from the early times of that branch to that of the same Matthew Bacon are well digested, but alphabetically also in the abridgment of the cases in equity, the second volume of which is said to be done by him. This was followed by a number of able reporters, of which Fonblanque has given us a summary digest by commentaries on the text of the earlier work, ascribed to Ballow, entitled 'A Treatise on Equity.' The course of reading recommended then in these two branches of the law is the following:—

Common Law.—Coke's Institutes; Select Cases from the Subsequent Reporters to the time of Matthew Bacon; Bacon's Abridgment; Select Cases from the Subsequent Reporters to the Present Day; Select Tracts on Law, among which those of Baron Gilbert are all of the first merit; the Virginia Laws; Reports on them.

Chancery.—Lord Kames' Principles of Equity, 3d edition; Select Cases from the Chancery Reporters to the time of Matthew Bacon; the Abridgment of Cases in Equity; Select Cases from the Subsequent Reporters to the Present Day; Fonblanque's Treatise of Equity.

Blackstone's Commentaries (Tucker's edition) as the best perfect digest of both branches of law.

In reading the Reporters, enter into a common-place book every case of value, condensed into the narrowest compass possible, which will admit of presenting distinctly the principles of the case. This operation is doubly useful, inasmuch as it obliges the student to seek out the pith of the case, and habituates him to a condensation of thought, and to an acquisition of the most valuable of all talents, that of never using two words where one will do. It fixes the case, too, more indelibly in the mind.

From Twelve to One read Politics.

Politics, General.—Locke on Government, Sidney on Government, Priestley's First Principles of Government, Review of Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws; De Lolme sur le constitution d'Angleterre; De Burgh's Political Disquisitions; Hatsell's Precedents of the House of Commons; Select Parliamentary Debates of England and Ireland; Chipman's Sketches of the Principles of Government; The Federalist.

Political Economy.—Say's Economie Politique; Malthus on the Principles of Population; De Tracy's work on Polit. Econ., now about to be printed, 1814.

In the Afternoon read History.

History, Ancient.—The Greek and Latin Originals; Select histories from the

* Mr. Jefferson regarded Blackstone as an unsafe expounder of constitutional law.

- Universal History; Gibbon's Decline of the Roman Empire; Histoire ancienne de Millot.
Modera.—Histoire moderne de Millot; Russel's History of Modern Europe; Robertson's Charles V.
English.—The original historians, *to wit*: The History of Edward 2nd, by E. F.; Habington's Edward 4th; More's Richard 3rd; Lord Bacon's Henry 7th; Lord Herbert's Henry 8th; Goodwin's Henry 8th, Edward 6th, Mary; Camden's Elizabeth, James, Ludlow; Macaulay [Catharine]; Fox; Belsham; Baxter's History of England; Hume republicanized and abridged; Robertson's History of Scotland.
American.—Robertson's History of America; Gordon's History of the Independence of the U. S.; Ramsay's History of the American Revolution; Burk's History of Virginia; Continuation of do., by Jones and Girardin, nearly ready for the press.

From Dark to Bedtime.

- Belles Lettres; Criticism; Rhetoric; Oratory, to wit:*
Belles Lettres.—Read the best of the poets, epic, didactic, dramatic, pastoral, lyric, etc.; but among these, Shakspeare must be singled out by one who wishes to learn the full powers of the English language. Of him we must declare as Horace did of the Grecian models, 'Vos exemplaria Græca nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ.'
Criticism.—Lord Kames' Elements of Criticism; Tooke's Diversions of Purley. Of Biographical criticism, the Edinburgh Review furnishes the finest models extant.
Rhetoric.—Blair's Rhetoric; Sheridan on Elocution; Mason on Poetic and Prosaic Numbers.
Oratory.—This portion of time (borrowing some of the afternoon when the days are long and the nights short) is to be applied also to acquiring the art of writing and speaking correctly by the following exercises: Criticise the style of any book whatsoever, committing the criticism to writing. Translate into the different styles, *to wit*, the elevated, the middling, and the familiar. Orators and poets will furnish subjects of the first, historians of the second, and epistolary and comic writers of the third. Undertake at first, short compositions, as themes, letters, etc., paying great attention to the elegance and correctness of your language. Read the orations of Demosthenes and Cicero; analyze these orations, and examine the correctness of the disposition, language, figures, state of the cases, arguments, etc.; read good samples also of English eloquence. Some of these may be found in Small's American Speaker, and some in Carey's Criminal Recorder; in which last the defense of Eugene Aram is distinguished as a model of logic, condensation of matter and classical purity of style. Exercise yourself afterward in preparing orations on feigned cases. In this, observe rigorously the disposition of Blair into introduction, narration, etc. Adapt your language to the several parts of the oration, and suit your arguments to the audience before which it is supposed to be delivered. This is your last and most important exercise. No trouble should therefore be spared. If you have any person in your neighborhood engaged in the same study, take each of you different sides of the same cause, and prepare pleadings according to the custom of the bar, where the plaintiff opens, the defendant answers, and the plaintiff replies. It will further be of great service to pronounce your oration (having before you only short notes to assist the memory) in the presence of some person who may be considered as your judge.

NOTE.—Under each of the preceding heads, the books are to be read in the order in which they are named. These by no means constitute the whole of what might be usefully read in each of these branches of science. The mass of excellent works going more into detail is great indeed. But those here noted will enable the student to select for himself such others of detail as may suit his particular views and dispositions. They will give him a respectable, an useful and satisfactory degree of knowledge in these branches, and will themselves form a valuable and sufficient library for a lawyer who is at the same time a lover of science.

Course of Study and Travel for Public Life.

In a letter to Thomas Mann Randolph, Jr.,* at the time, July, 1786, a student in the University of Edinburgh, who had consulted him in respect to his studies, Mr. Jefferson writes as follows:—

I am glad to find, that among the various branches of science presenting themselves to your mind, you have fixed on that of politics as your principal pursuit. Your country will derive from this a more immediate and sensible benefit. She has much for you to do. For though we may say with confidence, that the worst of the American constitutions is better than the best which ever existed before, in any other country, and that they are wonderfully perfect for a first essay, yet every human essay must have its defects. It will remain, therefore, to those now coming on the stage of public affairs, to perfect what has been so well begun by those going off it. Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Natural History, Anatomy, Chemistry, Botany, will become amusement for your hours of relaxation, and auxiliaries to your principal studies. Precious and delightful ones they will be. As soon as such a foundation is laid in them, as you may build on as you please, hereafter, I suppose you will proceed to your main objects, Politics, Law, Rhetoric, and History. As to these, the place where you study them is absolutely indifferent. I should except Rhetoric, a very essential member of them, and which I suppose must be taught to advantage where you are. You would do well, therefore, to attend the public exercises in this branch also, and to do it with very particular diligence. This being done, the question arises, where you shall fix yourself for studying Politics, Law, and History? I should not hesitate to decide in favor of France, because you will, at the same time, be learning to speak the language of that country, become absolutely essential under our present circumstances. The best method of doing this, would be to fix yourself in some family where there are women and children, in Passey, Auteuil, or some other of the little towns in reach of Paris. The principal hours of the day you will attend to your studies, and in those of relaxation, associate with the family. You will learn to speak better from women and children in three months, than from men in a year.

Such a situation, too, will render more easy a due attention to economy of time and money. Having pursued your main studies here, about two years, and acquired a facility in speaking French, take a tour of four or five months through this country and Italy, return then to Virginia, and pass a year in Williamsburg, under the care of Mr. Wythe; and you will be ready to enter on the public stage, with superior advantages. I have proposed to you to carry on the study of the law with that of politics and history. Every political measure will, forever, have an intimate connection with the laws of the land; and he, who knows nothing of these, will always be perplexed, and often foiled by adversaries having the advantage of that knowledge over him. Besides, it is a source of infinite comfort to reflect, that under every chance of fortune, we have a resource in ourselves from which we may be able to derive an honorable subsistence. I would, therefore, propose not only the study, but the practice of the law for some time, to possess yourself of the habit of public speaking. With respect to modern languages, French, as I have before observed, is indispensable. Next to this, the Spanish is most important to an American.

* Mr. T. M. Randolph, son of Col. Thomas Mann Randolph of Tuckahoe, married, in 1790 Martha Jefferson, began life with an accomplished education and ample means—but owing to certain defects of mental constitution,—the power of prompt and continuous action, did not achieve the success which was anticipated for him. He commanded a regiment in the war of 1812, was member of the State Legislature and of the National Congress, and Governor of Virginia for three years from 1819. He died in 1828, and his wife, in 1836—leaving behind them ten children. To one of their children (Thomas Jefferson Randolph) Mr. Jefferson gave the management of his estate in 1814, and bequeathed his manuscripts by will, of which he was executor. He published, in 1829, an edition of Jefferson's writings, and received from Congress \$25,000 for the manuscripts of a public character in his possession, which were published in 1853, in nine volumes, under the editorship of Henry A. Washington.

Our connection with Spain is already important, and will become daily more so. Besides this, the ancient part of American history is written chiefly in Spanish. To a person who would make a point of reading and speaking French and Spanish, I should doubt the utility of learning Italian. These three languages, being all degeneracies from the Latin, resemble one another so much, that I doubt the possibility of keeping in the head a distinct knowledge of them all. I suppose that he who learns them all, will speak a compound of the three, and neither perfectly.

The journey which I propose to you need not be expensive, and would be very useful. With your talents and industry, with science, and that steadfast honesty which eternally pursues right, regardless of consequences, you may promise yourself every thing—but health, without which there is no happiness. An attention to health, then, should take place of every other object. The time necessary to procure this by active exercises, should be devoted to it, in preference to every other pursuit. I know the difficulty with which a studious man tears himself from his studies, at any given moment of the day. But his happiness, and that of his family, depend upon it. The most uninformed mind, with a healthy body, is happier than the wisest valitudinarian.

To Thomas Jefferson Smith.

This letter will, to you, be as one from the dead. The writer will be in the grave before you can weigh its counsels. Your affectionate and excellent father has requested that I would address to you something which might possibly have a favorable influence on the course of life you have to run; and I too, as a namesake, feel an interest in that course. Few words will be necessary, with good dispositions on your part. Adore God. Reverence and cherish your parents. Love your neighbor as yourself, and your country more than yourself. Be true. Murmur not at the ways of Providence. So shall the life, into which you have entered, be the portal to one of eternal and ineffable bliss. And, if to the dead it is permitted to care for the things of this world, every action of your life will be under my regard. Farewell.

Monticello, February 21st, 1826.

The Portrait of a Good Man.

Lord, who's the happy man that may to thy blest courts repair;
Not, stranger-like, to visit them, but to inhabit there?
'Tis he, whose every thought and deed by rules of virtue moves;
Whose generous tongue disdains to speak, the thing his heart disproves.
Who never did a slander forge, his neighbor's fame to wound;
Nor hearken to a false report, by malice whispered round.

Who vice, in all its pomp and power, can treat with just neglect;
And piety, though cloth'd in rags, religiously respect.
Who to his plighted vows and trust, has ever firmly stood;
And though he promise to his loss, he makes his promise good.
Whose soul in usury disdains his treasures to employ;
Whom no rewards can ever bribe, the guiltless to destroy.
The man, who by this steady course has happiness insured,
When earth's foundations shake, shall stand, by Providence secured.

A Decalogue for Practical Life.

1. Never put off till to-morrow what you can do to-day.
2. Never trouble another for what you can do yourself.
3. Never spend your money before you have it.
4. Never buy what you do not want, because it is cheap, it will be dear to you.
5. Pride costs us more than hunger, thirst, and cold.
6. We never repent of having eaten too little.
7. Nothing is troublesome that we do willingly.
8. How much pain have cost us the evils that never happened.
9. Take things always by their smooth handle.
10. When angry, count ten before you speak; if very angry count an hundred.

Female Education.

FEMALE EDUCATION has occupied my attention so far only as the education of my own daughters occasionally required. Considering that they would be placed in a country situation, where little aid could be obtained from abroad, I thought it essential to give them a solid education, which would enable them, when they became mothers, to educate their own daughters, and even to direct the course for sons, should their fathers be lost, or incapable, or inattentive. My surviving daughter accordingly, the mother of many daughters, has made their education the object of her life; and being a better judge of the practical part than myself, it is with her aid, and that of one of her élèves, that I shall subjoin a catalogue of the book for such a course of reading as we have practiced.

A great obstacle to good education, is the inordinate passion prevalent for novels, and the time lost in that reading which should be instructively employed. When this passion infects the mind, it destroys its tone, and revolts it against wholesome reading. Reason and fact, plain and unadorned, are rejected. Nothing can engage attention unless dressed in all the figments of fancy, and nothing so decked comes amiss. The result is a bloated imagination, sickly judgment, and disgust towards the real business of life. . . For a like reason, too much poetry should not be indulged. Some is useful for forming taste and style. Pope, Dryden, Thomson, Shakespeare, Moliere, Racine, Corneille may be read with pleasure and profit.

The ornaments, too, and the amusements of life, are entitled to their portion of attention. These, for a female, are dancing, drawing, and music. The first is a healthy exercise, elegant, and very attractive for young people. Drawing is an innocent and engaging amusement, often useful, and a qualification not to be neglected in one who is to become a mother and instructor. Music is invaluable when a person has an ear. It furnishes a delightful recreation for the hours of respite from the cares of the day, and lasts us through life.

I need say nothing of household economy, in which the mothers of our country are usually skilled, and generally careful to instruct their daughters. We all know it is useful, and that diligence and dexterity in all its processes are inestimable treasures. The order and economy of a house are as honorable to a mistress as those of a farm to the master, and if either be neglected, ruin follows, and children destitute of the means of living.—*Letter to N. Burwell, 1818.*

[To his daughter Martha (afterwards Mrs. Randolph) in her twelfth year, then under the instruction of Mrs. Hopkinson, he suggests the following distribution of her time:]

From 8 to 10, practice music.

From 10 to 1, dance one day and draw another.

From 1 to 2, draw on the day you dance, and write a letter next day.

From 3 to 4, read French.

From 4 to 5, exercises in music.

From 5 till bed-time, read English, write, etc.

I expect you will write me every post. Inform me what books you read, what tunes you learn, and inclose me your best copy of any lesson in drawing. Take care that you never spell a word wrong. . . At all times let your clothes be neat, whole, and properly put on. I have much at heart your learning to draw. As for preparation for death, the only way to be so is never to say or do a bad thing. Be sure and obey your conscience. Our Maker hath given us all this faithful internal monitor.

WILLIAM GASTON, LL.D.

ADDRESS TO THE STUDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, AT CHAPEL HILL, ON THE CONDITIONS OF SUCCESS IN PUBLIC LIFE, 1832.

THE authority of Shakspeare is often invoked for the position, that 'there is a tide in the affairs of men, which taken at the flood leads on to fortune.' Without venturing to deny altogether the fitness of this metaphor, and fully admitting it to have enough of truth to render it appropriate to the occasion for which it was used, and the character to whom the great poet assigned it, I yet regard it as too favorable to that indolence of disposition which is always ready to imagine success in life as depending on some fortunate tide. I hold, that generally, every man is the architect of his own fortune, the author of his own greatness or insignificance, happiness or misery. True it is, that casualties, neither to be foreseen nor prevented, may defeat schemes which have been wisely concerted and vigorously prosecuted; and that success, undeserved, and perhaps unsought for, may sometimes befall the weak and slothful. These, however, are but occasional deviations from the ordinary course of nature, according to which man's energies, wisely or foolishly directed, and diligently or carelessly exerted, are made to determine his character and condition in society. The stoutest ship that was ever manned with prudent heads, brave hearts, and strong hands, has foundered in a hurricane, while the feeble bark that 'owns no mastery in floating,' is sometimes safely wafted into port; yet, who can deny that ordinarily the fate of the voyage must depend on the skill, care, and courage with which it is conducted.

Much too, very much, either for permanent good or ill in the fate of every individual, has been found to follow almost necessarily from the habits formed, the propensities cherished or restrained, and the rules of conduct adopted at a very early period of life. We might, perhaps, be tempted to regret that such important and often awful consequences should follow on the doings of an age, when the unworn senses are alive to every impression, and the keen appetite greedy for every enjoyment; when the imagination is wild, the judgment feeble, and 'heedless rambling impulse' has scarcely learned to think. Yet such is the constitution of nature, and such consequently the appointment of Him, whose ways are always wise, benevolent, and just, and whose will it were not more madness to resist, than it is impiety to question. Look through the world, and

* The annals of public or private excellence present few more attractive characters than that of WILLIAM GASTON of North Carolina—born at Newbern, 1784, and died in 1844, before the evil days of which he was apprehensive, and against which he warned the youth of the whole country, had come upon the land which he loved and served with Christian devotion.

the least observant can not fail to discover talents abused, opportunities squandered, and men ruined, because of early folly, misbehavior or thoughtlessness; and let those who have passed through life's ordeal with safety and honor, look back on their trials, and they will acknowledge how much they owe to very early impressions, and to habits contracted almost without a sense of their use or a foresight of their consequences. He, therefore, who aspires to excellence, can not too soon propose to himself the objects which he should strive to obtain, nor fix his aim too early, or too steadily, on the end to which his efforts should be directed. The shortness of life, the large fragments of it which are necessarily occupied by animal wants, or wasted in frivolous cares and amusements, leave, at best, but an inconsiderable portion to be devoted to intellectual cultivation and exertion. To waste this portion would be criminal improvidence, and it is of the highest moment to learn betimes how it may be most beneficially applied.

DILIGENCE—EARLY, CONSTANT, AND PERSEVERING.

Vigorous, diligent, and persevering application is essential to the attainment of excellence in every pursuit of man. It is undoubtedly a mistake to suppose, that there is no original inequality in the mental faculties of different individuals. Probably, there is as great a disparity in their intellectual, as in their physical conformation. But however false this extravagant theory may be, there is another error far more common, and practically, far more mischievous—the error of exaggerating the difference between the original energies of intellect, and of attributing to splendid and resistless genius those victories which are not to be achieved but by well directed and continued industry. It is in the infancy of life, that the inequalities of original talent are most striking, and it is not strange, that vanity on the one hand, and indolent admiration on the other, should hyperbolically extol these obvious advantages. In what this disparity consists, it may not be easy to state with precision. But from an observation of many years, I venture to suggest, that the chief natural superiority manifested by the favored few over their competitors in the intellectual conflict, is to be found in the facility with which their attention is directed and confined to its proper subjects. That youth may be regarded as fortunate indeed, who in early life can restrain his wandering thoughts and tie down his mind at will, to the contemplation of whatever he wishes to comprehend and to make his own. A few moments of this concentrated application, is worth days and weeks of a vague, interrupted, scattered attention. The first resembles the well known maneuver in Strategy, so simple in its conception and yet so astonishing in its results, by

which all the arms of a military force are made to bear upon a given point at the same moment. Every thing here tells, because there is no power wasted, and none misapplied. Now let no one despair, because he finds this effort to confine his attention difficult, or for a considerable length of time, impracticable. Nothing is more certain, than that this power over the mind may be acquired. Let the attempt be repeated again and again—first for short, afterwards, as the ability is increased, for longer periods, and success will ultimately follow.—The habit of fixed attention will thus be created, and it is one of the peculiarities of all active habits, that in proportion to the difficulty with which they were produced, is their inveteracy, when once thoroughly formed. Thus it not unfrequently happens, that the advantages with which the individual commenced his career, who was naturally alert and devoted in his attention to every subject, as it was successively presented to his notice, have not enabled him to contend successfully with him, who, by hard efforts, has chained down his wandering thoughts and dissipated faculties to the habit of attention.

INTEGRITY IN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC LIFE.

But however earnestly you are thus exhorted to diligence, let it not be forgotten, that diligence itself is but a subordinate quality, and derives its chief value from the end to which it is directed, and the motives by which it is impelled. It is diligence in a good cause only that is commendable. The first great maxim of human conduct, that which it is all-important to impress on the understandings of young men, and recommend to their hearty adoption, is, above all things, in all circumstances, and under every emergency, to preserve a clean heart and an honest purpose. Integrity, firm, determined integrity, is that quality, which of all others, raises man to the highest dignity of his nature, and fits him to adorn and bless the sphere in which he is appointed to move. Without it, neither genius nor learning, neither the gifts of God, nor human exertions, can avail aught for the accomplishment of the great objects of human existence. Integrity is the crowning virtue—integrity is the pervading principle which ought to regulate, guide, control, and vivify every impulse, desire, and action. Honesty is sometimes spoken of as a vulgar virtue; and perhaps that honesty, which barely refrains from outraging the positive rules ordained by society for the protection of property, and which ordinarily pays its debts and performs its engagements, however useful and commendable a quality, is not to be numbered among the highest efforts of human virtue. But that integrity which, however tempting the opportunity, or however secure against detection, no selfishness nor resent-

ment, no lust of power, place, favor, profit or pleasure, can cause to swerve from the strict rule of right, is the perfection of man's moral nature. In this sense, the poet was right, when he pronounced 'an honest man the noblest work of God.' It is almost inconceivable what an erect and independent spirit this high endowment communicates to the man, and what a moral intrepidity and vivifying energy it imparts to his character. There is a family alliance between all the virtues, and perfect integrity is always followed by a train of goodly qualities, frankness, benevolence, humanity, patriotism, promptness to act, and patience to endure. In moments of public need, these indicate the man who is worthy of universal confidence. Erected on such a basis, and built up of such materials, fame is enduring. Such is the fame of our WASHINGTON, of the man 'inflexible to ill and obstinately just.' While, therefore, other monuments, intended to perpetuate human greatness, are daily moldering into dust, and belie the proud inscriptions which they bear, the solid granite pyramid of his glory lasts from age to age, imperishable, seen afar off, looming high over the vast desert, a mark, for the wayfarers through this pilgrimage of life.

A nice sense of integrity can not, therefore, be too early cherished, or too sedulously cultivated. In the very dawnings of life, occasions are presented for its exercise. Within these walls, temptations every day occur, where temporary advantage solicits a deviation from the rule of right. In the discharge of the various duties which you owe to your companions, let no petty selfishness be indulged, no artifices practiced, by which you are to escape from your fair share of labor, inconvenience or contribution, or any one deprived of the full measure of whatever he may rightfully claim. Cultivate singleness of purpose and frankness of demeanor, and hold in contempt whatever is sordid, disingenuous, cunning or mean. But it is when these peaceful shades shall have been left behind, and the fitful course of busy life begun, that seductions will be presented under every form by which inexperience, infirmity of purpose, and facility of disposition, can be waylaid. Then is the crisis of the young man's fate—then is the time to take his stand, to seize his vantage ground. If he can then defy the allurements of cupidity, sensuality, and ambition, the laugh of fools, the arts of parasites, and the contagion of improbity; then indeed, may he hope,

In sight of mortal and immortal power,

As in a boundless theater, to run

The great career of justice—

And through the mists of passion and of sense,

And through the teasing tide of chance and pain

To hold his course unaltering.

GOOD CONSCIENCE AND SELF-RELIANCE.

In matters of right and wrong, whatever be the lures, the taunts, or the usages of the world, or whatever the supposed inconveniences of singularity, let judgment and conscience always rule with absolute sway. Carry this maxim with you through life, whatever be the station you are to occupy, or the business you are to pursue; and carry with it another kindred maxim, rely for success in your undertakings, not on the patronage of others, but on your own capacity, resolution, diligence, and exertions. Rise by merit, or rise not at all. Suited as these injunctions are believed to be to all, they are peculiarly addressed to those among you, who, panting for renown, are resolved to enter upon a public career, and long "to read their history in a nation's eyes."

'How wretched,' exclaims the Poet of Nature, 'is that poor man who hangs on Princes' favors.' Miserable is the condition of every being who hangs on the favors of creatures like himself. Deserve, and strive by desert, to win the esteem of your fellow-men. Thus acquired, it decorates him who obtains, and blesses those who bestow it. To them, it is returned in faithful service, and to him, it comes in aid of the approbation of conscience to animate diligence and reward exertion. Those too, who engage in public service, are bound to cherish a hearty sympathy with the wants, feelings, comforts, and wishes of the people whose welfare is committed to their charge. It is essential for the preservation of that confidence which ought to subsist between the principal and the agent, the constituent and the representative, that all haughtiness and reserve should be banished from their intercourse. It sometimes happens, that he who has lived too constantly among books manifests a disgust in an association with the uneducated and unrefined, which mortifies and repels them. This is absurd in him, and unjust to them. It is absurd, for he ought to know, and know well, those for whom, and upon whom, he expects to act—they constitute, in fact, one of the first and most appropriate objects of his study; and it is unjust, for not unfrequently, under this roughness which shocks the man of books, is to be found a stock of practical information, in which he is miserably deficient. Banish, then, all superciliousness, for it is criminal and ridiculous. Honestly seek to serve your country, for it is glorious to advance the good of your fellow-men, and thus, as far as feeble mortals may, act up to the great example of Him to whose image and likeness you are made. Seek also, by all honest arts, to win their confidence, but beware how you ever prefer their

favor to their service. The high road of service is indeed laborious, exposed to the rain and sun, the heat and dust; while the by-path of favor has, apparently, at first, much the same direction, and is bordered with flowers and sheltered by trees, 'cooled with fountains and murmuring with waterfalls.' No wonder, then, that like the son of Abensina, in Johnson's beautiful Apologue, the young adventurer is tempted to try the happy experiment of uniting pleasure with business, and gaining the rewards of diligence without suffering its fatigues. But once entered upon, the path of favor, though found to decline more and more from its first direction, is pursued through all its deviations, till at length, even the thought of return to the road of service is utterly abandoned. To court the fondness of the people, is found, or supposed to be, easier than to merit their approbation. Meanly ambitious of public trust, without the virtues to deserve it; intent on personal distinction, and having forgotten the ends for which alone it is worth possessing, the miserable being concentrated all in self, learns to pander to every vulgar prejudice, to advocate every popular error, to chime in with every dominant party, to fawn, flatter, and deceive, and becomes a demagogue. How wretched is that poor being who hangs on the people's favor! All manliness of principle has been lost in this long course of meanness; he dare not use his temporary popularity for any purposes of public good, in which there may be a hazard of forfeiting it; and the very eminence to which he is exalted, renders but more conspicuous his servility and degradation. However clear the convictions of his judgment, however strong the admonitions of his, as yet, not thoroughly stifled conscience, not these, not the law of God, nor the rule of right, nor the public good—but the caprice of his constituents, must be his only guide. Having risen by artifice, and conscious of no worth to support him, he is in hourly dread of being supplanted in the favor of the deluded multitude by some more cunning deceiver. And such, sooner or later, is sure to be his fate. At some unlucky moment, when he bears his blushing honors thick upon him, (and well may such honors blush!) he is jerked from his elevation by some more dexterous demagogue, and falls unpitied, never to rise again. And can this be the lot of him who has been here trained to admire and love high-minded excellence—who has been taught by high classical authority to regard with the same fearless and immovable indifference, the stern countenance of the tyrant and the wicked ardor of the multitude, and who has learned from a yet higher and holier authority, to hold fast on 'whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are

just, whatsoever things are pure, to abhor that which is evil and cleave to that which is good? Believe me, however, this is no fancy picture. The original may be found in the world every day. Nor will it surprise those who have had occasion to see how the vain heart is swoln, and the giddy head turned, how honesty of purpose and manliness of spirit, are perverted by popular applause. It is but the first step that costs. Once yield to the suggestion, that a little deceit or prevarication, a slight sacrifice of principle and independence, a compromise of conscience in matters not absolutely fundamental, may be excused, when the immediate gain is obvious and the end in view important, and the downward path becomes every day more and more smooth, until, in its descent, it reach the very abyss of vulgar, trading, intriguing, electioneering, office-hunting politicians. If in this lowest depth, a lower deep can be found, none of us, I am sure, have the curiosity to explore it.

PATRIOTISM IN A FREE COUNTRY.

In a country like ours, where the public will is wholly unfettered, and every man is a component part of that country, there is no individual so humble who has not duties of a public kind to discharge. His views and actions have an influence on those of others, and his opinions, with theirs, serve to make up that public will. More especially is this the case with those who, whatever may be their pursuits in life, have been raised by education to a comparative superiority in intellectual vigor and attainments. On you, and such as you, depends the fate of the most precious heritage ever won by the valor, or preserved by the prudence, or consecrated by the virtue of an illustrious ancestry—illustrious, not because of factitious titles, but nature's nobles, wise, good, generous, and brave! To you, and such as you, will be confided in deposit, the institutions of our renowned and beloved country. Receive them with awe, cherish them with loyalty, and transmit them whole, and if possible, improved to your children. Yours will, indeed, be no sinecure office. As the public will is the operative spring of all public action, it will be your duty to make and to keep the public will enlightened. There will always be some error to dispel, some prejudice to correct, some illusion to guard against, some imposition to detect and expose. In aid of these individual efforts, you must provide, by public institutions, for diffusing among the people, that general information without which they can not be protected from the machinations of deceivers. As your country grows in years, you must also cause it to grow in science, literature, arts, and refinement. It will be for you

to develop and multiply its resources, to check the faults of manners as they rise, and to advance the cause of industry, temperance, moderation, justice, morals, and religion, all around you. On you too, will devolve the duty which has been too long neglected, but which can not with impunity be neglected much longer, of providing for the mitigation, and (is it too much to hope for in North Carolina) for the ultimate extirpation of the worst evil that afflicts the Southern part of our Confederacy. Full well do you know to what I refer, for on this subject there is, with all of us, a morbid sensitiveness which gives warning even of an approach to it. Disguise the truth as we may, and throw the blame where we will, it is Slavery which, more than any other cause, keeps us back in the career of improvement. It stifles industry and represses enterprise—it is fatal to economy and providence—it discourages skill—impairs our strength as a community, and poisons morals at the fountain head. How this evil is to be encountered, how subdued, is indeed a difficult and delicate inquiry, which this is not the time to examine, nor the occasion to discuss. I felt, however, that I could not discharge my duty, without referring to this subject, as one which ought to engage the prudence, moderation, and firmness of those who, sooner or later, must act decisively upon it.

AN AMERICAN—NOT A SECTIONAL SPIRIT.

I would not depress your buoyant spirits with gloomy anticipations, but I should be wanting in frankness, if I did not state my conviction that you will be called to the performance of other duties unusually grave and important. Perils surround you and are imminent, which will require clear heads, pure intentions, and stout hearts, to discern and to overcome. There is no side on which danger may not make its approach, but from the wickedness and madness of factions, it is most menacing. Time was, indeed, when factions contended amongst us with virulence and fury; but they were, or affected to be, at issue on questions of principle; now, Americans band together under the names of men, and wear the livery, and put on the badges of their leaders. Then, the individuals of the different parties were found side by side, dispersed throughout the various districts of our confederated Republic; but now the parties that distract the land, are almost identified with our geographical distinctions. Now, there has come that period, foreseen and dreaded by our WASHINGTON, by him 'who, more than any other individual, founded this our wide-spreading Empire, and gave to our western world independence and freedom'—by him, who with a father's

warning-voice, bade us beware of 'parties founded on geographical discriminations.' As yet, the sentiment so deeply planted in the hearts of our honest yeomanry, that union is strength, has not been uprooted. As yet, they acknowledge the truth, and feel the force of the homely, but excellent aphorism, 'United we stand, divided we fall.' As yet, they take pride in the name of 'the United States'—in recollection of the fields that were won, the blood which was poured forth, and the glory which was gained in the common cause, and under the common banner of a united country. May God, in his mercy, forbid that I, or you, my friends, should live to see the day, when these sentiments and feelings shall be extinct! Whenever that day comes, then is the hour at hand, when this glorious Republic, this at once national and confederated Republic, which for nearly half a century has presented to the eyes, the hopes and the gratitude of man, a more brilliant and lovely image than Plato, or More, or Harrington, ever feigned or fancied, shall be like a tale that is told, like a vision that hath passed away. But these sentiments and feelings are necessarily weakened, and in the end must be destroyed, unless the moderate, the good, and the wise united, 'frown indignantly upon the first dawnings of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together its various parts.' Threats of resistance, secession, separation—have become common as household words, in the wicked and silly violence of public declaimers. The public ear is familiarized, and the public mind will soon be accustomed, to the detestable suggestion of *DISUNION!* Calculations and conjectures, what may the East do without the South, and what may the South do without the East, sneers, menaces, reproaches, and recriminations, all tend to the same fatal end! What can the East do without the South? What can the South do without the East? They may do much; they may exhibit to the curiosity of political anatomists, and the pity and wonder of the world, the '*disiecta membra*,' the sundered bleeding limbs of a once gigantic body instinct with life and strength and vigor. They can furnish to the philosophic historian, another, melancholy and striking instance of the political axiom, that all Republican confederacies have an inherent and unavoidable tendency to dissolution. They will present fields and occasions for border wars, for leagues and counter-leagues, for the intrigues of petty statesmen, the struggles of military chiefs, for confiscations, insurrections, and deeds of darkest hue. They will gladden the hearts of those who have proclaimed, that men are not fit to govern themselves, and shed a disastrous eclipse on the

hopes of rational freedom throughout the world. Solon, in his Code, proposed no punishment for parricide, treating it as an impossible crime. Such, with us, ought to be the crime of political parricide—the dismemberment of our ‘father-land.’ ‘*Cari sunt parentes, cari sunt liberi, propinqui, familiares, sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est ; pro qua quis bonus dubitet mortem appetere si ei sit profuturus? Quo est detestabilior istorum immanitas qui lacerarunt scelere patriam, et in ea funditus delenda occupati et sunt et fuerunt.*’

If it must be so, let parties and party men continue to quarrel with little or no regard to the public good. They may mystify themselves and others with disputations on political economy, proving the most opposite doctrines to their own satisfaction, and perhaps, to the conviction of no one else on earth. They may deserve reprobation for their selfishness, their violence, their errors, or their wickedness. They may do our country much harm. They may retard its growth, destroy its harmony, impair its character, render its institutions unstable, pervert the public mind, and deprave the public morals. These are, indeed, evils, and sore evils, but the principle of life remains, and will yet struggle with assured success, over these temporary maladies. Still we are great, glorious, united, and free ; still we have a name that is revered abroad and loved at home—a name which is a tower of strength to us against foreign wrong, and a bond of internal union and harmony—a name, which no enemy pronounces but with respect, and which no citizen hears, but with a throb of exultation. Still we have that blessed Constitution, which, with all its pretended defects, and all its alleged violations, has conferred more benefit on man, than ever yet flowed from any other human institution—which has established justice, insured domestic tranquillity, provided for the common defense, promoted the general welfare, and, which, under God, if we be true to ourselves, will insure the blessings of Liberty to us and our posterity.

Surely, such a Country, and such a Constitution, have claims upon you, my friends, which can not be disregarded. I entreat and adjure you then, by all that is near and dear to you on earth, by all the obligations of Patriotism, by the memory of your fathers, who fell in the great and glorious struggle, for the sake of your sons whom you would not have to blush for your degeneracy, by all your proud recollections of the past, and all your fond anticipations of the future renown of our nation—preserve that Country, uphold that Constitution. Resolve, that they shall not be lost in your keeping, and may God Almighty strengthen you to perform that vow !

BENJAMIN THOMPSON—COUNT RUMFORD.

MEMOIR.*

BENJAMIN THOMPSON, better known as COUNT RUMFORD, and under that name identified with educational institutions as founder or benefactor, in Germany, England, and the United States, was born at Woburn, in Massachusetts, on the 26th of March, 1753. The father, Benjamin Thompson, and the mother Ruth Simonds, came from the original stock of the first colonists of Massachusetts Bay—his first paternal ancestor, James Thompson, was of Winthrop's company, and at the age of thirty-seven was in Charlestown in 1630, one of the original settlers of that portion of the town which was soon set off as a separate precinct, under the name of Woburn. Here he lived to the age of ninety—a man of worth, position, and trust—being one of the 'selectmen' of the town. Under the roof of his grandfather, Captain Ebenezer Thompson, the future Count Rumford was born. While yet a child (hardly twenty months old) his father died, and in March, 1756, his widowed mother was married to Josiah Pierce, Jr., who took his wife and her child to a new home.

In the village school of Woburn, young Thompson had the teaching of Mr. John Fowle, (a graduate of Harvard College in 1747) and later in his school life (at the age of eleven) was in the family of a relative (Mr. Hill), an able teacher, in the adjoining town of Medford. Just before he reached the age of fourteen, he elected, in the alternative of a farmer's life, to become an apprenticed clerk to Mr. John Appleton of Salem, an importer of British goods and a dealer in all the miscellaneous articles of a town store. His latest biographer (Rev. George E. Ellis) remarks on the inspection of bills made out by the young clerk, that the penmanship, mercantile style, and business-like signature, all indicate good training and an aptitude for his situation. But we have his own declaration, that his heart was not in his business, and that his ambition for a more lit-

* Memoir of Sir Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford, with notices of his daughter. By George E. Ellis. Published in connection with an edition of Rumford's complete works in 4 vols. Memoir 640 pages, with illustrations. By the American Academy of Science, 1871-5.

erary and scientific career was fed by the conversation of customers and visitors of Mr. Appleton (of whose family he was a member), some of whom were then members of a social evening club, which has now become the Essex County Institute. Be that as it may, he was addicted to mechanical inventions, and under the instruction of Thomas Barnard, the eldest son of Rev. Thomas Barnard of the First Church of Salem from 1755 to 1776, made some progress in algebra, geometry, and astronomy. Such was his skill in compounding chemicals, that he was employed in making gunpowder to be used in a local celebration over the repeal of the Stamp Act. This experiment cost him dearly—the materials exploded in the preparation, and led to his being taken back to his mother's home for quiet and surgical treatment, and ultimately to winding up his apprenticeship with Mr. Appleton.

During his enforced leisure at Woburn, he was in correspondence with a young townsman (Loammi Baldwin, who afterward did good service as an officer in the Revolutionary War, and became eminent as a civil engineer) on the solution of problems in optics, astronomy, and meteorology.

In the autumn of 1769, Thompson was sent to Boston to engage in a business similar to that which he had been learning at Salem—having in the previous winter taught a district school in Wilmington.* From a journal kept at this time, it appears that while in Boston, a clerk with Mr. Hopestill Capen, a dry goods dealer, he took evening lessons in French, and practiced drawing and etchings with pen and pencil. He also enters a recipe for making rockets of different sizes, and directions for the 'back sword' exercise, and the cost of materials 'for getting up an electrical machine.'

Being obliged to leave Mr. Capen, on account of the loss of trade which followed the non-importation resolution of the Boston merchants, Thompson entered the office of Dr. Hay of Woburn, and in the interval of his professional reading, in company with young Baldwin, walked over to Cambridge (a distance of eight miles) to attend the lectures of Prof. Winthrop on natural philosophy. When the friends returned home, they were in the habit of repeating the experiments which they had witnessed, and trying others with such apparatus of their own contrivance. Knowledge acquired in this way, sought with such avidity, and such sacrifice of ease and comfort, digested by conversation, and brought home to practical

* Mr. Ellis cites Hon. C. W. Upham of Salem for the statement, that when he, a college student in 1818-19, taught school in a district in Wilmington, following Thompson at a distance of forty-seven years, the oldest people very well remembered their distinguished and eccentric master of the former age. Strange stories were told of certain athletic and gymnastic performances and feats, in which he sometimes exercised himself and his scholars within the walls, as well as outside.

use by actual experiment, must have been incorporated into the very substance of the growing mind.

The following entries for the disposal of his time in 1771 are cited by Mr. Ellis. Beginning at eleven o'clock at night,—

From eleven to six, sleep. Get up at six o'clock and wash my hands and face. From six to eight, exercise one half and study one half. From eight till ten, breakfast, attend prayers, &c. From ten to twelve, study all the time. From twelve to one, dine, &c. From one to four, study constantly. From four to five, relieve my mind by some diversion or exercise. From five till bedtime, follow what my inclination leads me to; whether it be to go abroad, or stay at home and read either Anatomy, Physic, or Chemistry, or any other book I want to peruse.

This is followed by the ensuing account of his occupations on each week-day for two weeks:

Monday and Tuesday, Anatomy. Wednesday, Institutes of Physic. Thursday, Surgery. Friday, Chemistry, with the Materia Medica. Saturday, Physic one half, and Surgery one half.

Monday, Anatomy. Tuesday, Anatomy one half, and Surgery one half. Wednesday, Surgery. Thursday, Institutes of Physic. Friday, Physic. Saturday, Chemistry, with the Materia Medica.

When any man, young or old, thus methodically disposes the days of the week and the hours of each day with reference to systematic study and culture in pursuing various branches of knowledge, not neglectful of the laws of health and the necessity of relaxation, we may be sure that he will make, if he be not already, a true philosopher. The fact, also, that Thompson had to teach while he was himself learning, would make it certain that he would do both to better purpose. In boarding around for short periods with successive families in many country towns,—the fashion for the district schoolmaster of those times,—he largely increased his knowledge of men and things.

In a letter addressed to Mr. Baldwin in 1771, he proposes 'the formation of a society for propagating learning and useful knowledge by means of questions to be proposed to a certain number of persons, and each to bring in his answer,' to be entered in a book which he had purchased for that purpose. Here is more fruit from Cotton Mather's '*Essay to do Good*,' or possibly more directly from Franklin's experiment of the 'Junto Club' in Philadelphia.

In the winter of 1771, Thompson taught a district school in the town of Bradford, on the Merrimack. Here he was so well esteemed for faithful services that he was sent for to Concord, New Hampshire, higher up the same river, by Colonel Timothy Walker, and offered a situation in a school of a higher grade, which would secure him a permanent position. Concord, under its Indian name of Penacook, had been claimed on its settlement by the English as being within the bounds and jurisdiction of Massachusetts. As

such it had been incorporated in 1733-34, as a town in Essex County, Massachusetts, under the name of Rumford, probably from a town of that name, generally called Romford, about twelve miles from London, whence some of the original settlers in the New England wilderness had emigrated. The name has interest for us, as it was chosen by Benjamin Thompson for a title when he was made a 'Count of the Holy Roman Empire.' The name of the town was changed to Concord, to mark the restoration of harmony after a long period of agitation as to its provincial jurisdiction and its relations with its neighbors. It was gratitude which prompted Thompson to make the name of Rumford titular, and he expressed most tenderly and reverently his sense of obligation to the venerated minister of the place,—his patron, guide, and father-in-law.

Thompson had reason for this gratitude and sense of obligation. Had he fallen upon peaceful times, and made his native country his home for life, the propitious start which he received in Concord and the friends which there made his family circle, would have secured for him high position and success.

The Rev. Timothy Walker, the first minister of Concord, New Hampshire, a native of Woburn, and connected already with the Thompson family, had joined the fortunes of the early settlers in 1730 as their spiritual guide, and continued in their service as such till his death, September 2, 1782, after a ministry of fifty-two years. He was one of that class of ministers, characteristic of New England from its colonization down nearly to our own times, who, while holding a position and authority officially and conventionally supreme among the people of a settlement, proved worthy of esteem, and used their influence for unqualified good. Mr. Walker was the most honored citizen of Concord, as well as its beloved minister, and he has been honored in the line of his descendants. He had been thrice sent on missions to England on business connected with the disputes about the jurisdiction of the town and province, and had there impressed the legal counsel which he employed, and the tribunal before which he was heard, in a manner that insured his success. He also used his opportunities abroad for observation and acquisition, so as to enhance his influence at home. His son, Colonel Timothy Walker, a lawyer, was also a man of talent and position.

But next to the minister, just previous to Thompson's visit to Concord, Colonel Benjamin Rolfe held place and power in the village. He was the squire, was rich and public-spirited. He is distinguished as having been the first owner and driver of a carriage and a pair of horses in New Hampshire, always excepting the Gov-

error's at Portsmouth. Colonel Rolfe having lived as a bachelor till he was about sixty years old, then married Sarah, the daughter of the Rev. Timothy Walker, she being at the time about thirty. Unfortunately, some of the interleaved almanacs in which the good minister was in the habit of entering his official acts and matters of church record have been lost, and thus we are left in ignorance of some dates which would interest us. The Concord town records say that Sarah Walker was born October 6, 1739. She was married to Colonel Rolfe in 1769. They had one son, afterward Colonel Paul Rolfe. The father died December 21, 1771, in his sixty-second year, leaving to his widow and son a large estate. He built a fine house at the so-called 'Eleven Lots,' since known as the Rolfe House. It was here that his widow, as the wife of Count Rumford, lived, and died on January 19, 1792, at the age of fifty-two.

When Benjamin Thompson went to Concord as a teacher he was in the glory of his youth, not having yet reached manhood. His friend Baldwin describes him as of a fine manly make and figure, nearly six feet in height, of handsome features, bright blue eyes, and dark auburn hair. He had the manners and polish of a gentleman, with fascinating ways, and an ability to make himself agreeable. So diligently, too, had he used his opportunities of culture and reading, that he might well have shined even in a circle socially more exacting than that to which he was now introduced. We may anticipate here the conclusion to which the review of his whole career will lead us,—that, as a boy or man, he was never one to allow an opportunity of advancement to escape him. He seems to have given satisfaction as a teacher. The traditions that linger in the older homes at Concord, like those at Wilmington, include a large element of the reminiscences of certain accomplishments and activities of the young teacher which were not of strictly official character. He was skilled in vaulting and other athletic feats, and he won very early in his life the repute of gallantry.

When Count Rumford, looking back from the achievements and honors of his foreign career, told his friend Pictet of his deep indebtedness to the Rev. Mr. Walker for kindly oversight and counsel, for fostering patronage, and for fatherly love, his thoughts must have turned into feelings as he tenderly recalled some happy scenes and hours in that country parsonage. There, and to the house of the younger Walker, Thompson often went to give account of his pedagogueship and to enjoy social pleasures. There and at other places, he would meet the daughter and sister in her early widowhood. The tradition is that she facilitated what is often to the young man

the difficult crisis in a relation which is easy before and after that crisis is past. An engagement was speedily effected between the parties with the entire approbation of the reverend father.

The before-mentioned 'curricie,' left among the effects of Colonel Rolfe, was now put to service. The lady invited the young teacher, who was no longer to preside over a school, to accompany her on an excursion to Boston, a drive of over sixty miles, she having friends on the way whose hospitality was sure. She took care, with his own efficient coöperation, to have him furnished in Boston with all that was requisite at the time for fashionable array, including the offices of tailor and hair-dresser. Of course the color of his garments was his own favorite scarlet, ominous of the ill esteem into which he was soon to fall as too friendly to those whose military garb was of that hue. Tradition reports, that as the pair, not yet married, were on their homeward way, the lady ordered the curricie to stop at the door of Mrs. Pierce's house, the mother of her companion. That mother, being as yet ignorant of the change that had come over the fortunes of her son, was amazed at the apparition at her humble doorway, and especially at the gorgeous and extravagant array of her son, the village schoolmaster, and the not idle, but unprofitable busy experimenter. She is reported to have given vent to her surprise in the rebuking question, 'Why, Ben, my son, how could you go and lay out all your winter's earnings in finery?' The tradition continues that the mother, hesitating somewhat about the character of her son's female companion, and the explanation given by her, was finally, through the intervention of Dr. Hay, made to understand the circumstances of the case. She still wished time to think upon it, but on the next day gave her consent.

Benjamin Thompson was married to Mrs. Sarah Walker Rolfe in November, 1772—their only child Sarah, who afterward was received at the Court of the Elector of Bavaria, as Countess Rumford, was born Oct. 18, 1774, in the Rolfe Mansion in Concord. On their marriage tour to Portsmouth, the husband made the acquaintance of Governor Wentworth, who was so pleased with his address that he soon gave him a commission to fill a vacant Majorship in the Second Provincial Regiment of New Hampshire. That commission, addressed as it was to his weak point,—his personal vanity—detached him from his old friends and the great majority of his fellow-citizens in the widening chasm between the colonies and the mother country; and on the outbreak of open hostilities, he accepted the conditions, and left his home, his wife and child, and clove to the royal cause.

RESIDENCE AND OCCUPATION IN ENGLAND—1776-1783.

Benjamin Thompson arrived in England in the British frigate *Scarborough* in May, 1776, the bearer of gloomy dispatches from General Gage, who had just evacuated Boston, to Lord George Germaine, the British Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs—by whom he was soon offered a post in his office. Of whatever nature were the services which Thompson rendered to the public business, they must have been of considerable value; for in 1780, four years after his arrival in England, he was raised by his patron, Lord Germaine, to the post of Under-secretary of State for the Colonies; an instance of promotion which, considering the circumstances in which the subject of it stood, is almost unexampled. The usual accompaniment of such a situation was, and is, a seat in parliament; and according to the practice of those days, when noblemen had seats in the House of Commons at their disposal, Lord Germaine, if he had so chosen, might have conferred a seat on his American protégé; but it was probably imagined that the admission into parliament of a man so unpopular in America would be attended with disadvantages, and that, at all events, Thompson's talents were better fitted for the desk than the senate. The income and consequence, however, which he derived from his office gave him admission to the highest metropolitan circles; and he had thus opportunities not only of becoming known, but also of exercising his inventive mind in many pursuits not immediately connected with his official duties. Fertility—a disposition to propose improvements in all departments—seems to have been his most striking characteristic; and it was probably this ready genius for practical reforms in every thing which came under his notice, that recommended him so much to public men. A man who, in his general intercourse with society, can drop valuable suggestions, allowing others to grasp at them, and enjoy the credit of carrying them into effect, is likely to be a favorite. Thompson appears to have been such a man—a person who, holding no ostensible post but that of Under-secretary for the Colonies, could yet, out of the richness of an ever-inventive mind, scatter hints which would be thankfully received by men of all professions.

While concerning himself generally, however, in a variety of matters, Thompson was at the same time following out certain specific lines of scientific investigation. 'As early as 1777,' says his biographer, 'he made some curious and interesting experiments on the strength of solid bodies. These were never published, and would probably have been superseded by more full investigations made by subsequent experimenters. In 1778, he employed himself in experi-

ments on the strength of gunpowder and the velocity of military projectiles, and these were followed up by a cruise of some months in the Channel fleet, where he proposed to repeat his investigations on a larger scale.' On this subject, Thompson communicated several papers to the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society, of which he had become a member. Passing over these scientific lucubrations, we hasten to reach that period of Rumford's life at which he found himself in a situation to give full scope to his genius for improvements.

As the war between Great Britain and the Colonies proceeded, it became evident that the latter must triumph. The anti-American party in Great Britain lost ground; and on the news of the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis reaching England, a division took place in the Cabinet, and Lord George Germaine found it necessary to resign office. As his policy, however, in American affairs had been agreeable to the wishes of George III., he retired with the honors of a peerage, and was able still to forward the interests of his friends. Not the least distinguished of these was Under-secretary Thompson, who, whether he had coöperated with his principal in all his measures and views, or whether, 'according to his own statement afterward to Cuvier, he was disgusted at Lord Germaine's want of judgment,' had at least done a sufficient amount of work to deserve a parting token of regard. Accordingly, by the influence of the fallen minister, Thompson was sent out to New York, in the year 1781, with the royal commission of major, which was afterward changed for that of lieutenant-colonel, charged with the task of organizing an efficient regiment of dragoons out of the broken and disjointed native cavalry regiments which had been fighting on the royalist side.

His appearance on the military field, at the close of the American war, has not added to the permanent reputation of the subject of this memoir. He had no opportunity of showing his peculiar genius in organization or sanitary improvements; and his exploits consisted in occasional sallies with a small cavalry corps out of Charleston (where he landed, the fleet having been driven by adverse winds beyond New York), in the winter of 1781-2, in search of supplies for the command of General Leslie stationed there; or in organizing the King's American Dragoons, out of the remains of the Queen's Rangers (composed originally of Connecticut and New York Tories and other loyalist troopers), and in building and holding a fort in the town of Huntington, on Long Island, in the winter of 1782. He returned to England in April, 1783, and in August, on the recom-

mentation of General Carlton, he was promoted to the rank of Colonel of the King's American Dragoons.

Peace having been concluded between the United States and Great Britain, Colonel Thompson, shortly after his return, obtained leave of absence, in order that he might travel on the continent. Passing through France on his way to Vienna, he had reached Strasbourg on the German frontier, when an incident occurred which changed his prospects, and gave a direction to his life different from what he intended or could have anticipated. A review of the garrison of Strasbourg being held, he presented himself on the field as a spectator, 'mounted on a superb English horse, and in the full uniform of his rank as colonel of dragoons.' The French officers were eager to make the acquaintance of the conspicuous stranger, the more so that his attendance at a review of French troops in full English uniform was regarded as an act of courtesy, which deserved a return. Among those who entered into conversation with him was Prince Maximilian, nephew and presumptive heir of the Elector of Bavaria, and who had served as the commander of a French regiment in the American war. So agreeable was the impression which Thompson made on the Prince, that on learning his circumstances and intentions, the latter offered him an introduction to his uncle, the Bavarian Elector, in case he should be inclined to alter his design of proceeding to Vienna, and make trial of the Bavarian service. The proposal pleased Thompson, and, furnished with the Prince's letter of introduction, he set out for Munich. Wherever he went, he seems to have had the art, almost in spite of himself, of conciliating favor; and on his very first audience with the Elector of Bavaria, he was offered an important situation at court. Still clinging, however, to his resolution of visiting Vienna, he did not accept the offer; but after spending some time at Munich, during which the Elector's esteem for him increased more and more, he set out for the Austrian capital. The Elector, however, continued to send him pressing invitations to enter his service; and learning at Vienna that the Turkish war was likely to be brought to a speedy conclusion, Colonel Thompson at length promised that, provided he could obtain the consent of his British Majesty, he would take up his residence at Munich. Proceeding to London, in order to obtain the consent which was required, he was received with great kindness by George III., who conferred on him the honor of knighthood, and gave him permission, while resigning the command of his regiment, to retain the title of lieutenant-colonel, and the half-pay attached to it. He left England as SIR BENJAMIN THOMPSON.

RESIDENCE AND WORK IN BAVARIA, 1784-94.

At the close of the year 1784, Sir Benjamin Thompson took up his residence in Munich, filling the post of Aid-de-Camp and Chamberlain to the Elector—with functions at once military and civil. Disconnected by any ties of blood, or interest, with the people of Bavaria, he was charged with duties of the most delicate and difficult character—the reorganization of the entire military system, and the introduction of order, efficiency, and economy, into the whole internal administration. We shall confine our brief notice of his beneficent labors in Bavaria to certain sanitary, industrial, and educational measures connected with the army and the poor.

Military Academy at Munich.

One of his earliest measures was the establishment of a Military Academy at Munich, of which he gives an account after it had been in operation six years.

This Academy, which consists of 180 *élèves* or pupils, is divided into three classes. The first class, which is designed for the education of orphans and other children of the poorer classes of Military Officers, and those employed in the Civil Departments of the State, consists of thirty pupils, who are received *gratis*, from the age of eleven to thirteen years, and who remain in the Academy four years. The second class, which is designed to assist the poorer nobility and less opulent among the merchants, citizens, and servants of government, in giving their sons a good general education, consists of sixty pupils, who are received from the age of eleven to fifteen years, and who pay to the Academy twelve florins a month; for which sum they are fed, clothed, and instructed. The third class, consisting of ninety pupils, from the age of fifteen to twenty years, who are all admitted *gratis*, is designed principally to bring forward such youths among the lower classes of the people as show evident signs of *uncommon talents* and genius, joined to a sound constitution of body, and a good moral character.

All Commanding Officers of regiments, and Public Officers in Civil Departments, and all Civil Magistrates, are authorized and *invited* to recommend subjects for this class of the Academy, and they are not confined in their choice to any particular ranks of society, but they are allowed to recommend persons of the lowest extraction, and most obscure origin. Private soldiers, and the children of soldiers, and even the children of the poorest mechanics and day-laborers, are admissible, provided they possess the necessary requisites; namely, *very extraordinary natural genius*, a healthy constitution, and a good character; but if the subject recommended should be found wanting in any of these requisite qualifications, he would not only be refused admittance into the Academy, but the person who recommended him would be very severely reprimanded.

The greatest severity is necessary upon these occasions, otherwise it would be impossible to prevent abuses. An establishment, designed for the encouragement of genius, and for calling forth into public utility talents which would otherwise remain buried and lost in obscurity, would soon become a *job* for providing for relations and dependents.

One circumstance, relative to the internal arrangement of this Academy, may, perhaps, be thought not unworthy of being particularly mentioned, and that is the very moderate expense at which this institution is maintained. By a calculation, founded upon the experience of four years, I find that the whole Academy, consisting of 180 pupils, with professors and masters of every kind, servants, clothing, board, lodging, firewood, light, repairs, and every other article, house-rent alone excepted, amounts to no more than 28,000 florins a year, which is no more than 155 florins, or about fourteen pounds sterling a

year for each pupil; a small sum indeed, considering the manner in which they are kept, and the education they receive.

Though this Academy is called a *Military Academy*, it is by no means confined to the education of those who are destined for the army; but it is rather an establishment of general education, where the youth are instructed in every science, and taught every bodily exercise, and personal accomplishment, which constitute a liberal education; and which fits them equally for the station of a private gentleman,—for the study of any of the learned professions,—or for any employment, civil or military, under the government.

As this institution is principally designed as a nursery for genius,—as a gymnasium for the formation of men,—for the formation of *real men*, possessed of strength and character, as well as talents and accomplishments, and capable of rendering essential service to the State; at all public examinations of the pupils, the heads of all the public departments are invited to be present, in order to witness the progress of the pupils, and to mark those who discover talents peculiarly useful in any particular department of public employment.

Improvement in Military Education and Organization.

Omitting all the miscellaneous improvements of a minor or mechanical nature which were effected by Thompson in matters connected with the military service—as, for instance, in the construction of cannon, in the uniform of the soldiers, their drill, &c.—let us attend to the moral principle which ruled all his proceedings with regard to the organization of the army. 'I have endeavored,' he says, 'in all my operations, to unite the interest of the soldier with the interest of civil society, and to render the military force, even in time of peace, subservient to the *public good*. To facilitate and promote these important objects, to establish a respectable standing army, which should do the least possible harm to the population, morals, manufactures, and agriculture of the country, it was necessary to make soldiers citizens, and citizens soldiers.' To this principle, or at least to the precise form in which it is here stated, different persons will make different objections, according as their sympathies are civil or military; but Rumford's general view, that *soldiers should be treated as men*, can not be impugned. The army being essentially the offspring of an age of physical force, it is certainly difficult to organize it conformably to the spirit of an age which repudiates physical force. To do this—in other words, to make the army, as such, a moral agent—is impossible; but it is quite possible to render a large general culture and much individual freedom compatible with strict discipline; and, at all events, the modern maxim is, that the army is a part of society, employed, it is true, in services of a peculiar nature, which require a peculiar organization, but not on that account cut off from the general mass of the community. Such was the maxim of the Bavarian minister. Besides what he did to increase the physical comfort of the soldier by superior food, clothing, and accommodation, he adopted means for the intellectual and moral improvement of all connected with the military service. 'Schools were established in all the regiments for instructing the soldiers and their children in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Besides these schools of instruction, others, called schools of industry, were established in the regiments, where the soldiers and their children were taught various kinds of work, and from whence they were supplied with raw materials to work for their own emolument. As nothing is so certainly fatal to morals as habitual idleness, every possible means was adopted that could be devised to introduce a spirit of industry among the troops. Every encouragement was given to the soldiers to employ their leisure time when they were off duty in working for their own emolument; and among other encouragements, the most efficacious of all, that of allowing them full liberty to dispose of the money acquired by their labor in any way they should think proper, without being obliged to give any account of it to any body.' Besides working at their various trades for such as chose to employ them, the soldiers were employed as laborers 'in all public works, such as making and repairing highways, draining marshes, repairing the banks of rivers, &c.; and in all such cases the greatest care was taken to provide for their comfortable subsistence, and even for their amusement. To preserve good order and harmony among those who were detached upon these working parties, a certain propor-

tion of officers and non-commissioned officers were always sent with them, and these commonly served as overseers of the works, and as such were paid.'

The particular plan, however, which enabled Thompson, while he was improving the personal condition of the soldier, and turning the peace establishment to greater account than before for the general good of the country, at the same time to diminish greatly the expense of its support, was that of *permanent garrisons*. The whole army was distributed through the various cities of the electorate, each city being garrisoned by troops drawn from the surrounding district. This plan possessed many advantages. 'A peasant would more readily consent to his son engaging himself to serve as a soldier in a regiment permanently stationed in his neighborhood, than in one at a great distance, or whose destination was uncertain; and when the station of a regiment is permanent, and it receives its recruits from the district of country immediately surrounding its headquarters, the men who go home on furlough have but a short journey to make, and are easily assembled in case of an emergency.' Every encouragement was given to all who could be spared from garrison duty to go home on furlough; an arrangement which was both agreeable to the men—who, during their absence, might be cultivating their little family farms, or otherwise employing themselves at any trade—and economical for the state, because, while the men were on furlough, they received no pay, but only their rations. Thus, while in every garrison town there remained a sufficient nucleus of men to do garrison duty, and who, while receiving full military pay, were at liberty to earn additional money during their leisure time by extra work, the greater part of the army were distributed through the community, pursuing the ordinary occupations of citizens, but ready to assemble at a few hours' notice, and bound to be in the field at least six weeks every year. The assumed necessity for such a state of military preparation gives one a striking idea of the condition of the continent at this epoch.

Not content with the mere negative achievement of organizing the army, so that 'it should do the least possible harm,' Thompson endeavored to make it an instrument of positive good. His plan of permanent garrisons and easy furloughs, by establishing a constant flux of men to and from a center, suggested the somewhat novel idea of making the army the medium for spreading useful improvements of all kinds through the country. Supposing, for instance, that pains were taken to teach the soldiers in garrison any useful art not then known in Bavaria, but which might be naturalized there, it is obvious that when these men were distributed over the country on furlough, they would carry with them not only their own superior industrial habits, but the art itself. The improvement of Bavarian agriculture by this means was one of Thompson's most anxious wishes. Very few of the recent improvements in that art, he says, such as the cultivation of clover and turnips, the regular succession of crops, &c., had then found their way into general practice; and, above all, the potato was almost unknown in Bavaria. With a view to introduce a better system of agriculture, and especially with a view to naturalize the potato among the Bavarians, Thompson devised the system of military gardens—that is, 'pieces of ground in or adjoining to the garrison towns, which were regularly laid out, and exclusively appropriated to the use of the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers belonging to the regiments in garrison.' In these gardens every private soldier was assigned a piece of ground, about three hundred and sixty-five square feet in extent. This piece of ground was to remain the sole property of that soldier so long as he served in the regiment; he was to be at liberty to cultivate it in any way, and to dispose of the produce in any way he chose; if, however, he did not choose to work in it, but wished rather to spend his pay in idleness, he might do so; but in that case the piece of ground was to be taken from him, and so also if he neglected it. Every means were used to attach the soldiers to their garden labor: seeds and manure were furnished them at a cheap rate; whatever instruction was necessary, was given them; and little huts or summer houses were erected in the gardens, to afford them shelter when it rained. 'The effect of the plan,' says Rumford, 'was much greater and more important than I could have expected. The soldiers, from being the most indolent of mortals, and from having very little knowledge of gardening, became industrious and skillful cultivators, and grew so fond of vegetables, particularly of potatoes, that these useful and wholesome productions began to

constitute a very essential part of their daily food. These improvements began also to spread among the farmers and peasants throughout the whole country. There was hardly a soldier that went on furlough that did not carry with him a few potatoes for planting, and a little collection of garden seeds; and I have already had the satisfaction to see little gardens here and there making their appearance in different parts of the country.

In 1784, when he commenced his residence in Bavaria, Sir Benjamin Thompson was thirty-one years of age, and his titles and functions were those of Aid-de-Camp and Chamberlain to the Elector. Soon afterward, however, he received the appointments of Member of the Council of State and Major-General in the army, the Elector at the same time procuring him the decorations of two orders of Polish knighthood, in lieu of the Bavarian order, which the German knighthood prevented him from bestowing. The scientific part of the community also showed their esteem for him by electing him a member of the academies of Munich and Mannheim. All this took place not long after Thompson had settled in Munich. Every year of his subsequent stay brought him fresh honors. In 1787, when on a visit to Prussia, he was chosen a member of the Academy of Sciences at Berlin; in Bavaria, to follow the list of dignities given by his American biographer, 'he attained the military rank of Lieutenant-General, was Commander-in-Chief of the general Staff, Minister of War, and Superintendent of the Police of the Electorate; he was for some time Chief of the Regency that exercised sovereignty during the absence of the Elector; and in that interval between the death, in 1790, of the Emperor Joseph and the coronation of his successor Leopold, the Elector becoming Vicar of the Empire, availed himself of the prerogatives of that office to make him a Count of the Holy Roman Empire.' When this last dignity was conferred on him, Thompson chose the title of Count of *Rumford*, in memory of the American village where he had once officiated in the capacity of schoolmaster.

It would be interesting to follow Count Rumford in the details of his immense scheme for clearing the streets of cities and the public highways in Bavaria of the enormous, and apparently ineradicable evil of beggary. In his second 'Essay,'* the Count observes:

The number of itinerant beggars of both sexes and all ages, as well foreigners as natives, who strolled about the country in all directions, levying contri-

* *Essays Political, Economical, and Philosophical*. By Benjamin, Count Rumford, Knight of the Orders of the White Eagle and St. Stanislaus; Chamberlain, Privy-Councillor of State, and Lieutenant-General in the Service of his Most Serene Highness the Elector Palatine, reigning Duke of Bavaria, &c. 3 vols. Boston. 1798, from 3d London Edition. A fifth edition appeared in London in 1800, to which a fourth volume was added in 1802. His works were at once translated into German and French. The *Essays on the Treatment of Pauperism* were published separately in London in 1831, and again in 1855. Dr. Ellis, in his *Life of Count Rumford*, refers to Edward's '*Fuel in Cooking*' (London, 1869), as evidence of a revival of interest in Rumford's devices which in the beginning of the century called forth so much enthusiasm and gratitude in great houses and humble homes. Wherever he traveled, in Italy, Scotland, Ireland, Switzerland, and France, he left in the hospitals and other public institutions plans or models of his improvements.

butions upon the industrious inhabitants, stealing and robbing, and leading a life of indolence and the most shameless debauchery, was quite incredible; and so numerous were the swarms of beggars in all the great towns, and particularly in the capital, so great their impudence, and so persevering their importunity, that it was almost impossible to cross the streets without being attacked, and absolutely forced to satisfy their clamorous demands. They not only infested all the streets, public walks, and public places, but they even made a practice of going into private houses; and the churches were so full of them, that people at their devotions were continually interrupted by them, and were frequently obliged to satisfy their demands in order to be permitted to finish their prayers in peace and quiet. In short, these detestable vermin swarmed every where; and not only their impudence and clamorous importunity were without any bounds, but they had recourse to the most diabolical arts and most horrid crimes in prosecution of their trade. The growing number of the beggars, and their success, gave a kind of *éclat* to their profession; and the habit of begging became so general, that it ceased to be considered as infamous, and was by degrees in a manner interwoven with the internal regulations of society. Herdsmen and shepherds who attended their flocks by the roadside were known to derive considerable advantage from the contributions which their situation enabled them to levy from passengers; and I have been assured that the wages which they received from their employers were often regulated accordingly. The children in every country village, and those even of the best farmers, made a constant practice of begging from all strangers who passed; and one hardly ever met a person on foot upon the road, particularly a woman, who did not hold out her hand and ask for charity.

Count Rumford determined to grapple with this enormous evil, by enforcing laws already in existence, and obtaining new ordinances still more efficient, by which a little military despotism was united with the habits of private almsgiving, and the relief doled out by the parochial overseers of the poor. A *Military Work-house* was instituted, in the suburbs of Munich—capable of receiving such beggars as were capable of working.

‘It had formerly been a manufactory, but for many years had been deserted, and falling to ruins. It was now completely repaired, and in part rebuilt. A large kitchen, with a large eating-room adjoining it, and a commodious bakehouse, were added to the buildings; and workshops for carpenters, smiths, turners, and such other mechanics were established, and furnished with tools. Large halls were fitted up for spinners of hemp, for spinners of flax, for spinners of cotton, for spinners of wool, and for spinners of worsted; and adjoining to each hall a small room was fitted up for a clerk or inspector of the hall. Halls were likewise fitted up for weavers of woollens, weavers of serges and shalloons, for linen weavers, for weavers of cotton goods, and for stocking weavers; and workshops were provided for clothiers, cloth-shearers, dyers, saddlers; besides rooms for wool-sorters, wool-carders, wool-combers, knitters, seamstresses, &c. Magazines were fitted up, as well for finished manufactures as for raw materials, and rooms for counting-houses; store-rooms for the kitchen and bakehouse; and dwelling rooms for the inspectors and other officers. The whole edifice, which was very

extensive, was fitted up in the neatest manner possible. In doing this, even the external appearance of the building was attended to. It was handsomely painted without as well as within.

Preparation having been made, without any public demonstration, on New Year's Day, 1790, when Munich was sure to swarm with beggars, the military were posted through the streets, and patrols of cavalry established on all the avenues leading to the capital—with orders to arrest and take to the Town-hall all who should ask for alms. In less than one hour not a beggar was to be found in the streets. They had been taken to the Town-hall, where their names were written down, and they were dismissed to their own homes, with directions to repair next day to the 'Military Work-house,' as the new establishment was called, in consequence of its being fitted out with money from the military chest, and destined chiefly to supply the army with clothing, &c. Here they were told they would find comfortable warm rooms, a good warm dinner every day, and work for such as were able to labor, with good wages, which should be regularly paid. They might, or might not come, just as they chose, but at all events they were not to beg any more; and if they appeared in the streets, they would be apprehended. The circumstances of them all, they were told, were immediately to be inquired into, and relief granted to such as required it.

On the next day a great number of the beggars attended at the Military Work-house; the rest hid themselves; and so vigorous and effective were the measures adopted to apprehend mendicants, that after trying in vain to renew their old practices, these, too, were obliged at length to yield. The experiment having succeeded so far, it was judged advisable to appeal to the public for their support; and a paper was accordingly drawn up by Professor Babo of Munich, urging the citizens to do their utmost to rid themselves of the scourge of mendicancy, by coöperating in the new scheme. The response was general and immediate; the citizens gladly agreed to contribute, to enable the project to be fairly carried out; and, indeed, accustomed as they had been to meet the incessant demands of the beggars by as incessant giving, they saw in the new plan not only an immediate moral relief, but a prospect of pecuniary saving. Rumford's principle was, to depend entirely upon the voluntary contributions of the charitable—the names of such inhabitants as were willing to subscribe were taken down, with a note of the sum each volunteered to contribute. This sum might be altered at the pleasure of the subscriber—increased, diminished, or altogether retracted. The sums were to be collected regularly on the last Sunday of every

month, by an officer who went round on purpose among the subscribers of each district. Arrangements were also made for the receipt of miscellaneous donations, both large and small; and every possible means was adopted to inspire public confidence by making the publication of all accounts imperative.

In seizing upon the beggars, Count Rumford had adopted the most practicable means for arriving at a very desirable end—the discrimination of the merely idle from the necessitous. To classify these two sorts of persons was his first object. When this was done, his work then divided itself into two parts—the reclaiming of the idle to habits of industry, and the relief of the really necessitous. The modes of operation for the one and for the other were expressly kept independent; indeed, it was one of Rumford's most careful provisions that the work-house should not wear the aspect of an institution supported by charity.

Of course there was some confusion and some mistakes in receiving 2,600 mendicants of both sexes and various ages into a single establishment in one week. But soon, by distributing them among the various halls, and assigning to each his particular place, they were brought into such order as to enable the inspectors and instructors to begin their operations. Those who understood any kind of work were placed in the apartments where the work they understood was carried on; and the others being classed according to their sexes, and as much as possible according to their ages, were placed under the immediate care of the different instructors.

Every care was taken to promote the comfort of the people while at work, and to render their work agreeable to them. It being winter, the rooms were well warmed by fires kept regularly burning; the whole establishment was swept twice every day; attention was paid to the ventilation; as far as elegance was possible in halls devoted to work, it was consulted; and the kindest usage was the order of the institution. The people arrived at the establishment at a fixed hour in the morning; they continued at work till the hour of dinner, when they repaired to the dining-hall, where they were furnished with a good dinner of white bread and fine rich soup; and after some hours of further work, they were dismissed as from any other manufactory, and had all the rest of their time at their own disposal. Besides the dinner-hour, which was allowed as relaxation to all in the establishment, two additional hours, one in the morning, the other in the afternoon were allowed to the children, during which they were assembled in one of the halls, and taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, by a master paid for the

purpose; and as the regular hours of labor were not longer than in any other manufactory, neither they nor the adults were overworked. Lastly, every person in the establishment were regularly paid the wages fixed for the sort of labor he was employed in. The main feature of the scheme was, to impress upon those who attended the establishment that they were not necessarily paupers by their attendance there, but workmen entitled to the wages they received. 'The work-house,' says Rumford, 'was merely a manufactory, like any other manufactory, supported by its own private capital, which capital has no connection with any fund destined for the poor.'

In six years the net profits of the establishment amounted to one hundred thousand florins—the streets of Munich were entirely free of mendicants, and the citizens had the satisfaction of reflecting that a number of their fellow-creatures, formerly loathsome, vicious, and wretched, were now living in cleanliness, propriety, and happiness. On the merits of the institution in this point of view, hear the words of Count Rumford himself. After alluding to the expertness which the members of the establishment acquired in the various manufactures, he proceeds: 'But what was quite surprising, and at the same time interesting in the highest degree, was the apparent and rapid change which was produced in their manners. The kind usage they met with, and the comforts they enjoyed, seemed to have softened their hearts, and awakened in them sentiments as new and surprising to themselves as they were interesting to those about them. The melancholy gloom of misery, the air of uneasiness and embarrassment, disappeared by little and little from their countenances, and were succeeded by a timid dawn of cheerfulness, rendered most exquisitely interesting by a certain mixture of silent gratitude which no language can describe. In the infancy of this establishment, when these poor creatures were first brought together, I used very frequently to visit them, to speak kindly to them, and to encourage them; and I seldom passed through the halls where they were at work without being a witness to the most moving scenes. Objects formerly the most miserable and wretched, whom I had seen for years as beggars in the street; young women, perhaps the unhappy victims of seduction, who, having lost their reputation, and being turned adrift in the world without a friend and without a home, were reduced to the necessity of begging to sustain a miserable existence, now recognized me as their benefactor, and with tears dropping fast from their cheeks, continued their work in the most expressive silence. If they were asked what the matter

was with them, the answer was: "*Nichts*" ["Nothing"], accompanied by a look of affectionate regard and gratitude so touching, as frequently to draw tears from the most insensible of the bystanders. Why should I not mention the marks of affectionate respect which I received from the poor people for whose happiness I interested myself? Will it be reckoned vanity if I mention the concern which the poor of Munich expressed in so affecting a manner when I was dangerously ill?—that they went publicly in a body in procession to the cathedral church, where they had divine service performed, and put up public prayers for my recovery—that, four years afterward, on hearing that I was again dangerously ill at Naples, they of their own accord set apart an hour each evening, after they had finished their work in the Military Work-house, to pray for me; for me—a private person—a stranger—a Protestant!

To deal with the destitution and suffering which could not be provided for in the Work-house, the entire management of the poor of Munich was committed to a Board, composed of four high officials, who served without pay, and who were authorized to choose each a councilor, who also served without pay. The only paid officers of the Board were the secretary and clerks, and these received their stipends direct from the treasury. The whole town was divided into sixteen districts, in each of which was an inspector whose services were purely voluntary and unpaid, and who was assisted in his work of inspection and relief by a priest, a physician, a surgeon, and an apothecary. Every house was numbered, and every application for relief was made to the inspector—whose business it was to visit by himself, or assistant, the residence of the applicant, and find how much could be earned by himself or members of the family for his and their support—and then to assist first in giving facilities for work, and then to supply any deficiency in means of living by donations in food, clothing, or money. The cost of this scheme for five years was less than 200,000 florins (\$50,000). Satisfied that 'the support of a given number of its inhabitants where its internal produce depends as much upon the state of its *Art of Cookery* as upon its *Agriculture*,' the Count addressed himself at once to methods of economizing food and fuel, and of increasing the variety and number of cheap wholesome dishes accessible to the poor. We can not follow him in all his devices and inventions, but the whole civilized world is now enjoying the economy and comforts of his stoves, ranges, boilers, chimneys, and household utensils, invented, improved, and adapted by this indefatigable worker in the field of household economy.

ROYAL INSTITUTION OF GREAT BRITAIN.

The conception and plan of the Royal Institution of Great Britain are to be regarded as exclusively Count Rumford's. Although he was one of the most zealous and laborious Fellows of the Royal Society, he saw that without trespassing at all upon the range, wide as it was, that was recognized by his associates, there was room for an Institution whose aims should be more practical and popular, coming into direct contact with the agricultural, the mechanical, and the domestic life of the people. To Rumford, then, belongs the signal honor of creating an Institution which has a most creditable history, and which has been the medium for bringing forward, through the opportunities there afforded them, many men who have won the highest distinctions in practical science.

In the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society is a pamphlet of fifty pages entitled: 'Proposals for forming by Subscription, in the Metropolis of the British Empire, a Public Institution for diffusing the Knowledge and facilitating the general Introduction of useful Mechanical Inventions and Improvements, and for teaching, by courses of Philosophical Lectures and Experiments, the Application of Science to the Common Purposes of Life.' This copy, bearing the autograph of Count Rumford, was presented by him 'To his Excellency John Adams,' as from 'one of the Managers of the Institution,' and was printed in London in 1799. The Introduction, signed by Rumford, is dated from Brompton Row, 4th March, in that year, and makes nearly half of the pamphlet, giving a very admirable account of the origin of the Institution. Dr. Franklin himself never wrote an essay indicating a more practical sagacity, or expressed in a more direct and forcible style of lucid composition, than characterize this piece of Rumford's. His aim, he says, is to bring about a cordial embrace between science and art, by enlightening and removing prejudice against changes, inventions, and improvements, and by establishing relations of helpful intercourse between philosophers and practical workmen. He would engage their united efforts for the improvement of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and for the increase of domestic comfort. He says: 'The preëminence of any people is, and ought ever to be, estimated by the state of taste, industry, and mechanical improvement among them.'

The writer adds a brief account of the history of these 'Proposals,' and of the causes which gave rise to them. He avows that he had long been in the habit of regarding all useful improvements as dependent upon mechanical agencies and the perfection of ma-

chinery, with skill in the management of it, and of considering that the profit to be thus gained was the chief incitement to industry. The plan which he now offers to the public is the result of his own meditations as to the means that might most wisely be employed to facilitate the general introduction of such improvements.

In the beginning of the year 1796 I gave a faint sketch of this plan in my second Essay; but being under the necessity of returning soon to Germany, I had not the leisure to pursue it farther at that time; and I was obliged to content myself with having merely thrown out a loose idea, as it were by accident, which I thought might possibly attract attention. After my return to Munich, I opened myself more fully on the subject in my correspondence with my friends in this country [England], and particularly in my letters to Thomas Bernard, Esq., who is one of the founders and most active members of the Society for bettering the Condition and increasing the Comforts of the Poor.

The Count subjoins, in a note, three letters of his to Mr. Bernard, dated at Munich, 28th April, 1797, 13th May, 1798, and 8th June, 1798. The first of these letters returns the writer's grateful acknowledgments for the honor done him by his election as a member of the Society for bettering the condition of the poor. It closes with a characteristic suggestion that visible examples, 'by models,' will advance its objects better than will any thing that can be said or written. The third letter emphasizes a well-pointed hint, that indolent, selfish, and luxurious persons 'must either be allured or shamed into action,' and that it is very desirable 'to make benevolence fashionable.' The writer also expresses his interest in his correspondent's 'plan with regard to Bridewell. A well-arranged House of Industry is much wanted in London.' He closes by asking Mr. Bernard 'to read once more the Proposals published in my second Essay. I really think that a public establishment like that there described, might easily be formed in London, and that it would produce infinite good. I will come to London to assist you in its execution whenever you will in good earnest undertake it.'

Returning to England in September, 1798, the Count says he found Mr. Bernard very solicitous for an attempt for the immediate execution of the plan. 'After several consultations that were held in Mr. Bernard's apartments in the Foundling Hospital, and at the house of the Lord Bishop of Durham, at which several gentlemen assisted who are well known as zealous promoters of useful improvements, it was agreed that Mr. Bernard should report to the Committee of the Society for bettering the Condition of the Poor the general result of these consultations, and the unanimous desire of the gentlemen who assisted at them that means might be devised for making an attempt to carry the scheme proposed into execution.'

On the 31st of January, 1799, the Count presented to the Committee of the above named Society an elaborate and complete

working plan for an Industrial Institution, which they unanimously approved. The plan was presented, and circulated widely among prominent men in London, soliciting suggestions and coöperation.

Fifty-eight most respectable names had been sent in before arrangements could be made for a meeting of the subscribers; and this hearty response induced some change in the plan in respect to the first choice of managers, and in regard to an application for a charter before any further organization.

Count Rumford, at this stage of the business, and before a meeting of the subscribers had been held, addressed to them a pamphlet containing all the matters that have been thus summarized. It was dated from Brompton Row, 4th March, 1799, and was intended to prepare them for the meeting soon to follow. He expressed his readiness to take any part that might be desired.

'The Proposals,' &c., evidently from the pen of the Count, are then set forth in the pamphlet, and contain a complete plan for the organization, administration, and support of the Institution, with minute specifications of its objects, when carried into details.

Those objects, first stated comprehensively, are 'the speedy and general diffusion of the knowledge of all new and useful improvements, in whatever quarter of the world they may originate; and teaching the application of scientific discoveries to the improvement of arts and manufactures in this country, and to the increase of domestic comfort and convenience.' Efforts were to be made to confine the Institution to its proper limits, to give it a solid foundation, and to make it an ornament to the capital and an honor to the nation. Spacious and airy rooms were to be provided for receiving and exhibiting such new mechanical inventions and improvements, especially such contrivances for increasing conveniences and comforts, for promoting domestic economy, improving public taste, and advancing useful industry, as should be thought worthy of notice.

Perfect and full-sized models of all such mechanical inventions and improvements as would serve these ends were to be provided and placed in a repository. The following are the specifications: Cottage fireplaces and kitchen utensils for cottagers; a farm-house kitchen, with its furnishings; a complete kitchen, with utensils, for the house of a gentleman of fortune; a laundry, including boilers, washing, ironing, and drying rooms, for a gentleman's house, or for a public hospital; the most approved German, Swedish, and Russian stoves for heating rooms and passages. In order that visitors might receive the utmost practical benefit from seeing these models, the peculiar merit in each of them should, as far as was possible, be

exhibited *in action*. Open chimney fireplaces, with ornamental and economical grates, and ornamental stoves, made to represent elegant chimney-pieces, for halls and for drawing and eating rooms, were to be exhibited, with fires in them. It was proposed, likewise, to exhibit 'working models, on a reduced scale, of that most curious and most useful machine, the steam-engine;' also, of brewers' boilers, with improved fireplaces; of distillers' coppers, with improved condensers; of large boilers for the kitchens of hospitals; and of ships' coppers, with improved fireplaces. Models also were to illustrate and to suggest improvements in ventilating apparatus; in hot-houses, lime-kilns, and steam-boilers for preparing food for stall-fed cattle; in the planning of cottages, spinning-wheels, and looms 'adapted to the circumstances of the poor;' models of newly invented machines and implements of husbandry; models of bridges of various constructions; and, comprehensively, 'models of all such other machines and useful instruments as the managers of the Institution shall deem worthy of the public notice.'

The second great object of the Institution, namely, 'teaching the applications of science to the useful purposes of life,' was to be secured by fitting up a lecture-room for philosophical lectures and experiments with a complete laboratory and philosophical apparatus, and all necessary instruments for chemical and other experiments. This lecture-room is to be used for no other purposes but those of natural philosophy and philosophical chemistry, and it is to be made comfortable and salubrious for subscribers. The most eminent and distinguished exponents of science are to be exclusively engaged, and the managers are to be strictly responsible for their rigid restriction of their discourses to the subjects committed to them. If there is room, non-subscribers may be admitted for a small fee.

After the first printing and distribution of these 'Proposals,' and before the Institution had received its charter-title, a general meeting of the proprietors was held at the house of Sir Joseph Banks, in Soho Square, March 7, 1799, the host occupying the chair. It was then found that fifty-eight persons had made themselves proprietors by the contribution of fifty guineas each. The list contains many distinguished names of scientific men, gentlemen, members of Parliament and of the nobility, including one bishop.

It was then decided at once to choose the committee of managers, who should be instructed to apply to his Majesty for a charter for the Institution, to lay an outline of its plan before the Right Honorable Mr. Pitt and his Grace the Duke of Portland, to send it forth to the public, and to publish the proceedings in the newspapers.

We turn now to another contemporary publication which presents to us the organized completion of the establishment in the conception and initiation of which Count Rumford had exercised such ingenuity and practical wisdom, and in whose service he had been so zealously engaged. It is a publication in quarto form, of ninety-two pages, bearing the following title: 'The Prospectus, Charter, Ordinances, and By-Laws of the Royal Institution of Great Britain. Together with Lists of the Proprietors and Subscribers; and an Appendix. London. Printed for the Royal Institution. 1800.' It bears a vignette of the corporate seal of the Institution, which is a flourishing and fruit-bearing tree sprouting out of a mural crown, the circle being surmounted by the Royal crown of Britain. The King appears as Patron, the officers of the Institution were appointed by him at its formation, the Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham being President; the Earls of Morton and Egremont, and Sir Joseph Banks, Vice-Presidents; the Earls of Beasborough, Egremont, and of Morton, being respectively the first-named on each of the three classes of Managers,—on the first of which, to serve for three years, is Count Rumford. The Duke of Bridgewater, Viscount Palmerston, and Earl Spencer, lead each of the three classes of Visitors. The whole list proves with what a power of patronage, as well as with what popularity and enthusiasm, the enterprise was initiated. Dr. Thomas Garnett, Prof. of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry, T. Bernard, Esq., Treas. Home and Foreign Secretary, Legal Council, a Solicitor, and a Clerk, complete the list.

The charter of the Institution passed the royal seals on the 13th of January, 1800. The twenty-fifth day of the coming March was appointed for organization under it. Count Rumford is named among the grantees, and its provisions conform substantially to its own well-wrought plan already described. The ordinances, by-laws, and regulations of the Institution, which are likewise for the most part adjusted to that plan, and provide for carrying it into details of efficiency and practical benefit, indicate the agency of the master-spirit of the whole enterprise. Precautions are taken to guard against the influences of jealousy and favoritism in its membership and administration, and to hold it strictly and generously to its prime purposes of benefiting the public by research, the diffusion of scientific knowledge, and the service of the more homely and economical interests of humanity. The managers are to furnish the laboratory, the workshop, and the repository of the establishment in the most complete manner, and to provide an able chemist as a teaching and demonstrating professor, and also to engage other

professors and lecturers in experimental and mechanical philosophy. No political subject is to be even mentioned, and no themes introduced which are disconnected with the objects of the Institution.

On the 10th of March, 1800, the Count was residing in the house of the Institution, and he was requested, as long as he did so, to superintend all the works, the servants, and the workmen. He continued in the house until July 6, 1801, when it was

Resolved, That Count Rumford be requested to continue his general superintendence of the works going on at the house of the Institution, agreeably to the several resolutions of the managers in that respect, in the same manner as if he had continued to reside in the house.

Count Rumford reported, that, at the recommendation of Sir Joseph Banks, he had had a conversation with Dr. Young respecting his engagement as Professor of Natural Philosophy at the Royal Institution and editor of the journals, together with a general superintendence of the house. And 'it appearing from his report that Dr. Young is a man of abilities equal to these undertakings, it was

Resolved, That Count Rumford be authorized to engage Dr. Young in the aforesaid capacities, at a salary of £300 *per annum*.'

Dr. John Davy, in his memoirs of the life of his brother, Sir Humphry, gives a sketch of his connection with the Royal Institution as assistant lecturer on chemistry and director of the laboratory. While recognizing very fully the promising inauguration of the new Institution, and the signal services which have been performed through it, this biographer hardly does justice to the claims of Count Rumford as its master-spirit, or to his agency in bringing Sir Humphry upon the scene where he won his first eminent distinctions.

The laboratory of the Institution was constructed and equipped after plans drawn by the Count; and when his attention had been drawn to Davy's investigations on heat, he at once wrote to the young chemist, inviting him to London, and having become satisfied with his talents and eminent qualifications as a lecturer proposed for his consideration the management of the laboratory and the post of assistant professor. He then, February 16, 1801, writes:—

In consequence of the conversations I have had with you respecting your engaging in the service of the Royal Institution of Great Britain, I this day laid the matter before the Managers of the Institution, at their Meeting: (Present, Sir Joseph Banks, Earl of Morton, Count Rumford, and Richard Clark, Esq.,) and I have the pleasure to acquaint you that the Proposal I made to them was approved, and the following Resolution unanimously taken by them:

Resolved, That Mr. Davy be engaged in the service of the Royal Institution in the capacity of Assistant Lecturer in Chemistry, Director of the Chemical Laboratory, and assistant Editor of the Journals of the Institution.

On the 16th of March following the Managers' minutes add:

Count Rumford reported that Mr. Davy arrived at the Institution on Wednesday, the 11th of March, 1801, and took possession of his situation.

Under these auspices the Royal Institution of Great Britain entered on its career of beneficent action. Dr. Young gave his first lecture on the 20th of January, 1802, and in 1807 published in two volumes, quarto, his lectures and studies for the same under the title of '*A Course of Lectures on Natural Philosophy and the Mechanical Arts*,' 1570 pages and 58 plates. He was followed in this line by Dr. John Dalton, who was succeeded in 1853 by Prof. John Tyndall. Prof. Davy gave his first course of lectures in 1802, of which a Syllabus was published in the same year. He gave his last lecture April 9, 1812, the day after he was knighted by the Prince Regent and the eve of his nuptials with Mrs. Apreece, a union which made him master of a large fortune. He was succeeded by Michael Faraday, who became Davy's assistant in 1815, and lectured before the Institution annually for a period of thirty-eight years, living on the premises for more than a half century.

In 1833, two chairs, one of chemistry and the other of physiology were founded by Mr. John Fuller; and in 1838, Mrs. Acton invested the sum of 1,000*l.* from the income of which the Royal Institution awards once in seven years 100 guineas to the author of the best essay on the benevolence of the Almighty as manifested by scientific discoveries.

The Royal Institution at the present time embraces the following objects: (1) To stimulate to scientific and literary researches; (2) to teach the principles of inductive and experimental science; (3) to show the application of these principles to the different arts of life; (4) to afford opportunities for study. It comprises:

1. *Public Lectures*, designed to supply what books or private instruction can rarely give, namely, experimental exhibitions, comprehensive designs or detailed descriptions of objects connected with science or art. They usually embrace a short course at Christmas, and at least six courses, before and after Easter, the season extending from the middle of January to the middle of June. The usual subjects of these courses are some of the branches of the science of induction, such as mechanics, chemistry, heat, light, electricity, astronomy, geology, botany, and physiology. There are also, on occasion, courses upon subjects of general interest, such as literature, the fine arts, and music.*

2. *Weekly meetings* of the members of the Institution. These meetings take place every Friday evening during the season. They were established in 1826, the members having each the privilege of introducing two of his friends by ticket. The object of these reunions is to bring into contact men of letters and savants, and to furnish the opportunity of communicating, by discourses in the amphitheater, either new views or new applications of known truths, or of demonstrating experimentally and of rendering familiar by description new re-

* Of these courses we notice.—*Elementary Sketches of Moral Philosophy*, by Rev. Sydney Smith, 1805-9 (published in 1850); *Origin of Civilization and the Primitive Condition of Man*, 1808, by Sir John Lubbock; *Architecture of the Human Body*, by Prof. Humphrey; *Chemistry of Vegetable Products*, by Prof. Odling, 1870; *Science of Language*, by Max Müller, 1861; *Italy in the Middle Ages*, M. Lacaita, 1858; *Courses of Lectures on Education*, by Whewell, Faraday, Paget, and other eminent men, in 1833-4.

sults which have been recently recorded in the scientific memoirs of philosophic societies. Extracts from these discourses, prepared by the speakers, are printed in the *Proceedings of the Royal Institution*, a copy of which is sent to each member. The *Proceedings* began to appear in 1851; they constitute a sequel to the *Journals* of the Institution, which began to be published in 1802.

3. *A laboratory*, for the cultivation and advancement of the chemical and electrical sciences, by means of original investigations and experiments. It is in this laboratory that the researches of Davy and of Faraday were made, embracing a period of more than half a century.

4. *A library* of about 50,000 volumes, comprising the best editions of the Greek and Latin writers and of the fathers of the Church; histories of the English counties; works of science and literature, of art and archaeology; memoirs of the principal scientific academies and institutions of the world, &c.

5. *A reading hall for study*. Here are to be found various series of memoirs and scientific publications, whether English, French, German, or Italian, and a great number of works relating to the natural, medical, and mathematical sciences.

6. *A reading-room for journals*, furnished with the principal reviews, magazines, and journals of England, France, and Germany. The Institution subscribes to a circulating library with the view of giving the members an opportunity of seeing the newest works as soon as published.

7. *A museum*, containing a large selection of specimens of mineralogy and geology, collected by Davy, Hatchett, Wollaston, &c., and much of the original apparatus employed by Cavendish, Davy, Faraday, and others who have been professors of the establishment; together with many other objects, given in great part by the members. The collection of minerals dates from the year 1804. Connected with this collection, it was proposed to establish an office or bureau of assay for the advancement of mineralogy and metalology, and virtually a *School of Mines*.

It is to be regretted that Count Rumford could not have witnessed the successive discoveries of Davy and Faraday, but in inaugurating the work of the Institution a difference sprung up between him and Dr. Garnett, which in a short time involved some of the managers, and led to the resignation of Dr. Garnett on the 15th of June, 1801, and the withdrawal of Count Rumford from all active participation in its affairs after he returned to the continent in May, 1802, the date of his last report to the managers. His plans were largely in advance of his co-workers, and required his own fertility of resources and the power of enforcing the coöperation of others, for their execution.

Count Rumford before leaving England in 1802, had erected at Brompton a residence for himself full of novel and convenient devices of his own design, for the health, comfort, and economy of the occupants, which was for several years one of the show-houses for curious sight-seers. This house he gave to his daughter. After his marriage to the widow of the eminent chemist, Lavoisier, he resided in Paris four years; and after their separation (by mutual consent) in 1808, he retired to Auteuil in the neighborhood of Paris, where he continued his studies and experiments in heat—the subject of his earliest and his latest communications to the scientific world, and in which he achieved results absolutely new and valuable, both to science and art.

Proposed Return to America in 1799.

The revival and circulation in America of the report that Count Rumford, supposed to have finally left the service of Bavaria, intended to return to his native country, met here a hearty interest with his many friends. He had already begun to receive in America marks of public regard. Judge Tudor, one of the founders of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the oldest in the country, having nominated Count Rumford as a corresponding member, he was elected as such at a meeting of the Society on January 30, 1798. The following cordial letter was received from him in response, and having been read at a meeting of the Society on July 19, 1798, by the Corresponding Secretary, it was voted that it be published in one of the Boston papers, and that a set of the Collections of the Society, handsomely bound in four volumes, be sent to the Count. In acknowledgment of this attention, the Count addressed a letter to the Secretary, in which he writes:

There are few things which could afford me such heartfelt satisfaction as to be able to avail myself of the kind invitation of the Society to come and take my place among them. I have ever loved my native country with the fondest affection; and the liberality I have experienced from my countrymen—their moderation in success, and their consummate prudence in the use of their Independence, have attached me to them by all the ties of Gratitude, Esteem, and Admiration.

Count Rumford, after the close of the War of the Revolution, became a warm and faithful friend of his native country, holding correspondence with many of its citizens, to whom he communicated his plans, and sent his works, and generously dividing among its literary and scientific institutions his benevolent endowments. He also, when in England, and afterward when in France, maintained the closest social relations with Americans resident in those countries either as officials of our government or in private life. Among his most intimate friends in London at this time was the American Ambassador, Hon. Rufus King who, in a letter to Colonel Pickering, Secretary of State, under President John Adams, writes:

Count Rumford, late Sir Benjamin Thompson, whose name and history are probably known to you, and whose talents and services have procured the most beneficial establishments and reforms in Bavaria, was lately named by the Elector to be his Minister at this Court. On his arrival he has been informed, that, being a British subject, it was contrary to usage to receive him, and that therefore he could not be acknowledged. The intrigues and opposition against which he had for some years made head in Bavaria probably made him desire the mission to England. The refusal that he has here met with has decided him to return and settle himself in America. He proposes to establish himself at or near Cambridge, to live there in the character of a German Count, to renounce all political expectations, and devote himself to literary pursuits. His connections in this country are strictly literary, and his knowledge, particularly in the Military Department, may be of great use to us. The Count is well acquainted with and has had much experience in the establishment of Cannon

Foundries; that which he established in Bavaria is spoken of in very high terms, as well as his improvements in the mounting of flying artillery.

He possesses an extensive Military Library, and assures me that he wishes nothing more than to be useful to our country. I make this communication by his desire, and my wish is that he may be well received, as I am persuaded that his principles are good, and his talents and information uncommonly extensive. It is possible that attempts may be made to misrepresent his political opinions; from the inquiry that I have made on this head, I am convinced that his political sentiments are correct. Be good enough to communicate this letter to the President.*

In a letter to Mr. King, dated March 13, 1799, the Count writes:

You will recollect that in a conversation we had at your house on the great importance to the United States of the speedy establishment of a Military School or Academy, I took the liberty to say that to assist in the establishment of so useful an institution I should be happy to be permitted to make a present to the Academy, of my collection of Military Books, Plans, Drawings, and Models. I now repeat this offer, and with a request to you that you would make it known to the Executive Government of the United States, and that you would let me know as soon as may be convenient whether this offer will be accepted.

On the 8th of September, 1799, Mr. King communicated to Count Rumford an invitation from the Government to resume his residence in this country, and to enter its Military service.

In the course of the last year we have made provision for the institution of a Military Academy, and we wish to commit its formation to your experience, and its future government to your care. It is not necessary on this occasion to send you a detailed account of our Military establishment, which indeed would be best explained by a reference to the Laws on which it depends; these are in my possession, and shall be put into your hands if you desire it. In addition to the Superintendence of the Military Academy, I am authorized to offer you the appointment of Inspector-General of the Artillery of the United States, and we shall, moreover, be disposed to give to you such rank and emoluments, consistent with existing provisions, and with what has already been settled upon the former of these heads, as would be likely to afford you satisfaction, and to secure to us the advantages of your service.

It thus appears that the proposition for his return to America originated with Count Rumford himself and was warmly seconded by his friends. No doubt he would have accepted the honorable trusts thus proffered to him had he not found himself most laboriously and hopefully employed in the founding of the Royal Institution of Great Britain in London as already described.

Although we have extended this memoir much beyond our original plan, so deeply have we become interested in the broadly beneficent work of Count Rumford as set forth in the *Life* by Dr. Ellis, we find in revising the same that we have omitted to mention the legacy of his daughter Sarah, to the town of Concord, New Hampshire, where she died Dec. 2, 1852, of a portion of the Rolfe estate, and \$15,000 in money (including the \$2,000 given to her by her father for this purpose) for the establishment and support of an institution to be known as 'the Rolfe and Rumford Asylum for the poor and needy, particularly for young females without mothers.' The children received must be natives of Concord. The money bequest in 1875 amounted to over \$50,000.

* President Adams in a letter (30th June, 1799,) to Secretary McHenry (War Department) remarks: 'For five or six years past I have been very attentive to the character of this gentleman, and have read some of his essays. From these I have formed an esteem for his genius, talents, enterprise, and benevolence, which will secure him from me, in case he returns to his native country, a reception as kind and civil as it may be in our power to give him. But you know the difficulties which those gentlemen have, who left the country as he did, either to give or receive certain satisfaction.'

BENEFACTION TO THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.

On the 12th of July, 1798, Count Rumford, then in London, addressed a communication to the Hon. John Adams, President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, of which the following paragraph is the substance:

SIR,—Desirous of contributing efficaciously to the advancement of a branch of science which has long employed my attention, and which appears to me to be of the highest importance to mankind, and wishing at the same time to leave a lasting testimony of my respect for the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, I take the liberty to request that the Academy would do me the honor to accept Five Thousand Dollars, three *per cent.* stock in the funds of the United States of North America, which stock I have actually purchased, and which I beg leave to transfer to the Fellows of the Academy, to the end that the interest of the same may be by them, and by their successors, received from time to time, forever, and the amount of the same applied and given once every second year, as a premium, to the author of the most important discovery or useful improvement, which shall be made and published by printing, or in any way made known to the public, in any part of the Continent of America, or in any of the American Islands, during the preceding two years, on Heat, or on Light; the preference always being given to such discoveries as shall, in the opinion of the Academy, tend most to promote the good of mankind.

Count Rumford, who had been made a member of the Royal Society of London, on the recommendation of Sir Joseph Banks, in 1779, had been elected a Foreign Honorary Member of the American Academy in May, 1780. By this donation* he testified, in a highly liberal manner, his interest in the cause of scientific discovery and improvement in the useful arts in the country of his birth, and to men who constitute its membership. Down to 1839, not a single award of the Rumford Medal had been made. Dr. Ellis remarks: 'The Academy took immediate measures to circulate through the public prints the knowledge that it had an honorable award at its disposal for all who were entitled to receive it.' The correspondence and applications on its files, and the numerous reports of its investigating committees, prove that there has been no lack of notoriety as to the facts and objects of its trusteeship, nor of a disposition to do full justice to all who sought a hearing from it. But no award was made prior to 1836.

In 1829, a Committee of the Academy submitted a report on the condition of the fund, and a plan for the better realization of the intentions of the founder. 'By constant accumulation the fund has now increased to the sum of nearly \$20,000. The history of science in other countries unites with our own experience to convince us that Count Rumford's plan, contemplating the assignment of a biennial premium for important discoveries or useful improve-

* In the same year Count Rumford donated to the Royal Society, London, the sum of £1,000 (now £2,430), the interest of which is to be applied to the same objects and on the same conditions as his donation to the American Academy. Among the recipients of the Royal Society's Rumford Medal are mentioned Rumford, Lavoisier, Davy, Brewster, Fresnel, Forbes, Biot, Melloni, Faraday, Mayn, Amott, Jamin, Kindoff, and Tyndall.

ment on light and heat first made public within two years preceding, and interrupted only by "occasional non-adjudications," is absolutely impracticable.' To relieve the Trustees of embarrassment, the Supreme Judicial Court was authorized by the Legislature to make award of a gold and silver medal to the author of any important discovery or useful improvement on heat or on light, calculated to promote the good of mankind.

And it is further ordered, adjudged, and decreed, that the plaintiffs may appropriate from time to time, as the same can advantageously be done, the residue of the income of said fund hereafter to be received, and not so as aforesaid awarded in premiums, to the purchase of such books and papers and philosophical apparatus (to be the property of said Academy), and in making such publications or procuring such lectures, experiments, or investigations, as shall in their opinion best facilitate and encourage the making of discoveries and improvements which may merit the premiums so as aforesaid to be by them awarded. And that the books, papers, and apparatus so purchased shall be used, and such lectures, experiments, and investigations be delivered and made, either in the said Academy or elsewhere, as the plaintiffs shall think best adapted to promote such discoveries and improvements as aforesaid, and either by the Rumford Professor of Harvard University or by any other person or persons, as to the plaintiffs shall from time to time seem best.

In the year 1839, the Academy gave, from the interest of the Rumford Fund, the sum of six hundred dollars to Dr. Hare, of Philadelphia, in consideration of his invention of the compound blow-pipe and his improvements in galvanic apparatus.

The Rumford Medal was awarded by the Academy, in 1862, to John B. Ericsson for his caloric engine. In 1865, the Medal was awarded to Daniel Treadwell, former Rumford Professor in Harvard College, for improvements in the management of heat. On February 26, 1867, the Medal was presented to Alvan Clark for improvement in the lens of the refracting telescope.

On January 11, 1870, the Medal was presented to George H. Corlies of Providence, R. I., for improvements in the steam-engine. The Rumford Fund, in 1870, exceeded \$37,000.

LAST WILL—BENEFACTION TO HARVARD COLLEGE.

Count Rumford executed his last will and testament while he was on a visit at the château of his friend, Daniel Parker, Esq., at Draveil, September 28, 1812. The testator describes himself as 'Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford, Knight of the illustrious orders of the White Eagle and of St. Stanislaus, Lieutenant-General in the service of his Majesty the King of Bavaria, residing now at Auteuil, Department of Paris.' He appoints Baron Delessert and Mr. Parker his executors. Lafayette is one of the three witnesses.

To Harvard College, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, he bequeathed an annuity of one thousand dollars, with the reversion of the annuity of four hundred to his daughter, and also the reversion of his whole estate, certain specified annuities being reserved:—

'For the purpose of founding, under the direction and government of the Corporation, Overseers, and Governors of that University, a new institution and professorship, in order to teach by regular courses of academical and public lectures, accompanied with proper experiments, the utility of the physical and mathematical sciences for the improvement of the useful arts, and for the extension of the industry, prosperity, happiness, and well-being of Society.

'I give and bequeath to the Government of the United States of North America, all my Books, Plans, and Designs relating to Military affairs, to be deposited in the Library, or in the Museum of the Military Academy of the United States, as soon as an Academy of this nature shall have been established.

The Rumford Professorship of Physical and Mathematical Sciences was established in the College by the Corporation in October, 1816, and statutes provided for it were approved by the Overseers. Jacob Bigelow, M. D., a highly distinguished physician of Boston, and a gentleman of large culture in art and science, was elected and confirmed as the first Rumford Professor, and was inaugurated on the 11th of the following December. On this occasion Dr. Bigelow delivered a most appropriate, and instructive address.

'To the country of his birth Count Rumford has bequeathed his fortune and his fame. The lessons of patriotism which we [officers and students of the College] should learn from his memorable life are important and convincing. It should teach us to respect ourselves, to value our resources, to cultivate our talents. Let those who would depreciate our native genius recollect that he was an American. Let those who would make us the dependents and tributaries of the Old world recollect that he has instructed mankind. Let those who would despond as to our future destinies remember that his eye, which had wandered over the continent and capitals of Europe, settled at last upon the rising prospects of the Western world. For one who is destined to labor in the path that he has marked out, and to follow with his eyes though not with his steps, the brilliancy of such a career, it may suffice to acknowledge that he is not indifferent to the honor that has befallen him; that he is sensible of the magnitude of the example before him; that he believes that the true end of philosophy is to be useful to mankind; and that he will cheerfully and anxiously enter upon the duties that await him; happy if by his efforts he can hope to add a nameless stone to the monument of philanthropy and science that commemorates the name of *him* of whom it may in truth be said that he lived for the world, and that he died for his country.

The lectures delivered by Prof. Bigelow were published in Boston, in 1829, in a volume entitled the *Elements of Technology*. He was succeeded in the Professorship by Daniel Treadwell (1834-45;) by Eben Norton Horsford (1847-63), and Wolcott Gibbs (1863).

The Rumford Professorship Fund was credited by the Treasurer of Harvard College in 1870 at \$52,848.

Count Rumford died at his own residence at Auteuil on the 21st of August, 1814 at the age of sixty-one. M. Benjamin Delessert pronounced an address over his grave on the 24th, and Baron Cuvier delivered an éloge upon the deceased before his associates of the French Institute in January, 1815, in which he does justice to his genius in science and his eminently successful labors.

As an author, the American Academy of Sciences have erected the most appropriate monument in issuing a complete and splendid edition of Rumford's *Essays* and other publications with his *Life*, by Rev. George Ellis, D. D., which leaves nothing to desire for a full understanding of the career and character of Benjamin Thompson, Baronet, and Count of Rumford.

The grave of Rumford in the cemetery of Auteuil is marked by a horizontal stone, on which stands a perpendicular monument six feet high, six in width, and three and a half in thickness; both are of marble, on which are inscriptions—giving his official titles in Bavaria, France, and England. His most appropriate and significant monuments are in Munich—in the Maximilian Strasse, and at the entrance of the English Garden, itself the fitting memorial of his public spirit. In the *Life* by Mr. Ellis is a letter from the United States Consul (G. Henry Horstmann) describing the Statues and the Garden or Park:

'The bronze statue of Count Rumford stands in the Maximilian Strasse, the finest street of Munich, perhaps of any city of Europe. It is at this part four hundred feet wide, planted with quadruple rows of trees, the crimson-blossomed wild chestnut, and the American sycamore, with wide *parterres* of flowers and grass-plots on either side the pavement, and shady walks between, furnished with garden sofas for pedestrians. The monument stands in front of the new government offices, an imposing building in Italian Gothic, with some seven hundred feet front. To the right of this statue stands one to General Deroy. On the opposite side of the street, and in front of the National Museum,—a large edifice of the same dimensions as the before mentioned building,—stand in symmetrical positions, Frauenhofer, the astronomer and inventor, and Schelling, the philosopher, the tutor of King Maximilian, erected, as the inscription says, by his 'grateful scholar.' These four memorials are all of uniform size, the figures being ten feet, English, standing on granite pedestals of eleven feet in height. The statue of Count Rumford was modeled by Professor Caspar Zumbusch, of Munich, was cast at the Royal Bronze Foundry here, by Ferdinand von Müller, and was erected in 1867. The inscription on the front of the pedestal is:—

BENJAMIN THOMPSON
Graf
von Rumford.

and on the reverse:—

Errichtet von
MAXIMILIAN II., König
von Bayern.

'On a scroll in the hand of Rumford is inscribed,—

'Engische Garten
Architecte.'

'Scarcely a city in the world can boast a finer park than that which owes its existence to the creative mind of Count Rumford; and every citizen of Munich feels grateful to the man through whose labor a dreary waste of pebbly strand and marshy ground has been converted into a garden, bearing on its broad breast the stateliest forest trees, groves of shady elms and beeches, with wide stretches of undulating lawns between, and enlivened with streams of water, now meandering under wide-spreading branches of overarching bushes, and at the foot of towering hemlocks, now stretching out into a wide lake with green islands in its center, and now dashing over rocks in roaring cascades, and all supplied by arms of the rushing Isar, which have been led here to beautify the spot.

'The English Garden, as it is called, is a park of six hundred acres. Its length is three and a half English miles, its breadth about one and a half miles. It was planned and carried out in 1789, by Count Rumford, at that time one of the Ministers of the Elector Carl Theodore. It was subsequently enlarged and improved by Maximilian Joseph, the first King of Bavaria, and was further embellished with monuments by his son, Ludwig the First. Scarcely more than a hundred paces from the Ludwig Strasse, one of the handsomest avenues of the city, it commences, so that a few steps bring one from the bustle and noise of a crowded street into the midst of quiet rural scenery. At the entrance from this point stands a marble statue of Youth, by Schwanthaler the elder, its inscription intimating that communion with nature freshly strengthens one for every duty. Farther on, following the carriage road to the right, is the monument to the memory of Rumford. It is of sandstone, with allegorical figures of Plenty and Peace upon its face, and on the opposite side a medallion portrait of Rumford.'

GIRARD COLLEGE AND ITS FOUNDER.

STEPHEN GIRARD.*

STEPHEN GIRARD, the founder of the College for Orphans in Philadelphia which bears his name, was born near Bordeaux, France, May 24, 1750—the eldest of the five children of Captain Pierre Girard, a mariner of reputable social position, who gave his boys, except Stephen, a college education. This son was taught only the ordinary rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic, and before he was fourteen, he entered the world in the capacity of a cabin-boy—sailing between Bordeaux and the French West Indies—attaining with his majority the rank of first mate, or lieutenant of his vessel. He had improved his opportunity, and through the influence of his father, although he was below the legal age (25) for command, and had not served his two years in the royal navy, he took command of a merchant ship at the age of twenty-three, and with a cargo of his own, in the purchase of which he was aided by his father, he sailed again for the West Indies. Disposing of his cargo, he took in the products of the island and sailed for New York, where he arrived in July, 1774—and henceforth his lot was cast in America as 'Mariner and Merchant.' For two years he plied between New York and New Orleans, as mate or commander of a sloop. In May, 1776, he lost his reckoning in a fog between the Capes of Delaware Bay, in which plight he learned from an American captain, that British cruisers were abroad, and that his only safety was to push up the Bay and run for Philadelphia. Borrowing five dollars which he had not in pocket, he purchased the services of a pilot, and early in May he found refuge alongside the wharf near the foot of Walnut street—and in that locality, having taken the oath of allegiance in 1777, he found his residence and activity for nearly sixty years. Commencing with small resources, and doing any business which he could make pay, from damaged cordage and bottling wine, to small commercial ventures, and purchasing real estate in small lots, he labored on with his hands and his wits through the risks and vicissitudes of the Revolutionary War till 1790, when his property was valued at \$30,000.

* *Memoir in North American Review, for January, 1863.*

In the summer of 1793, he showed his bravery and his humanity by staying at his post during the terrible visitation of the malignant yellow fever, when one in six of the population were swept off in the course of three months—and most of those who could leave the city fled from the pestilence to healthy localities beyond its reach. In this period for sixty days, Girard had charge of the great hospital at Bush Hill—volunteering to do so, when he knew it was ill-regulated, crowded, and ill-supplied,—when nurses could not be obtained at any price. Here he performed all the distressing and revolting offices of the situation—receiving the sick and dying at the gate, assisting in carrying them to their beds, nursing them, receiving their last messages, and conveying the dead to their burial ground. When he left the hospital, it was to visit the infected districts, and it is recorded by eye witnesses, that this heroic man carried a sick merchant from his deserted dwelling-house to a carriage, and drove with him to the hospital. It is idle to deny to such a worker the possession of a human heart. Thus afterward, in 1797 and 1798, Girard took the lead in alleviating by personal efforts the horrors of the yellow fever in Philadelphia. Writing to a friend in France after the yellow fever of 1798, he says:—'During all this frightful time I have constantly remained in the city; and without neglecting my business, have visited as many as fifteen sick people in a day! and what will surprise you still more, I have lost only one patient, an Irishman, who would drink a little.'

But Girard's main business in life was that of a merchant and banker, not that of nurse or physician. Mr. Parton says:—

Girard was a man who sent his own ships to foreign countries, and exchanged their products for those of his own. Beginning in the West India trade, with one small schooner built with difficulty and managed with caution, he expanded his business as his capital increased, until he was the owner of a fleet of merchantmen, and brought home to Philadelphia the products of every clime. Beginning with single voyages, his vessels merely sailing to a foreign port and back again, he was accustomed at length to project great mercantile cruises, extending over long periods of time, and embracing many ports. A ship loaded with cotton and grain would sail, for example, to Bordeaux, there discharge, and take in a cargo of wine and fruit; thence to St. Petersburg, where she would exchange her wine and fruit for hemp and iron; thence to Amsterdam, where the hemp and iron would be sold for dollars; to Calcutta next for a cargo of tea and silks, with which the ship would return to Philadelphia. Such were the voyages so often successfully made by the *Voltaire*, the *Rousseau*, the *Helvetius*, and the *Montesquieu*; ships long the pride of Girard and the boast of Philadelphia, their names being the tribute paid by the merchant to the literature of his native land. He seldom failed to make very large profits. He rarely, if ever, lost a ship.

His neighbors, the merchants of Philadelphia, deemed him a lucky man. Many of them thought they could do as well as he, if they only had his luck. But the great volumes of his letters and papers, preserved in a room of the Girard College, show that his success in business was not due, in any degree whatever, to good fortune. Let a money making generation take note, that

Girard principles inevitably produce Girard results. The grand, the fundamental secret of his success, as of all success, was that *he understood his business*. He had a personal, familiar knowledge of the ports with which he traded, the commodities in which he dealt, the vehicles in which they were carried, the dangers to which they were liable, and the various kinds of men through whom he acted. He observed every thing, and forgot nothing. He had done every thing himself which he had occasion to require others to do. His directions to his captains and supercargoes, full, minute, exact, peremptory, show the hand of a master. Every possible contingency was foreseen and provided for; and he demanded the most literal obedience to the maxim, 'Obey orders, though you break owners.' He would dismiss a captain from his service forever, if he saved the whole profits of a voyage by departing from his instructions. He did so on one occasion. Add to this perfect knowledge of his craft, that he had a self-control which never permitted him to anticipate his gains or spread too wide his sails; that his industry knew no pause; that he was a close, hard bargainer, keeping his word to the letter, but exacting his rights to the letter; that he had no vices and no vanities; that he had no toleration for those calamities which result from vices and vanities; that his charities, though frequent, were bestowed only upon unquestionably legitimate objects, and were never profuse; that he was as wise in investing as skillful in gaining money; that he made his very pleasures profitable to himself in money gained, to his neighborhood in improved fruits and vegetables; that he had no family to maintain and indulge; that he held in utter aversion and contempt the costly and burdensome ostentation of a great establishment, fine equipages, and a retinue of servants; that he reduced himself to a money making machine, run at the minimum of expense;—and we have an explanation of his rapidly acquired wealth. He used to boast, after he was a millionaire, of wearing the same overcoat for fourteen winters; and one of his clerks, who saw him every day for twenty years, declares that he never remembered having seen him wear a new looking garment but once. Let us note, too, that he was an adept in the art of getting men to serve him with devotion. He paid small salaries, and was never known in his life to bestow a gratuity upon one who served him; but he knew how to make his humblest clerk feel that the master's eye was upon him always.

Legitimate commerce makes many men rich; but in Girard's day no man gained by it ten millions of dollars. It was the war of 1812, which suspended commerce, that made this merchant so enormously rich. In 1811, the charter of the old United States Bank expired; and the casting vote of Vice-President George Clinton negated the bill for rechartering it. When war was imminent, Girard had a million dollars in the bank of Baring Brothers, in London. This large sum, useless then for the purpose of commerce,—in peril, too, from the disturbed condition of English finance,—he invested in United States stock and in stock of the United States Bank, both being depreciated in England. Being thus a large holder of the stock of the bank, the charter having expired, and its affairs being in liquidation, he bought out the entire concern; and, merely changing the name to Girard's Bank, continued it in being as a private institution, in the same building, with the same coin in its vaults, the same bank-notes, the same cashier and clerks. The banking-house and the house of the cashier, which cost three hundred and fifty thousand dollars, he bought for one hundred and twenty thousand. The stock, which he bought at four hundred and twenty, proved to be

worth, on the winding up of the old bank, four hundred and thirty-four. Thus, by this operation, he extricated his property in England, invested it wisely in America, established a new business in place of one that could no longer be carried on, and saved the mercantile community from the loss and embarrassment which the total annihilation of the bank would have occasioned.

In 1814, when the credit of the government was at its lowest ebb, when a loan of five millions, at seven per cent. interest and twenty dollars bonus, was up for weeks, and only procured twenty thousand dollars, it was 'old Girard' who boldly subscribed for the whole amount; which at once gave it market value, and infused life into the paralyzed credit of the nation. Again, in 1816, when the subscriptions lagged for the new United States Bank, Girard waited until the last day for receiving subscriptions, and then quietly subscribed for the whole amount not taken, which was three million one hundred thousand dollars. And yet again, in 1829, when the enormous expenditures of Pennsylvania upon her canals had exhausted her treasury and impaired her credit, it was Girard who prevented the total suspension of the public works by a loan to the Governor, which the Legislature might or might not reimburse.

Once, during the war, the control of the coin in the bank procured him a signal advantage. In the spring of 1813, his fine ship, the *Montesquieu*, crammed with tea and fabrics from China, was captured by a British shallop when she was almost within Delaware Bay. News of the disaster reaching Girard, he sent orders to his supercargo to treat for a ransom. The British admiral gave up the vessel for one hundred and eighty thousand dollars in coin; and, despite this costly ransom, the cargo yielded a larger profit than that of any ship of Girard's during the whole of his mercantile career. Tea was then selling at war prices. Much of it brought, at auction, two dollars and fourteen cents a pound, more than four times its cost in China. He appears to have gained about half a million of dollars.

From the close of the war to the end of his life, a period of sixteen years, Girard pursued the even tenor of his way, as keen and steady in the pursuit of wealth, and as careful in preserving it, as though his fortune were still insecure. Why was this? We should answer the question thus: Because his defective education left him no other resource. We frequently hear the 'success' of such men as Astor and Girard adduced as evidence of the uselessness of early education. On the contrary, it is precisely such men who

prove its necessity; since, when they have conquered fortune, they know not how to avail themselves of its advantages. When Franklin had, at the age of forty-two, won a moderate competence, he could turn from business to science, and from science to the public service, using money as a means to the noblest end. Strong-minded but unlettered men, like Girard, who can not be idle, must needs plod on to the end, adding superfluous millions to their estates. In Girard's case, too, there was another cause of this entire devotion to business. His domestic sorrows had estranged him from mankind, and driven him into himself. Mr. Henry W. Arey, in his *Life of Girard*, remarks:—

No one who has had access to his private papers, can fail to be impressed with the belief that these early disappointments furnish the true key to his entire character. Originally of warm and generous impulses, the belief in childhood that he had not been given his share of the love and kindness which were extended to others changed the natural current of his feelings, and, acting on a warm and passionate temperament, alienated him from his home, his parents, and his friends. And when in after time there were superadded the years of bitter anguish resulting from his unfortunate and ill-adapted marriage, rendered even more poignant by the necessity of concealment, and the consequent injustice of public sentiment, and marring all his cherished expectations, it may be readily understood why occupation became a necessity, and labor a pleasure.

Girard himself confirms this opinion. In one of his letters of 1820, to a friend in New Orleans, he says:—

I observe with pleasure that you have a numerous family, that you are happy and in the possession of an honest fortune. This is all that a wise man has the right to wish for. As to myself, I live like a galley-slave, constantly occupied, and often passing the night without sleeping. I am wrapped up in a labyrinth of affairs, and worn out with care. I do not value fortune. The love of labor is my highest ambition. Your situation is a thousand times preferable to mine.

The key to some of the peculiarities of Mr. Girard's life and character has been found by some of his biographers in his neglected early education, and in the influence of the derision of his playmates on account of his defective eye on a naturally irritable temperament; and by others in his ill-assorted marriage to Polly Lumm. Mr. Parton says:—

Walking along Water street one day, near the corner of Vine street, the eyes of this reserved and ill-favored man were caught by a beautiful servant girl going to the pump for a pail of water. She was an enchanting brunette of sixteen, with luxuriant black locks curling and clustering about her neck. As she tripped along with bare feet and empty pail, in airy and unconscious grace, she captivated the susceptible Frenchman, who saw in her the realization of the songs of the fore-castle and the reveries of the quarter-deck. He sought her acquaintance, and made himself at home in her kitchen. The family whom she served, misinterpreting the designs of the thriving dealer, forbade him the house; when he silenced their scruples by offering the girl his hand in marriage. Ill-starred Polly Lumm! Unhappy Girard! She accepted his offer; and in July, 1777, the incongruous two were united in matrimony.

Of all the miserable marriages this was one of the most miserable. Here was a young, beautiful, and ignorant girl united to a close, ungracious, eager man of business, devoid of sentiment, with a violent temper and an unyielding

will. She was an American, he a Frenchman: and that alone was an immense incompatibility. She was seventeen, he twenty-seven. She was a woman; he was a man without imagination, intolerant of foibles. She was a beauty, with the natural vanities of a beauty; he not merely had no taste for decoration, he disapproved it on principle. These points of difference would alone have sufficed to endanger their domestic peace; but time developed something that was fatal to it. Their abode was the scene of contention for eight years; at the expiration of which period Mrs. Girard showed such symptoms of insanity that her husband was obliged to place her in the Pennsylvania Hospital. In these distressing circumstances, he appears to have spared no pains for her restoration. He removed her to a place in the country, but without effect. She returned to his house only to render life insupportable to him. He resumed his old calling as a mariner, and made a voyage to the Mediterranean; but on his return he found his wife not less unmanageable than before. In 1790, thirteen years after their marriage, and five after the first exhibition of insanity, Mrs. Girard was placed permanently in the hospital; where, nine months after, she gave birth to a female child. The child soon died; the mother never recovered her reason. For twenty-five years she lived in the hospital, and, dying in 1815, was buried in the hospital grounds after the manner of the Quakers. The coffin was brought to the grave, followed by the husband and the managers of the institution, who remained standing about it in silence for several minutes. It was then lowered to its final resting place, and again the company remained motionless and silent for awhile. Girard looked at the coffin once more, then turned to an acquaintance and said, as he walked away, 'It is very well.' A green mound, without headstone or monument, still marks the spot where the remains of this unhappy woman repose. Girard, both during his lifetime and after his death, was a liberal, though not lavish, benefactor of the institution which had so long sheltered his wife.

Stephen Girard's Will.

After the peace of 1815, Girard began to consider what he should do with his millions after his death. He was then sixty-five, but he expected and meant to live to a good age. 'The Russians,' he would say, when he was mixing his *olla podrida* of a Russian salad, 'understand best how to eat and drink; and I am going to see how long, by following their customs, I can live.' He kept an excellent table; but he became abstemious as he grew older, and lived chiefly on his salad and his good claret. Enjoying perfect health, it was not until about the year 1828, when he was seventy-eight years of age, that he entered upon the serious consideration of a plan for the final disposal of his immense estate. Upon one point his mind had been long made up. 'No man,' said he, 'shall be a gentleman on my money.' He often said that, even if he had had a son, he should have been brought up to labor, and should not, by a great legacy, be exempted from the necessity of labor. 'If I should leave him twenty thousand dollars,' he said, 'he would be lazy or turn gambler.' Very likely. The son of a man like Girard, who was virtuous without being able to make virtue engaging, whose mind was strong but rigid and ill-furnished, commanding but unconstructive, is likely to have a barren mind and rampant desires, the twin causes of debauchery. His decided inclination was to leave

the bulk of his property for the endowment of an institution of some kind for the benefit of Philadelphia.

The minor bequests were speedily arranged, though they were numerous and well considered. He left to the Pennsylvania Hospital, thirty thousand dollars; to the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, twenty thousand; to the Orphan Asylum, ten thousand; to the Lancaster public schools, the same sum; the same for providing fuel for the poor in Philadelphia; the same to the Society for the Relief of Distressed Sea Captains and their families; to the Freemasons of Pennsylvania, for the relief of poor members, twenty thousand; six thousand for the establishment of a free school in Passyunk, near Philadelphia; to his surviving brother, and to his eleven nieces, he left sums varying from five thousand dollars to twenty thousand; but to one of his nieces, who had a very large family, he left sixty thousand dollars. To each of the captains who had made two voyages in his service, and who should bring in his ship safely into port, he gave fifteen hundred dollars; and to each of his apprentices, five hundred. To his old servants, he left annuities of three hundred and five hundred dollars each. A portion of his valuable estates in Louisiana he bequeathed to the corporation of New Orleans, for the improvement of that city. Half a million he left for certain improvements in the city of Philadelphia; and to Pennsylvania, three hundred thousand dollars for her canals. The whole of the residue of his property, worth then about six millions of dollars, he devoted to a College for Orphans.

He directed that the buildings should be constructed of the most durable materials, 'avoiding useless ornament, attending chiefly to the strength, convenience, and neatness of the whole.' *That*, at least, is plain. He then proceeded to direct precisely what materials should be used, and how they should be used; prescribing the number of buildings, their size, the number and size of the apartments in each, the thickness of each wall, every detail of construction, giving as he would have given it to a builder. He then gave briefer directions as to the management of the institution. The orphans were to be plainly but wholesomely fed, clothed, and lodged; instructed in the English branches, in geometry, natural philosophy, the French and Spanish languages, and whatever else might be deemed suitable and beneficial to them. 'I would have them,' says the will, 'taught facts and things, rather than words or signs.' At the conclusion of the course, the pupils were to be apprenticed to 'suitable occupations, as those of agriculture, naviga-

tion, arts, mechanical trades, and manufactures.' The most remarkable passage of the will is the following:—

I enjoin and require that no ecclesiastic, missionary, or minister of any sect whatsoever, shall ever hold or exercise any station or duty whatever in the said College; nor shall any such person ever be admitted for any purpose, or as a visitor, within the premises appropriated to the purpose of the said College. In making this restriction, I do not mean to cast any reflection upon any sect or person whatsoever; but as there is such a multitude of sects, and such a diversity of opinion amongst them, I desire to keep the tender minds of the orphans, who are to derive advantage from this bequest, free from the excitement which clashing doctrines and sectarian controversy are so apt to produce; my desire is, that all the instructors and teachers in the College shall take pains to instill into the minds of the scholars *the purest principles of morality*, so that, on their entrance into active life, they may, *from inclination and habit*, evince benevolence toward their fellow-creatures, and a love of truth, sobriety, and industry, adopting at the same time such religious tenets as their *matured reason* may enable them to prefer.

When Mr. Duane had written this passage at Girard's dictation, a conversation occurred between them, which revealed, perhaps, one of the old gentleman's reasons for inserting it. 'What do you think of that?' asked Girard. Mr. Duane, being unprepared to comment upon such an unexpected injunction, replied, after a long pause, 'I can only say now, Mr. Girard, that I think it will make a great sensation.' Girard then said, 'I can tell you something else it will do,—it will please the Quakers.' He gave another proof of his regard for the Quakers by naming three of them as the executors of his will; the whole number of the executors being five.

In February, 1830, the will was executed, and deposited in Mr. Girard's iron safe. None but the two men who had drawn the will, and the three men who witnessed the signing of it, were aware of its existence; and none but Girard and Mr. Duane had the least knowledge of its contents. There never was such a keeper of his own secrets as Girard, and never a more faithful keeper of other men's secrets than Mr. Duane. And here we have another illustration of the old man's character. He had just signed a will of unexampled liberality to the public; and the sum which he gave the able and devoted lawyer for his three weeks' labor in drawing it was three hundred dollars!

Girard lived nearly two years longer, always devoted to business, and still inventing his gains with care. An accident in the street gave a shock to his constitution, from which he never fully recovered; and in December, 1831, when he was nearly eighty-two years of age, an attack of influenza terminated his life. True to his principles, he refused to be cupped, or to take drugs into his system, though both were prescribed by a physician whom he respected.

STEPHEN GIRARD'S WILL AND LEGAL PROCEEDINGS RESPECTING THE SAME.*

THE last Will of Stephen Girard was dated on the 16th of Feb., 1830, with two Codicils and Republications of Dec. 25, 1830, and June 20, 1831, and was proved Dec. 3, 1831. The Executors of his Will, appointed by Mr. Girard, were Timothy Paxson, Thomas P. Cope, Joseph Roberts, William J. Duane, and John. A. Barclay—all personal friends.

After giving, in particular legacies, to and for various persons and purposes, an aggregate sum of between three and four hundred thousand dollars, all of them evidences either of personal regard, or of good-will to benevolent institutions in the City of Philadelphia, he devised to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of the City of Philadelphia, the entire residue of his great estate, real and personal, upon different trusts, which may be generally described as follows:—

I. The first, or leading trust, as to two millions of dollars, was the erection of a College, and other necessary out-buildings, for the residence and accomodation of at least three hundred (orphan) scholars, of the description and character set forth in his Will; with a dedication of the income of the whole of his remaining estate, after deducting two further legacies of 500,000 and 300,000 dollars, to the extension of the College, if it should be necessary in certain events.

In the body of his Will, he directed that this College and out-buildings, and such others as in the event contemplated might become necessary, should be erected on a square of ground of which he was the owner, in the City of Philadelphia, being the entire square which lies between Chestnut and High, or Market street, and extends from Eleventh to Twelfth street. By the Codicil of 20th of June, 1831, he substituted for the square, an estate of forty-five acres and some perches of land, called Peel Hall, on the Ridge Road, in Penn Township, and devoted it for the Orphan establishment, in the same manner as he had devoted the square.

The description of the principal structure, or College, is given in his Will, with great particularity, but it is unnecessary to give it here, as no question whatever in this case turned upon it. The out-buildings his Will does not describe, further than by his saying that there should be at least four of them, detached from the main edifice and from each other, and in such positions as should at once answer the purposes of the institution, and be consistent with the symmetry of the whole establishment. Each building, he says, should be as far as practicable devoted to a distinct purpose; and in that one or more of those buildings in which they might be most useful, he directed his executors to place his plate, and furniture of every sort.

The directions in regard to the maintenance of the College and its pupils, it is proper to insert at length, as in a great degree the controversy turned upon them. After terminating his directions as to the College and out-buildings, and the square, the twenty-first clause of the Will proceeds as follows:—

When the College and appurtenances shall have been constructed, and supplied with plain and suitable furniture and books, philosophical and experimental instruments and apparatus, and all other matters needful to carry my general design into execution, the income, issues, and profits of so much of the said sum

* This account is abridged from a volume printed by order of the Commissioners of the Girard Estates. Philadelphia: 1834.

of two millions of dollars as shall remain unexpended, shall be applied to maintain the said College according to my directions.

1. The institution shall be organized as soon as practicable; and to accomplish that purpose more effectually, due public notice of the intended opening of the College shall be given, so that there may be an opportunity to make selections of competent instructors and other agents, and those who may have the charge of the orphans may be aware of the provisions intended for them.

2. A competent number of instructors, teachers, assistants, and other necessary agents, shall be selected, and when needful, their places from time to time supplied. They shall receive adequate compensation for their services; but no person shall be employed who shall not be of tried skill in his or her proper department, of established moral character, and in all cases persons shall be chosen on account of their merit, and not through favor or intrigue.

3. As many poor white male orphans, between the ages of six and ten years, as the said income shall be adequate to maintain, shall be introduced into the College as soon as possible; and from time to time, as there may be vacancies, or as increased ability from income may warrant, others shall be introduced.

4. On the application for admission, an accurate statement should be taken in a book prepared for the purpose, of the name, birthplace, age, health, condition as to relatives, and other particulars useful to be known of each orphan.

5. No orphan should be admitted until the guardians or directors of the poor, or a proper guardian, or other competent authority, shall have given, by indenture, relinquishment, or otherwise, adequate power to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of Philadelphia, or to directors, or others by them appointed to enforce, in relation to each orphan, every proper restraint, and to prevent relatives or others from interfering with, or withdrawing such orphan from the institution.

6. Those orphans, for whose admission application shall be first made, shall be first introduced, all other things concurring; and at all future times, priority of application shall entitle the applicant to preference in admission, all other things concurring; but if there shall be, at any time, more applicants than vacancies, and the applying orphans shall have been born in different places, a preference shall be given—*First*, to orphans born in the City of Philadelphia; *Secondly*, to those born in any other part of Pennsylvania; *Thirdly*, to those born in the City of New York (that being the first port on the continent of North America at which I arrived); and *Lastly*, to those born in the City of New Orleans, being the first port on the said continent at which I first traded, in the first instance as first officer, and subsequently as master and port owner of a vessel and cargo.

7. The orphans admitted into the College shall be there fed with plain but wholesome food, clothed with plain but decent apparel, (no distinctive dress ever to be worn) and lodged in a plain but safe manner: due regard shall be paid to their health, and to this end their person and clothes shall be kept clean, and they shall have suitable and rational exercise and recreation. They shall be instructed in the various branches of a sound education, comprehending reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, geography, navigation, surveying, practical mathematics, astronomy, natural, chemical, and experimental philosophy, the French and Spanish languages, (I do not forbid, but I do not recommend the Greek and Latin languages) and such other learning and science as the capacities of the several scholars may merit or warrant. I would have them taught facts and things, rather than words or signs; and especially I desire, that by every proper means a pure attachment to our republican institutions and to the sacred rights of conscience, as guaranteed by our happy constitutions, shall be formed and fostered in the minds of the scholars.

8. Should it unfortunately happen, that any of the orphans admitted into the College shall, from mal-conduct, have become unfit companions for the rest, and mild means of reformation prove abortive, they should no longer remain therein.

9. Those scholars who shall merit it, shall remain in the College until they shall respectively arrive at between fourteen and eighteen years of age; they shall then be bound out by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of Philadelphia, or under their direction, to suitable occupations—as those of agriculture, navigation, arts, mechanical trades, and manufactures, according to the capacities and

acquirements of the scholars respectively, consulting, as far as prudence shall justify it, the inclinations of the several scholars, as to the occupation, art, or trade to be learned.

In relation to the organization of the College and its appendages, I leave, necessarily, many details to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of Philadelphia, and their successors; and I do so with the more confidence, as from the nature of my bequests, and the benefit to result from them, I trust that my fellow-citizens of Philadelphia will observe and evince especial care and anxiety in selecting members for their City Councils and other agents.

There are, however, some restrictions, which I consider it my duty to prescribe, and to be amongst others, conditions on which my bequest for said College is made and to be enjoyed, namely:—*Firstly*, I enjoin and require, that if, at the close of any year, the income of the fund devoted to the purposes of the said College shall be more than sufficient for the maintenance of the institution during that year, then the balance of the said income, after defraying such maintenance, shall be forthwith invested in good securities, thereafter to be and remain a part of the capital; but in no event shall any part of the said capital be sold, disposed of, or pledged, to meet the current expenses of the said institution, to which I devote the interest, income, and dividends thereof exclusively. *Secondly*, I enjoin and require that *no ecclesiastic, missionary, or minister of any sect whatsoever, shall ever hold or exercise any station or duty whatever, in the said College; nor shall any such person ever be admitted for any purpose, or as a visitor, within the premises appropriated to the purposes of the said College.*

In making this restriction, I do not mean to cast any reflection upon any sect or person whatsoever; but, as there is such a multitude of sects, and such a diversity of opinion amongst them, I desire to keep the tender minds of the orphans, who are to derive advantage from this bequest, free from the excitement which clashing doctrines and sectarian controversy are so apt to produce; my desire is, that all the instructors and teachers in the College shall take pains to instill into the minds of the scholars *the purest principles of morality*, so that, on their entrance into active life, they may, *from inclination and habit, evince benevolence toward their fellow-creatures, and a love of truth, sobriety, and industry*, adopting at the same time such religious tenets as their *matured reason* may enable them to prefer.

If the income arising from that part of the said sum of two millions of dollars, remaining after the construction and furnishing of the College and out-buildings, shall, owing to the increase of the number of orphans applying for admission, or other cause, be inadequate to the construction of new buildings, or the maintenance and education of as many orphans as may apply for admission, then such further sum as may be necessary for the construction of new buildings, and the maintenance and education of such further number of orphans, as can be maintained and instructed within such buildings as the said square of ground shall be adequate to, shall be taken from the final residuary fund hereinafter expressly referred to for the purpose, comprehending the income of my real estate in the City and County of Philadelphia, and the dividends of my stock in the Schuylkill Navigation Company—my design and desire being, that the benefits of said institution shall be extended to as great a number of orphans as the limits of the said square and buildings therein, can accommodate.

This is the last paragraph of the 21st clause of the Testator's Will.

II. The second trust of the Will is in regard to the sum of 500,000 dollars given to the City—to lay out and pave a street fronting the river Delaware—to pull down all wooden buildings erected within the City, and to prohibit the erection of any such hereafter—and to regulate, widen, and pave Water street, and to distribute the Schuylkill water therein, upon a plan minutely given by the Testator.

[The III. and IV. Trusts relate to \$500,000 given to the City, and \$300,000 for certain improvements, and in the V. Trust is a clause converting the remainder of the residue of his personal estate into a permanent fund, the income of which is to be applied to the improvement and maintenance of the College.]

Argument of Horace Binney.—Extracts.

The charitable uses declared in the Testator's Will for the education and maintenance of poor white male orphans, are perfectly valid in all respects.

This great question, involving the largest pecuniary amount that has perhaps ever depended upon a single judicial decision, and affecting some of the most widely diffused and precious interests, religious, literary, and charitable, of all our communities, is now to be brought to the test of legal research and reasoning. There was a period of time, covering the whole colonial existence of these States, when the validity of such uses as these, was taken for granted, and acquiesced in by the people every where. There was probably never a colony of English origin, that did not regard them as both morally and legally good, and hold them to be matters of conscientious duty as well as of public policy. An Englishman of adult age, could not have left the land of his Christian forefathers, without bringing with him a reverential regard for charitable uses, and an inbred deference for all who desired to extend and to perpetuate them, whatever might have been his personal practice. The great scope of their design—in the sustenance of the poor, the instruction of the young, and the succor of the afflicted, under the vicissitudes that man is every where subject to—in the cultivation of learning, and the advancement of Christian knowledge—their tendencies to consolidate and to adorn society in its progress—and their being moreover, under every shape and form, an acknowledgment, express or implied, of our duty to God, and to our neighbor, and directly or indirectly, acts of religious worship and gratitude—obtained for them in some form, and frequently in all forms, the consent of all the colonists. But they rested upon the habits and the feelings of the people, or upon adjudications elsewhere, and not upon principles investigated and declared by our Courts: and hence it has happened, that after more than a century and a half of general adoption, the legality of charitable uses has of recent times been regarded by some persons among us as a prejudice, rather than a principle of law or equity, and as a well meaning weakness, that neither law nor equity is strong enough to support, without the sanction of legislative enactment.

There is not a charitable society, nor an object of charity in Pennsylvania, nor an institution for the promotion of religion or literature, that is not to be affected by this decision. The magnitude of the estate in controversy, disappears before the magnitude of the public interests involved. It is indispensable that we look to our foundations with more than usual care.

We are told that these uses are *vague* and *indefinite*, and the attempt is made to press upon the Court the adoption of the popular notion of them, by means of popular language. In an argument before a learned court, the effort should be to speak of legal things in legal terms,—to speak of that which has been adjudicated, in the language of adjudication, and not to confound all differences, by rejecting all established distinctions. Even a bequest to *charity* without more, though it is *general*, is in no legal sense '*vague or indefinite*.' It is good in England, and I trust in Pennsylvania too. The mode of administering it may be different from that of a gift to *trustees* for charity generally, or a gift to a more precise charity, *without trustees*: but it is not *vague*, it is not *indefinite*. It is comprehensive, but it comprehends nothing that has not the specific traits of charity, which I shall endeavor hereafter to point out. General charity, if

there are no trustees, is administered in one way—if there are trustees, it is administered in another way; but nothing that is vague and indefinite can be administered at all.

If, however, any charitable use is precise and not vague, limited and not indefinite, it is the charity founded by Stephen Girard, an *Orphan College for the maintenance and education of poor, white, male orphan children, from the ages of six and ten to the ages of fourteen and eighteen*, in the manner and to the intents and purposes declared in his Will. It is almost perfect precision. But it must not be understood that we claim the least protection for it, on the ground of this precision, or shall offer a single suggestion to the Court, that will distinguish it in point of favor above a charity to poor orphans generally,—to poor children—to poor seamen—to poor widows, or to the members of any class of the helpless, necessitous, or afflicted of mankind, however general may be the description. A distinction upon any such ground, mistakes the source, motive, end, and objects of charity,—mixes up with its pure principle the grosser elements of exclusive rights,—endeavors to individuate the equitable interest, to fasten it in some way to the landmarks of private property—to make it the selfish thing that private property is—to require for it some characteristic that will give it the cast of personal possession, and a lawful title, by which one man may say to another, even of the same bereaved family,—‘it is mine, and not yours.’ The argument of the complainants demands for all charities that certainty and definiteness which are the badges of private right; and it probably will not be surrendered, until by rising up to the source of charity, it is shown that certainty in their sense, is its bane—that uncertainty, in the sense of the law of charities, is its daily bread—and that the greatest of all solecisms in law, morals, or religion, is to talk of a charity to *individuals*, personally known to, and selected by the giver. There is not, there never was, and there never can be such a thing, as charity to the known, except as ‘unknown.’ Uncertainty of person, until appointment or selection, is in the case of a charitable trust for distribution, a never failing attendant. If the trust be committed to a corporation for charitable uses, it makes no difference. Corporations for charitable uses are but bodies of trustees for uncertain beneficiaries; and their charities have no attribute of greater certainty, than if the trust were given to unincorporated trustees, or given for the object generally without trustees, when Chancery if necessary would supply them.

But where did the Roman Law get them? We might infer the source, from the fact that Constantine was the first Christian Emperor—that Valentinian was an Arian, a sagacious, bold, and cruel soldier, but the tolerant friend of Jews and Pagans, and a persecutor of the Christians—and that Justinian, ‘the vain titles of whose victories are crumbled into dust while the name of the Legislator is inscribed on a fair and everlasting monument,’ obtains, with this praise from the Historian of the Decline and Fall, the more enviable meer, of being at all times the ‘pious,’ and at least in his youth the ‘orthodox Justinian.’ We might infer it still better from that section of the code, which after liberating gifts to orphan-houses and other religious and charitable institutions, ‘*a lucrativorum inscriptionibus*,’ and confining the effect of these charges to other persons, concludes with the inquiries—‘*Cur enim non faciamus discrimen inter res divinas et humanas? Et quare non competens prerogativa celesti favori conservetur?*’

What are *pious uses*? They are uses destined to some work of benevolence. Whether they relate to spiritual or temporal concerns—whether their object be to propagate the doctrines of religion, to relieve the sufferings of humanity, or to promote those grave and sober interests of the public, which concern the well being of the people at all times—all of them come under the name of '*dispositiones pii testatoris.*' 2 Domat. 168, Book iv. Tit. 2, Sect. vi. l.

They come then from that religion to which Constantine was converted, which Valentinian persecuted, and which Justinian more completely established; and from the same religion they would have come to England, and to these States, though the Pandects had still slumbered at Amalfi, or Rome had remained forever trodden down by the barbarians of Scythia and Germany. I say the legal doctrine of pious uses comes from the Bible. I do not say that the principle and duty of charity, are not derived from natural religion also. Individuals may have taken it from this source. The Law has taken it in all cases from the revealed will of God.

What is a charitable or pious gift, according to that religion? It is whatever is given for the love of God, or for the love of your neighbor, in the Catholic and universal sense—given from these motives, and to these ends—free from the stain or taint of every consideration that is personal, private, or selfish.

The domestic relations, it is not to be doubted, are most frequently a bond of virtue, as they are also the source of some of the most delightful as well as ennobling emotions of the heart. In the same class, both for purity and influence on human happiness, we may generally place the relations of kindred by blood or alliance, our friends and benefactors, those of whom we are a part, or who are an acknowledged part of ourselves. There is nothing in the Bible to sever any of these relations, if cultivated wisely, and in due subordination to greater duties; nor much, with perhaps an exception or two, to enjoin a special observance of them. One of them has the sanction of a commandment in the second table, to make children remember their parents, who need no command to remember *them*: and another is defended by injunctions, against infirmities, which while they are its cement are often its ruin. All of them are deeply rooted in our nature. Instances are not wanting of their vivid influence between men whose nature is discolored by the darkest stains; and without any emphatic sanctions in the revealed Word, they are perhaps more than sufficiently invigorated by natural impulses, which for good or evil rarely or never sleep. The feelings which attend them are not unmixed with benevolence—nay, they are often deeply tinged with it; but benevolence does not bear supreme rule among them, nor is it their sole guide and governor. It is not to be forgotten by the Christian moralist, that although the ties which bind men together in these narrow relations, are necessary to their happiness, and therefore to their virtue, the due observance of the relations themselves is not that which the Gospel meant chiefly to inculcate upon man. Father and mother, son and daughter, husband and wife, master and servant, kinsmen, friends, benefactors and dependents—while such relations bind individuals together, they often break society into sections, and deny the larger claims of human brotherhood. They are an expansion, and sometimes little else, of the love of self. This is in many instances their center and their circumference. The Gospel was designed to give man a truer center, and a larger circumference; to wean him from self and selfish things—even from

selfish virtues, which are 'of the earth, earthy,'—to make the intensity of his self-love the standard of his love of human kind, and to build him up for Heaven, upon that which is the foundation of the law and the prophets, the love of God and the love of his neighbor.

Here are the two great principles upon which charitable or pious uses depend. *The love of God* is the basis of all that are bestowed for His honor, the building up of His church, the support of His ministers, the religious instruction of mankind. *The love of his neighbor*, is the principle that prompts and consecrates all the rest. The currents of these two great affections finally run together, and they are at all times so near, that they can hardly be said to be separated. The love of one's neighbor leads the heart upward to the common Father of all, and the love of God leads it through Him to all his children. The distinction between the two descriptions of charities, the doctrinal and the practical, or as they may with more propriety be called, the religious and the social, is one, however, that Christianity can hardly be said to enforce, since all its doctrines are practical, and all the charities it enjoins are religious; but it is of some moment in the law, as may hereafter be perceived.

But who is my *neighbor*? It was perhaps difficult to make a Jew, a Jewish lawyer especially, whose profession was not the best in the world, to enlarge his heart—it might have been difficult for some teachers to make such a Jew understand that he was neighbor to a Samaritan, a schismatic, with whom the Jews 'had no dealings:' but it was not at all difficult to make him confess, by the voice of his own self-love that a Samaritan was neighbor to a Jew. A Jew whose brother had fallen among thieves, who had stripped him of his raiment, and wounded him, and left him half dead, was not slow to confess, that he that showed mercy on him, was his neighbor, even though he was a Samaritan.

Even the disciples of the Great Teacher, the fishermen from the strand of Genesareth, who from their station, and the vicissitudes of their calling, would seem to have been more than others in sympathy with the unprotected and unprotected of the earth, were not quick to learn this great lesson. An outcast from the coast of Israel, a Canaanite, who sought relief for her demoniac daughter, though she came with the strongest claim that humanity ever makes for sympathy and succor—a wretched mother imploring aid for her afflicted child—received from them nothing but 'send her away, for she crieth after us.' The sentiment in their hearts, their Master, preparing the lesson for them, seems to have put into words: 'It is not meet to take the children's bread, and to cast it to dogs.' But when the reply came—'Truth, Lord, yet the dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from their master's table'—the reproof of the misjudging disciples, and the restoration of the wretched demoniac, were conveyed by the same answer: 'O woman, great is thy faith, be it unto thee even as thou wilt.'

Lesson after lesson was designed to lead the Jew from the prejudices of his narrow family, to 'all the kindreds upon earth,' and to open his heart to even the proscribed Gentile, instead of suffering none to enter but those who held to him the personal relations, by which his own infirmities were cherished and confirmed—to lead him to imitate that celestial mercy which sends the rain upon the unjust, and 'is kind to the unthankful and to the evil,'—to impel him, in fine, to love his enemies, and to do good unto all men, as his brethren of one descent from the same Father in Heaven. 'He that loveth father and mother more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more

than me, is not worthy of me.' 'My mother and my brethren are these which hear the word of God and do it.' Such was the language of Christ to those who were prone to think, that the love of their own blood, or of their own nation, was the highest attainment of virtue.

The great final illustration of the principle of charity, is given as almost the last act of the ministry of Christ, when he prefigured the gathering of all nations, and the separation of one from another, as a shepherd divides the sheep from the goats. To those on his right hand the king shall say—'I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: naked, and ye clothed me: sick, and ye visited me; I was in prison, and ye came unto me.' And when the righteous, unconscious of this personal ministration to his wants, say, 'Lord, when?' the answer consummates the lesson, and leaves it for the instruction of the living upon earth, as it is to be pronounced for their beatitude in heaven: '*Inasmuch as ye have done it to one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.*'

It is not therefore in gifts to the beloved relation, the faithful friend, the personal benefactor, the personal dependent, the known, the individuated, whether beloved for merit, from gratitude, by personal association, or in reciprocation of good offices, that we are to look for acts of charity. These have their personal motives and their personal ends. We must go out of this narrow circle, where sometimes self-love is all that kindles our emotions, and perhaps always gives to them the warmth which we mistake for a nobler fire, into the larger circle of human brotherhood—the unrelated by any nearer affinity—the naked, the hungry, the sick, the stranger, and the captive—and must give to them, in humble reverence, and in faint imitation, of that divine beneficence, that gives every thing to us. This alone, in the sense of Scripture, and in the sense of law also, is a charitable gift.

Nor is the extension of the hand to the wayside mendicant, or the administration of succor to the traveler who has just fallen among thieves near our path, or that occasional relief which feeling rather than principle prompts to the distressed who meet our eyes, a compliance with the duty which the Gospel enjoins. Provision for the day of need—accumulation for future necessity—a provident forecast for those who can have none for themselves—a preparation for our brethren under the Gospel, such as we should make for our children and brothers by blood—all these are not more the suggestion of reason, than they are the command of religion. The apostolical direction to the churches was distinct and reiterated. 'Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him, that there may be no gatherings when I come, whomsoever ye shall approve by your letters, them will I send to bring your liberality unto Jerusalem. And if it be meet that I go also, they shall go with me.' St. Paul himself was a trustee for charitable uses, and by his injunction and example, gave the highest sanctity to both the charity and the trust.

It is by no means in the Gospel that this provision for the helpless and unknown is first announced, though it is there that the precept has its greatest expansion and emphasis. For whose benefit was the Jewish command, 'When thou cuttest down thine harvest in the field, and hast forgot a sheaf in the field, thou shalt not go again to fetch it.' When the olive tree was beaten, for whose sake was the husbandman commanded not to go over the boughs again? For

whom was the gleanings of the grapes, after the vintage was gathered? They were all for the unknown, the unrelated, the unfriended—the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow.

'Thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt. Therefore I command thee to do this thing.' 'Thou shalt not glean thy vineyard, neither shalt thou gather every grape of thy vineyard. Thou shalt leave them for the poor and the stranger. I am the Lord, your God.' 'For ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt' The appeals are constant, reiterated, urgent—they are more than appeals, they are commands directly addressed to the Jews by the highest authority, and in the dread name itself, to extend their gifts and their protection to the unknown stranger, the unfathered orphan, and the widow.

It is this command so clear, and sustained by such sanctions, to the Jews first, and afterward to the people of all nations, that makes charitable uses a matter of religious duty, so that to deny the performance or the enjoyment of them to any man, during his life, or at his death, or to withhold from them the sanction and protection of the law, is to deny him the exercise of one of the most sacred rights of conscience. Next to the worship of Almighty God, and as a part even of that worship itself, they are esteemed, and ever have been, as both a duty and a blessing. They were so promulgated to the Jews before the coming of Christ, and they were so taught and enjoined under the new covenant; and it is a miserable mistake, both of their origin and of their end, to question them for that uncertainty of particular object, which is of their very substance and essence.

It has been my intention in these remarks to pronounce a homily to the Court or to the counsel. It is with some repugnance that I have blended themes of this nature with questions of law, in a strife for the recovery or defense of property. But they bear directly upon questions of law, and especially upon the great question which I am now to discuss: for they disclose the foundation of charitable uses, and one of their inseparable attributes, in the manner most effectual to answer, not only the main argument of the complainants' counsel, but the judicial arguments which, in one or two cases in our own country, have unfortunately been used to defeat them.

The exclusion of all Ecclesiastics.

Mr. Girard, in giving this direction [the exclusion of all ecclesiastics], has used plain, familiar, and intelligible words. There is no ambiguity whatever in them. They have a clear definite meaning, which any man, learned or unlearned, may apprehend; and it is one meaning, and neither more nor less. He enjoins and requires, and this is all that he has said, and all that he means, that no ecclesiastic, missionary, or minister, of any sect whatsoever, shall ever hold or exercise any station or duty whatever in the said College, and that no such person shall ever be admitted for any purpose, or as a visitor, within the premises appropriated for the purposes of the said College. This is a meaning as lawful as it is plain. We may think what we please of the injunction, as uncourteous, disrespectful, inexpedient. I will speak of these presently. But we can not think—no one on the responsibility of his professional character will say—that what it thus plainly means to enjoin, is unlawful. In other words, no man will say that any ecclesiastic, missionary, or minister, of any sect whatever, has a *lawful* right to hold or exercise any station or duty in such

a college, or to admission for any purpose, or as a visitor within the premises, *against the will or injunction of the founder of it.* If this exclusion be its meaning and end, and its whole meaning and end, there never was, and never can be, a more lawful injunction by the founder of a school or college, be the consequences what they may.

He declares, that in making this restriction, he does not mean to cast any reflection upon any sect or person whatever; but as there are such a multitude of sects, and such a diversity of opinion amongst them, he desires to keep the tender minds of the orphans, who are to derive advantage from the bequest, free from the excitement of clashing doctrines and sectarian controversy.

What his religious opinions were, we have no materials for ascertaining. Like the inhabitants of Mount Gerizim, he may have worshipped 'he knew not what;' but in many parts of his life, and in the last act of it, he was a good Samaritan; and from this we may ascertain, what his wishes were in regard to the feelings and happiness of others. That great example proves, that even a schismatic, who rejected the Temple worship, might do a deed of charity in the full Christian sense; and so do it, as to be a perpetual lesson to orthodoxy, if it be cold-hearted and narrow minded.

He says expressly, that his teachers in the College must take pains to instill into the minds of the scholars the *purest principles of morality*, so that on their entrance into active life, they may evince benevolence toward their fellow-creatures, and a love of truth, sobriety, and industry, adopting at the same time such religious tenets as their matured reason may enable them to prefer. Interpreting these expressions with any, the least candor, can they be understood to prohibit the Bible, from which the purest morality is drawn, or the evidences of Christianity, or such systems of Christian morals, as place them upon the sure and only sure basis of Christianity? I answer no. I aver confidently, that a contrary interpretation, if made upon the Will alone, is as destitute of candor, as it is of conformity with legal rules of construction. Mr. Girard has enjoined instruction in the *purest morality*. He has given no statement of the basis on which he requires it to be taught. He has not said a word in opposition to the universal scheme of all Christian countries and seminaries, of uniting ethics with Christian theology, since nothing is to be made of morality without their union. He has left the basis of the science to the selection of his trustees.

The notion, however, that the Christian religion can not be taught by a layman, is pure extravagance. It is taught by laymen in the most efficient of our schools for Christian instruction,—our universal Sunday schools, the greatest and best of modern institutions. In the Liverpool Blue Coat School, even the doctrines of the Church of England, its creeds and articles, are taught by laymen—no clergyman whatever, either officiating or superintending the school—the pupils themselves reading by turns and as a reward of merit, such parts of the service as the laity can repeat. It is equally extravagant to assert, that any Protestant denomination in this country prohibits such lay teaching of religion—lay teaching in schools. It is sufficient, however, that Mr. Girard has not prohibited it. He has not prohibited the institution of a Sunday school upon the premises. Nay, he has not prohibited his trustees from sending the pupils to their respective churches, if they or their friends have any, without the walls; and this they may do, without hearing of clashing doctrines or sectarian controversy—unless the ministers respectively shall think they are fit themes for the edification of their flocks.

Religious Instruction of the Young.

The following passages are taken from Mr. Webster's Speech in the United States Supreme Court at Washington, Feb. 20, 1844, in the case of the Heirs at Law of the late Stephen Girard against the Executors of his Will in carrying out the provisions of the same, establishing an Institution in which 'poor white male orphans between the ages of six and ten years are to be introduced,' with the following restriction:—

Secondly. I enjoin and require that no ecclesiastic, missionary, or minister, of any sect whatever, shall ever hold or exercise any station or duty whatever in the said college; nor shall any such person ever be admitted for any purpose, or as a visitor, within the premises appropriated to the purposes of the said college.

This scheme of instruction begins by attempting to attach reproach and odium to the whole clergy of the country. It places a brand, a stigma on every individual member of the profession, without an exception—a profession which, for devotedness to their sacred calling, for purity of life and character, for learning, intelligence, piety, and that wisdom which cometh from above is inferior to none other.

The devise before us proposes to establish, as its main object, a school of learning, a college. There are provisions, of course, for lodging, clothing, and feeding the pupils, but all this is subsidiary. The great object is the instruction of the young; although it proposes to give the children better food and clothes and lodging, and proposes that the system of education shall be somewhat better than that which is usually provided for the poor and destitute in our public institutions generally.

The main object, then, is to establish a school of learning for children, beginning with them at a very tender age, and retaining them (namely, from six years to eighteen) till they are on the verge of manhood, when they will have expended more than one-third part of the average duration of human life. For if the college takes them at six, and keeps them till they are eighteen, a period of twelve years will be passed within its walls; more than a third part of the average of human life. These children, then, are to be taken almost before they learn their alphabet, and be discharged about the time that men enter on the active business of life. At six, many do not know their alphabet. John Wesley did not know a letter till after he was six years old, and his mother then took him on her lap, and taught him his alphabet at a single lesson. There are many parents who think that any attempt to instil the rudiments of education into the mind of a child at an earlier age, is little better than labor thrown away. The great object which Mr. Girard seemed to have in view, was to take these orphans at this very tender age, and to keep them within his walls until they were entering manhood. And this object I pray your honors steadily to bear in mind.

I never, in the whole course of my life, listened to any thing with more sincere delight, than to the remarks of my learned friend, Horace Binney, who opened this cause, on the nature and character of true charity. I agree with every word he said on that subject. I almost envy him his power of expressing so happily what his mind conceives so clearly and correctly. He is right when he speaks of it as an emanation from the Christian religion. He is right when he says that it has its origin in the word of God. He is right when he says that it was

unknown throughout all the world till the first dawn of Christianity. He is right, preëminently right, in all this, as he was preëminently happy in his power of clothing his thoughts and feelings in appropriate forms of speech. And I maintain, that, in any institution for the instruction of youth, where the authority of God is disowned, and the duties of Christianity derided and despised, and its ministers shut out from all participation in its proceedings, there can no more be charity, true charity, found to exist, than evil can spring out of the Bible, error out of truth, or hatred and animosity come forth from the bosom of perfect love. No, Sir! No, Sir! If charity denies its birth and parentage, if it turns infidel to the great doctrines of the Christian religion, if it turns unbeliever, it is no longer charity! There is no longer charity, either in a Christian sense or in the sense of jurisprudence; for it separates itself from the fountain of its own creation.

Now, let us look at the condition and prospects of these tender children, who are to be submitted to this experiment of instruction without Christianity. In the first place, they are orphans, have no parents to guide or instruct them in the way in which they should go, no father, no religious mother, to lead them to the pure fount of Christianity; *they are orphans*. If they were only poor, there might be somebody bound by ties of human affection to look after their spiritual welfare; to see that they imbibed no erroneous opinions on the subject of religion; that they run into no excessive improprieties of belief as well as conduct. The child would have its father or mother to teach it to lip the name of its Creator in prayer, or hymn His praise. But in this experimental school of instruction, if the orphans have any friends or connections able to look after their welfare, it shuts them out. It is made the duty of the governors of the institution, on taking the child, so to make out the indentures of apprenticeship as to keep him from any after interference in his welfare on the part of guardians or relatives; to keep them from withdrawing him from the school, or interfering with his instruction whilst he is in the school, in any manner whatever.

The earliest and most urgent intellectual want of human nature is the knowledge of its origin, its duty, and its destiny. 'Whence am I, what am I, and what is before me?' This is the cry of the human soul, so soon as it raises its contemplation above visible, material things.

When an intellectual being finds himself on this earth, as soon as the faculties of reason operate, one of the first inquiries of his mind is, 'Shall I be here always?' 'Shall I live here for ever?' And reasoning from what he sees daily occurring to others, he learns to a certainty that his state of being must one day be changed. I do not mean to deny, that it may be true that he is created with this consciousness; but whether it be consciousness, or the result of his reasoning faculties, man soon learns that he must die. And of all sentient beings, he alone, so far as we can judge, attains to this knowledge. His Maker has made him capable of learning this. Before he knows his origin and destiny, he knows that he is to die. Then comes that most urgent and solemn demand for light that ever proceeded, or can proceed, from the profound and anxious broodings of the human soul. It is stated, with wonderful force and beauty, in that incomparable composition, the book of Job: 'For there is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again, and that the tender branch thereof will not cease; that, through the scent of water, it will bud, and bring forth boughs like a plant. *But if a man die, shall he live again?*' And that question

nothing but God, and the religion of God, can solve. Religion does solve it, and teaches every man that he is to live again, and that the duties of this life have reference to the life which is to come. And hence, since the introduction of Christianity, it has been the duty, as it has been the effort, of the great and the good, to sanctify human knowledge, to bring it to the fount, and to baptize learning into Christianity; to gather up all its productions, its earliest and its latest, its blossoms and its fruits, and lay them all upon the altar of religion and virtue.

Another important point involved in this question is, What becomes of the Christian Sabbath, in a school thus established? I do not mean to say that this stands exactly on the same authority as the Christian religion, but I mean to say that the observance of the Sabbath is a part of Christianity in all its forms. All Christians admit the observance of the Sabbath. All admit that there is a Lord's day, although there may be a difference in the belief as to which is the right day to be observed. Now, I say that in this institution, under Mr. Girard's scheme, the ordinary observance of the Sabbath could not take place, because the ordinary means of observing it are excluded.

Apply the reasoning advanced by Mr. Girard to human institutions, and you will tear them all up by the root; as you would inevitably tear all divine institutions up by the root, if such reasoning is to prevail. At the meeting of the first Congress, there was a doubt in the minds of many of the propriety of opening the session with prayer; and the reason assigned was, as here, the great diversity of opinion and religious belief. At length Mr. Samuel Adams, with his gray hairs hanging about his shoulders, and with an impressive venerableness now seldom to be met with, (I suppose owing to the difference of habits,) rose in that assembly, and, with the air of a perfect Puritan, said that it did not become men, professing to be Christian men, who had come together for solemn deliberation in the hour of their extremity, to say that there was so wide a difference in their religious belief, that they could not, as one man, bow the knee in prayer to the Almighty, whose advice and assistance they hoped to obtain. Independent as he was, and an enemy to all prelacy as he was known to be, he moved that the Rev. Mr. Duché, of the Episcopal Church, should address the Throne of Grace in prayer. And John Adams, in a letter to his wife, says that he never saw a more moving spectacle. Mr. Duché read the Episcopal service of the Church of England, and then, as if moved by the occasion, he broke out into extemporaneous prayer. And those men, who were then about to resort to force to obtain their rights, were moved to tears; and floods of tears, Mr. Adams says, ran down the cheeks of the pacific Quakers who formed part of that most interesting assembly. Depend upon it, where there is a spirit of Christianity, there is a spirit which rises above forms, above ceremonies, independent of sect or creed, and the controversies of clashing doctrines.

The consolations of religion can never be administered to any of these sick and dying children in this college. It is said, indeed, that a poor, dying child can be carried out beyond the walls of the school. He can be carried out to a hostelry, or hovel, and there receive those rites of the Christian religion which can not be performed within those walls, even in his dying hour! Is not all this shocking? What a stricture is it upon this whole scheme! What an utter condemnation! A dying youth can not receive religious solace within this seminary of learning!

This school, this scheme or system, in its tendencies and effects, is opposed to all religions, of every kind. I will not now enter into a controversy with my learned friend about the word 'tenets,' whether it signify opinions or dogmas, or whatever you please. Religious tenets, I take it, and I suppose it will be generally conceded, mean religious opinions; and if a youth has arrived at the age of eighteen, and has no religious tenets, it is very plain that he has no religion. I do not care whether you call them dogmas, tenets, or opinions. If the youth does not entertain dogmas, tenets, or opinions, or opinions, tenets, or dogmas, on religious subjects, then he has no religion at all. And this strikes at a broader principle than when you merely look at this school in its effect upon Christianity alone. We will suppose the case of a youth of eighteen, who has just left this school, and has gone through an education of philosophical morality, precisely in accordance with the views and expressed wishes of the donor. He comes then into the world to choose his religious tenets. The very next day, perhaps, after leaving school, he comes into a court of law to give testimony as a witness. Sir, I protest that by such a system he would be disfranchised. He is asked, 'What is your religion?' His reply is, 'O, I have not yet chosen any; I am going to look round, and see which suits me best.' He is asked, 'Are you a Christian?' He replies, 'That involves religious tenets, and as yet I have not been allowed to entertain any.' Again, 'Do you believe in a future state of rewards and punishments?' And he answers, 'That involves sectarian controversies, which have carefully been kept from me.' 'Do you believe in the existence of a God?' He answers, that there are clashing doctrines involved in these things, which he has been taught to have nothing to do with; that the belief in the existence of a God, being one of the first questions in religion, he is shortly about to think of that proposition. Why, Sir, it is vain to talk about the destructive tendency of such a system; to argue upon it is to insult the understanding of every man; *it is mere, sheer, low, ribald, vulgar deism and infidelity.* It opposes all that is in heaven, and all on earth that is worth being on earth. It destroys the connecting link between the creature and the Creator; it opposes that great system of universal benevolence and goodness that binds man to his Maker. *No religion till he is eighteen!* What would be the condition of all our families, of all our children, if religious fathers and religious mothers were to teach their sons and daughters no religious tenets till they were eighteen! What would become of their morals, their character, their purity of heart and life, their hope for time and eternity? What would become of all those thousand ties of sweetness, benevolence, love, and Christian feeling, that now render our young men and young maidens like comely plants growing up by a streamlet's side; the graces and the grace of opening manhood, of blossoming womanhood? What would become of all that now renders the social circle lovely and beloved? What would become of society itself? How could it exist? And is that to be considered a charity which strikes at the root of all this; which subverts all the excellence and the charms of social life; which tends to destroy the very foundation and framework of society, both in its practices and in its opinions; which subverts the whole decency, the whole morality, as well as the whole Christianity and government, of society? No, Sir! no, Sir!

OPINIONS OF THE U. S. SUPREME COURT—JAN. TERM, 1844.

Mr. Justice Story delivered the opinion of the Court.

That the Corporation of the City of Philadelphia is capable of taking the bequest of the real and personal estate, for the creation and support of a College, upon the trusts, and for the uses designed in the Will.

That these uses are charitable uses, valid in their nature and capable of being carried into effect, consistently with the laws of Pennsylvania.

In considering the objection, that the principles and exclusions presented by the Testator for the foundation of the College are derogatory and hostile to the Christian religion, and is so void, as being against the common law and public policy of Pennsylvania, the decision observes:

In considering this objection, the Court are not at liberty to travel out of the Record, in order to ascertain what were the private religious opinions of the Testator, or whether the scheme of education, by him prescribed, is such as we ourselves should approve, or as is best adapted to accomplish the great aims and ends of education.—Nor are we at liberty to look at general considerations of the supposed public interest and policy of Pennsylvania upon this subject, beyond what its Constitution and laws, and judicial decisions make known to us.

It is also said, and truly, that the Christian religion is a part of the common law of Pennsylvania; but this proposition is to be received with its appropriate qualifications, and in connection with the Bill of Rights of that State, as found in its Constitution of Government. The Constitution of 1790, (and the like provision will, in substance, be found in the Constitution of 1776, and in the existing Constitution of 1838,) expressly declares, 'That all men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences; and no man can, of right, be compelled to attend, erect or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry against his consent; no human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience; and no preference shall ever be given, by law, to any religious establishments, or modes of worship.'

Now, in the present cases, there is no pretense to say, that any such positive or express provisions exist, or are even shadowed forth in the Will. The Testator does not say that Christianity shall not be taught in the College, but only that no ecclesiastic of any sect shall hold or exercise any station or duty in the College. Suppose, instead of this, he had said that no person but a layman shall be an instructor, or officer, or visitor in the College, what legal objection could have been made to such a restriction? And yet the actual prohibition is in effect the same in substance. But it is asked: why are ecclesiastics excluded, if it is not because they are the stated and appropriate preachers of Christianity? The answer may be given in the very words of the Testator:—'In making this restriction, (says he,) I do not mean to cast any reflection upon any sect or person whatsoever; but as there is such a multitude of sects, and such a diversity of opinion amongst them, I desire to keep the tender minds of the orphans, who are to derive advantage from this bequest, free from the excitement which clashing doctrines and sectarian controversy are so apt to produce.' Here, then, we have the reason given; and the question is not, whether it is satisfactory to us, nor whether the history of Religion does or does not justify such a sweeping statement; but the question is, whether the exclusion be not such as the Testator had a right, consistently with the laws of Pennsylvania, to maintain, upon his own notions of religious instruction. Suppose the Testator had excluded all religious instructors but Catholics, or Quakers, or Swedenborgians; or to put a stronger case, he had excluded all religious instructors but Jews, would the bequest have been void on that account? Suppose he had excluded all lawyers, or all physicians, or all merchants from being instructors or visitors, would the prohibition have been fatal to the bequest? The truth is, that in cases of this sort, it is extremely difficult to draw any just and satisfactory line of distinction in a free country, as to the qualifications or disqualifications which may be insisted upon by the donor of a charity, as to those who shall administer or partake of his bounty.

But the objection, itself, assumes the proposition that Christianity is not to be

taught, because ecclesiastics are not to be instructors or officers. But this is by no means a necessary or legitimate inference from the premises. Why may not laymen instruct in the general principles of Christianity, as well as ecclesiastics? There is no restriction as to the religious opinions of the instructors and officers. They may be, and, doubtless under the auspices of the City government, they will always be men, not only distinguished for learning and talent, but for piety, and elevated virtue, and holy lives and character. And we can not overlook the blessings which such men, by their conduct as well as their instructions, may, nay must impart to their youthful pupils. Why may not the Bible, and especially the New Testament, without note or comment, be read and taught as a divine revelation, in the College—its general precepts expounded, its evidences explained, and its glorious principles of morality inculcated? What is there to prevent a work, not sectarian, upon the general evidences of Christianity, from being read and taught in the College by lay teachers? Certainly there is nothing in the Will that proscribes such studies. Above all, the Testator positively enjoins, 'That all the instructors and teachers in the College shall take pains to instill into the minds of the scholars the purest principles of morality, so that on their entrance into active life they may, from inclination and habit, evince benevolence toward their fellow-creatures, and a love of truth, sobriety, and industry, adopting at the same time, such religious tenets as their matured reason may enable them to prefer.' Now it may well be asked, what is there in all this, which is positively enjoined, inconsistent with the spirit or truths of Christianity? Are not these truths all taught by Christianity, although it teaches much more? Where can the purest principles of morality be learned so clearly or so perfectly, as from the New Testament? Where are benevolence, the love of truth, sobriety, and industry, so powerfully and irresistibly inculcated as in the sacred volume? The Testator has not said how these great principles are to be taught, or by whom, except it be by laymen, nor what books are to be used to explain or enforce them. All that we can gather from his language is, that he desired to exclude sectarians and sectarianism from the College, leaving the instructors and officers free to teach the purest morality, the love of truth, sobriety, and industry by all appropriate means: and of course, including the best, the surest, and the most impressive. The objection then, in this view, goes to this, either that the Testator has totally omitted to provide for religious instruction in his scheme of education, (which, from what has been already said, is an inadmissible interpretation) or that it includes but partial and imperfect instruction in those truths. In either view, can it be truly said that it contravenes the known law of Pennsylvania upon the subject of charities, or is not allowable under the article of the Bill of Rights, already cited? Is an omission to provide for instruction in Christianity, in any scheme of school or college education a fatal defect, which avoids it according to the law of Pennsylvania? If the instruction provided for is incomplete and imperfect, is it equally fatal? These questions are propounded because we are not aware that any thing exists in the Constitution or laws of Pennsylvania, or the judicial decisions of its tribunals, which would justify us in pronouncing that such defects would be so fatal. Let us take the case of a charitable donation to teach the poor orphans reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and navigation, and excluding all other studies and instruction; would the donation be void, as a charity, in Pennsylvania, as being deemed derogatory to Christianity? Hitherto, it has been supposed that a charity for the instruction of the poor, might be good and valid in England, even if it did not go beyond the establishment of a grammar school. And in America, it has been thought, in the absence of any express legal prohibitions, that the donor might select the studies, as well as the class of persons who were to receive his bounty, without being compellable to make religious instruction a necessary part of those studies. It has hitherto been thought sufficient, if he does not require any thing to be taught inconsistent with Christianity.

Looking to the objection, therefore, in a mere judicial view, which is the only one in which we are at liberty to consider it, we are satisfied that there is nothing in the devise establishing the College, or in the regulations and restrictions contained therein, which are inconsistent with the Christian religion, or are opposed to any known policy of the State of Pennsylvania.

SMITH COLLEGE AND ITS FOUNDER.

AT NORTHAMPTON, MASS.

MISS SOPHIA SMITH.*

MISS SOPHIA SMITH, the founder of Smith College, was born in Hatfield, Massachusetts, August 27, 1796. She was a descendant, in the sixth generation, of Lieut. Samuel Smith, who, with his wife, Elizabeth, and four children, sailed from England to Massachusetts Bay, Anno Domini, 1634. From Wethersfield, Conn., where he was a leading citizen, he emigrated to Hadley, probably in 1659, holding there important offices both in church and state. Her ancestor, John Smith, of the next generation, was slain by the Indians in the meadows of Hatfield, in 1676. Her grandfather was Samuel Smith, commissioned Lieutenant by Governor Phipps, September 10, 1755. Her father was a soldier in the Revolutionary war. Both of her brothers, Austin and Joseph, were members of the General Court of Massachusetts. Her great-grandmother, Canada Waite, was born in Canada, her mother having been carried into captivity there by the Indians. She was a niece of Oliver Smith, Esq., whose munificent charities have made a group of towns in this valley conspicuous throughout the nation, if not the world.

She was a little girl, playing under the magnificent elms of her native town, about the time that the wife of John Adams wrote to a friend in England, 'You need not be told how much, in this country, female education is neglected, nor how fashionable it is to ridicule female learning.' It was about the time, also, that the mother of George Washington carried on her correspondence, writing the pronoun 'I' a small letter. It was not till twenty-two years after her birth, that 'the first law was passed by any legislature with the direct object of improving female education.'

Miss Smith lamented deeply that she had such imperfect advantages for education in her youth. It was not till 1802, that girls were admitted to the boys' school in Northampton. For some years later, the most that was done, in many of our towns, for the education of girls, was to admit a select few who thirsted for knowledge,

* By Rev. John M. Greene, in an Address at the opening of Smith College, July 14, 1875. *Stridged.*

to an occasional seat upon the door-step of the school-house, where they could listen to their brothers as they recited their lessons in reading and arithmetic.

The memory of those days, when a hungry soul was distressed for knowledge, made Miss Smith feel a strong desire to improve the condition of her sex, in respect to the advantages of schools. What she learned from books in childhood was little.—No schools to develop and discipline the youthful faculties, no public library to stimulate and feed the mind. But she had the training of a good New England home. Nature, too, in that beautiful town, was full of lessons for an appreciative soul. The prince of New England rivers with its crinkling, silver face, and its fantastic mountains of fog, the extensive meadows, golden with the luxuriant harvests of wheat and corn, the abounding flowers and trees, and the distant hills standing as sentinels to guard that paradise, all helped to mold her youthful spirit. When fourteen years of age, she attended school a term of twelve weeks in Hartford, Conn. When eighteen she was a pupil in the Hopkins Academy in Hadley, for a time. She often spoke of the profit and pleasure of those school-days. She improved to the utmost her opportunities.

But Miss Smith owed much of the cultivation of her mind, and the development of her heart, to the ministry of her native town. The people of Hatfield had always been blessed with able men to instruct them in the truth, and to guide them in the ways of God. The sermons of Dr. Joseph Lyman, strong and clear in expression, full of patriotism, missionary in spirit, abundant in doctrine, stirred her youthful mind and stamped her character after the pattern of the staunchest New England womanhood.

Other eminent preachers, also, she often heard in the Hatfield pulpit. Dr. Jared B. Waterbury was more than two years her pastor. Pres. Herman Humphrey often preached his sound, searching, gospel sermons there. Prof. Edwards A. Park, during one year, not unfrequently supplied the pulpit, and was urgently called to settle over that people. Prof. Samuel M. Worcester, Pres. Edward Hitchcock, and Prof. W. S. Tyler were well known there, and much admired for their sermons. Dr. Henry Neill was six years a faithful pastor of that flock. All these preachers were educators of the founder of this College.

A family infirmity, deafness, at the age of forty excluded her from ordinary conversation; but, by reading mostly, she kept herself familiar with the common events and occurrences of the day.

Probably what she and others called a calamity, was a blessing to her. She had fortitude to bear the trial, and the wisdom to improve the reflective and meditative powers of her mind, far beyond what the fashionable and gossiping woman attains. Deafness is an admirable remedy for insincerity, shallowness, and foolish talking. It sifts what we hear and compels us to say what is worth attention. Her infirmity made her timid; none but most intimate friends could know her. Among strangers she was reserved and somewhat suspicious; but with friends she was easy, dignified, self-possessed, and revealed powers of mind and heart above the average woman. In conversation her words were always refined, appropriate, sensible. She displayed taste in works of art, dress, furniture, and the arrangement of her home.

She was a woman of tender sensibilities. Scenes of sorrow affected her deeply. Ordinarily she could not hear the tale of woe, but when she did hear it, she was ready to help. She often heard the remark, 'poverty is a sin;' but she did not believe it. Her heart was alive to want and pain, and her only question was how to relieve them best. She was patriotic, and both worked with her own hands, and gave money, to relieve the suffering soldiers and their families, in the late war.

She had firm convictions as to the worth of the Bible in a system of education. In it, she believed, is the only perfect rule of moral duty, its truths are purifying and ennobling, healthful and inspiring, the only safe chart for life, and the only revelation of the future; while the character and life of Christ are our never failing example. She often referred with admiration to the words of Sir William Jones: 'The Bible contains more true sublimity, more exquisite beauty, more pure morality, more important history, and finer strains of poetry and eloquence, than can be collected from all other books, in whatever age or language they have been written.' Women, especially, should be taught to understand and love the Bible, for it is their charter of liberty, their bill of rights. She hoped the Bible would be studied in the Hebrew and Greek in her College, so that lady missionaries and Sabbath-school teachers could draw up the waters of life from the original fountains.

During the last years of her life, the principle of benevolence developed rapidly in her. She subscribed five thousand dollars toward the Massachusetts Agricultural College, if located in Northampton; three hundred dollars for the young people's Literary Association in her town; thirty thousand dollars for the endowment

of a professorship in Andover Theological Seminary; one thousand dollars toward an organ for the church in her town, besides smaller gifts of fifty and twenty dollars to numerous objects. Her contributions to the ordinary benevolent objects of the church increased much during her later years. She gave to them *all*, Home Missions and Foreign Missions, the Bible Society and Tract Society, the Seamen and the Freedmen, to *all* the objects presented.

It should be stated that Miss Smith providentially, and very unexpectedly, came into possession of the principal portion of her property. Her brother Austin died on the 8th of March, 1861, aged seventy years, leaving to her his estate, appraised at two hundred thousand dollars. He was a man of extraordinary natural gifts and powers. He would often sit in his pew on the Sabbath and weep like a child when the tender themes of the gospel were preached. His eye keen and penetrating, his mind discriminating and acute, his countenance full of energy and decision, his form erect even in age, he might have been one of nature's noblemen, a support of the church, a pillar of state, loved and revered by all. God permitted him to gather the gold, preparing, all the while, the heart of a devout and Christ-loving sister to dispense it.

After two months of hard study and careful deliberation her first Will was made, appropriating seventy-five thousand dollars to an Academy in Hatfield, one hundred thousand dollars to a Deaf-Mute institution in Hatfield, and fifty thousand dollars to a Scientific School in connection with Amherst College. Then this Commonwealth had no deaf-mute institution. At that time (1861) Miss Smith considered a plan for a Woman's College, and did not adopt it, mainly because her funds were not sufficient to warrant it. Thus the idea of a Woman's College was early a favorite one with her. Ever after this she conversed on the education of women, and eagerly read articles on the subject. She had a deep and abiding faith in woman, believed there was a wider field of usefulness and a richer and ampler education for her, than she had yet enjoyed. She would not make her unwomanly, not in any sense render her masculine, but allow her the right and privilege of being a complete woman. Educate her, not as a man nor to be a man, but as a woman and to be a woman. She often said, 'There is no justice in denying women equal educational advantages with men;' 'We should educate the whole woman, physical, intellectual, moral, spiritual;' 'Educated Christian women will sweep the filth out of our literature;' 'Women are the natural educators and physicians of the race, and they ought

to be fitted for their work;' 'Home is woman's throne; on it she should wield the scepter of love, knowledge, and virtue.' When told that women could not study, she would reply, 'Study is as healthy as any work, if prosecuted wisely, i. e. according to the laws of our constitution.' When told that educated women do not make good wives and mothers, she would say, 'Then they are wrongly educated,—some law is violated in the process.' She did not believe in co-education; it lacks adaptation. She claimed that there is a woman's sphere in life and a man's sphere, and each should be fitted for his own. She never asked whether woman is equal to man, or superior,—no more than whether a tree is equal or superior to a rose,—make each perfect after its kind, and you realize the thought of God. She did not believe in woman's suffrage; that would infringe upon God's plan of the family as the unit in society.

It is not strange, therefore, that Miss Smith was ready to adopt the plan of a Woman's College, when in 1867, Mr. John Clarke of Northampton, by a liberal donation, supplied the need of a Deaf-Mute institution for this Commonwealth. As she studied and understood more perfectly the idea of the College, her mind fixed upon it with increasing delight; not merely to perpetuate her name, but because she believed that this was the wisest and most beneficent way of appropriating her property. It required arguments and some pleading to make her willing to have the College bear the name of Smith. She was afraid people would call her selfish. She rose above self, and prayerfully and conscientiously aimed to do the most good to the greatest number.

The College became to her a delightful subject of thought, of private conversation, and study. She often considered whether she should not put all her funds into it. The last question she ever asked me, only a month before her death—she had asked it fifty times before—was: 'Don't you think I had better put the seventy-five thousand dollars of Academy money into the College?' Without any doubt, the firmness of Dea. Geo. W. Hubbard and one other person, and their loyalty to the interests of Hatfield, secured to that town the munificent bequest by which, during all time they will be blessed with a superior and self-supporting school for their youth, which school will be the ornament and pride of their village.

Miss Smith died June 12, 1870, aged seventy-four years. Her remains lie in the cemetery in Hatfield, under a simple monument of her own erecting. This College at Northampton, and its graduates, will carry her name into the future of the whole country.

OLIVER SMITH AND THE SMITH CHARITIES.*

THIS large and comprehensive system of charities was founded by Oliver Smith, Esq., of Hatfield, who died Dec. 22, 1845. His estate was valued, at the time of his death, at \$370,000. In his will, he directed that a board of trustees should be constituted in the following manner: The towns of Northampton, Hadley, Hatfield, Amherst, and Williamsburg, in Hampshire County, and Deerfield, Greenfield, and Whately, in Franklin County, shall choose at each annual meeting a person who shall be called an elector. The electors were to choose three persons who should constitute a board of trustees, who were to have the control and management of all the funds. He then set apart the sum of \$200,000, which was to be managed by the Trustees as an accumulating fund, till it should amount to the sum of \$400,000. This accumulated fund was then to be divided into three district funds: One, of \$30,000, to found the 'Smith Agricultural School,' at Northampton; the second, of \$10,000, the income to be paid to the American Colonization Society, under certain restrictions; the third, of \$360,000, for indigent boys, indigent female children, indigent young women, and indigent widows. The remaining portion of his property was constituted a contingent fund, to defray expenses and keep the principal funds entire.

The fund of \$30,000, to establish the Agricultural School, was to be kept as an accumulating fund for the period of sixty years from his death, when the school should be established within the town of Northampton. This fund will become available in the year 1905.

The income of the fund of \$10,000 for the Colonization Society was to be used in transporting persons of color from the United States to the colony of Liberia, or such other place as the society might select. There was a provision, however, that if the society should neglect to make due application for the fund for six months after having been notified that it was ready for distribution, they should forfeit their claim and the money should be incorporated with the agricultural school fund. The required notification was given by the trustees, but the society neglected to apply within the specified time, and the legacy was added to the school fund. The society brought suit to recover it, but the case was decided by the Supreme Judicial Court in favor of the trustees.

The remaining fund of \$360,000 was called the joint or miscellaneous fund, and was divided so that one-half the income should be applied for the benefit of indigent boys, who, after having been bound out and served satisfactorily till twenty-one years old, should receive a loan of \$500 for five years, to become a gift at the end of that time. The income of one quarter of the fund was appropriated to the use and benefit of indigent female children. They were to be bound out till eighteen years of age, and at the time of their marriage were to receive the sum of \$300 as a marriage portion. The income of one eighth part of this fund was appropriated to the benefit of indigent young women, in sums

* Oliver Smith was born in Hatfield, Mass., in January, 1766, and followed the occupation of a farmer through life—filling the office of local magistrate for forty years, twice represented his town in the Legislature; and in 1820, was a member of the Constitutional Convention. In his life-time he was a liberal giver to all religious charities, helped many poor girls to marriage portions, and built two district school-houses. His will was contested, and in the last argument before the Supreme Court of the State, Daniel Webster and Rufus Choate were employed as counsel—the former for, and the latter against its validity. The jury were unanimous in their verdict that the will was attested by three competent witnesses.

of \$50 as marriage portions. The income of the remaining one eighth part was to be paid to indigent widows, in sums of not more than \$50 to any one person in one year. The beneficiaries were to be confined to the eight towns above enumerated, but in case of there being at any time a surplus income, beneficiaries might be selected from any other towns in the county.

The heirs-at-law contested the will, and the case came before the Supreme Judicial Court, in this town, July 6, 1847. The objection to the will was that one of the attesting witnesses, Theophilus Parsons Phelps, was incompetent on account of insanity. Two days were occupied in the trial, Rufus Choate arguing the case for the heirs-at-law, and Daniel Webster for the will. The courthouse was crowded to overflowing, and ladders were put up to the windows, so eager were the people to see and hear the great orators. The jury brought in a verdict sustaining the will.

In May, 1848, the board of trustees was organized, and Osmyn Baker was chosen president, which position he continued to hold till May, 1871, when failing health compelled him to resign, and Geo. W. Hubbard was chosen. The sum paid over to the trustees by the executor of the will, at the time of the organization of the board, was \$419,221.16; of this, \$214,000 composed the joint fund, and \$205,221.16 the contingent fund. The joint fund reached the required amount of \$400,000, October 1st, 1859. The several charities under it were put in operation at that time, and have since continued to spread their blessings over the community.

The value of this bequest to the several towns does not consist wholly in the charity extended to their citizens, for it forms a constantly increasing source of taxation. It was the desire of the testator that the property should not be taxed, and in the will he advised the incorporation of the charities, and requested the trustees to endeavor to obtain their exemption from taxation. The act of incorporation was granted at the session of 1849, but the Legislature refused to exempt the property from taxation. On the contrary, provision was made that the fund should be taxed equally by the interested towns. The fund is therefore divided into eight equal parts, each portion being taxed in accordance with the rate of taxation in the town to which it is apportioned. The act of incorporation was accepted by the trustees in April, 1849.

In 1865, the trustees decided to erect the building in which their offices are (1875) located. It is 52 by 30 feet, built of Portland stone, is a handsome and commodious structure, and cost \$30,000.

The magnitude of this system of charities may be seen in the increase of the funds, in the amounts paid for various purposes, and in the number of the different classes of our citizens who have been the recipients of the bounties disbursed. In October, 1848, the funds amounted to \$419,221.16. During the twenty-seven years which have elapsed since that time, they have increased nearly 250 per cent. The amount of all the property on the first of May last, was \$1,033,357.26. The enormous probable development, as well as the great future usefulness of these charities, can thus readily be seen. The amounts already paid will be seen by the following figures. It should be remembered that the payments to the 'indigent,' did not commence till 1859, and consequently the most important part of the system has been in operation but sixteen years. The other expenditures commenced when the institution was organized:—

SMITH CHARITIES.

Taxes.....	\$178,502.27
Expenses.....	81,707.56
Annuities.....	16,631.84
Indigent Female Children.....	48,300.75
Indigent Boys.....	90,000.00
Indigent Widows.....	130,000.00
Indigent Young Women.....	54,900.00
	\$500,911.42

The Agricultural School Fund (1875) amounts to \$85,000. In the year 1905, when the fund becomes available, it is but reasonable to expect, should the present rate of increase continue, that it will have reached the sum of \$350,000. The testator has prescribed what sort of a school is to be established. He proposes that there shall be two farms, one as a 'model' and the other as an 'experimental' farm. On these farms are to be established a manufactory of 'Implements of Husbandry,' and a 'School of Industry for the benefit of the Poor,' in which boys taken from the most indigent classes shall receive a good common school education, and be instructed in agriculture or mechanics. At the age of twenty-one years, each boy is to receive \$200. Here we have a system more comprehensive than any school of its kind yet in operation in this country.

There is another view in which this institution is of great value to this community, and that is in the fact that it always has money to loan. The business man or the mechanic, who needs a little money to make him a home or extend his business, can readily obtain a loan from the institution, at a fair rate of interest, and numbers avail themselves of the privilege every year.

The following named persons were chosen electors at the annual town meetings in 1875:—

Electors: Henry M. Brewster, Williamsburg; Charles S. Smith, Amherst; Lucien S. Eaton, Deerfield; R. A. Packard, Greenfield; Sam'l P. Billings, Hatfield; Justin W. C. Allis, Whately; John N. Pierce, Hadley; J. C. Arms, Northampton.

The electors subsequently made choice of trustees as follows:—

Trustees: Geo. W. Hubbard, Northampton; Sereno Kingsley, Williamsburg; John C. Sanderson, Whately.

According to the Report of the Trustees of the Smith Charities for May, 1877, the amount of the several Funds at that date was as follows:—

Joint Fund.....	\$569,730.90
Contingent Fund.....	325,938.06
Agricultural Fund.....	94,521.41
Banking House and Lot.....	35,366.00
	1,055,578.46

Out of the income of the Joint Fund, payments were made in 1876-7 to—

Indigent Young Women.....	\$4,650.71
Indigent Widows.....	9,100.77
Indigent Boys.....	12,000.00
Indigent Female Children.....	6,350.00
	32,101.42

Twenty-two apprenticed boys have come of age, and received loans of \$500 each, during the year, and the matured notes of twenty-four others have been surrendered.

Eighteen of the girls formerly apprenticed have married during the year, and received the marriage portions to which they were entitled; and twelve others of the same class have received allowance for sickness expenses.

Forty-four boys and nineteen girls have been indentured within the year.

The whole number of boys under indenture, at this time, is one hundred and twenty-four; and of girls, seventy-nine.

A PRINCETON GRADUATE AT GÖTTINGEN.*

[From German Universities. By James Morgan Hart, LL. D.]

FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY AND THE TOWN.

THE Englishman or American who visits a German university town for the first time will scarcely realize the fact that it is the seat of a great institution of learning. He can see nothing; there is no visible sign of the University, no chapel, no huge buildings, whether we call them dormitories or quadrangles, no campus. There is no rallying place of professors and students, where he can stand and, letting his eye sweep around on every side, say: This is the university. He may even pass his entire life in the town and never once see the body of professors and students assembled in one place.

I dwell upon this distinction, because it is an important one. The reader who wishes to get a just notion of the character of a German University must dismiss from his mind all prejudices, any expectation of finding what his early associations may have led him to consider as the conspicuous features in a seat of learning. As I walked around the wall of Göttingen for the first time, the predominating thought in my mind was: Where is the University? I could find no tangible evidence of its existence, its reality. Putting what questions I could in my imperfect German, and paying strict attention to the answers, I could make out that the dome to the left, near the starting place of our walk, by the Geismar Gate, was an observatory; considerably farther on, in close proximity to the railway station, was a large building bearing the inscription "Theatrum Anatomicum," evidently the medical school; still further on, in the moat by the side of the wall, was an arrangement of glass-houses, that was no less evidently a botanical garden. This was all of the University that I could detect in my first tour of the great Göttingen promenade.

Göttingen may serve as the type of the German university town. The population is about 12,000. The streets are neither very straight nor very crooked, and no one runs directly through the town; in general they are tolerably wide. The houses are plain and poorly built. The framework is of wood, the outer walls being filled in with a sort of mud that is mixed with a good deal of straw to give it consistency; after the mud has dried, it is painted. For a cheap mode of building, it is much better than might be supposed. The

* *German Universities: A narrative of Personal Experience, together with recent Statistical Information, Practical Suggestions, and a Comparison of the German, English and American Systems of Higher Education.* By James Morgan Hart. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1874. 398 pp. 12mo.

number of stone and brick buildings is small. The handsomest building in town is (or was in my day) the Laboratory, built under the supervision of Wöhler himself, since deceased. It is a large structure built of light blue stone, and perfectly fireproof. The *Aula* is the centre of the university, so far as it can be said to have a centre. It is a small but not inelegant-looking building, somewhat after the Grecian order, standing on a small open place or square not far from the centre of the town. In this *Aula* new students are matriculated and the University Court holds its sessions; it also contains the general offices of the university, such as the treasurer's, and last, but not least, the *Carcer*, where unruly students are confined for a fortnight or less, for minor offences; graver ones are punished by relegation or by expulsion.

Lectures on chemistry were delivered in the laboratory; those on medicine, in the *Theatrum Anatomicum*; all the others, including theology, law, and philosophy, in the university sense of that term, were held in the so-called *Collegien-haus*, a short row of buildings that had once been private dwellings, but had been converted into lecture rooms.

In 1865 the new *Collegien-haus* was opened, a large and elegant building constructed for the especial purpose, just out of the *Wende Gate*, near the Botanical Garden. By the side of the old *Collegien-haus*, separated from it by an arched way, stands the celebrated university library, one of the best in Europe; the building is nothing more than an old church, adapted to secular uses and enlarged here and there by irregular extensions or wings. In the arched way between the lecture rooms and the library stood the *Schwarzes Brett* (black board), a long board painted black and having a wire screen in front. On this board were posted all announcements relating to university instruction, announcements of lectures or changes in lectures, of degrees conferred upon students, and the like.

Besides the buildings that I have described, there are other minor ones scattered over the town; the headquarters of the Agricultural Department are even located about two miles out of town, on a model farm near the village of *Wende*.

It is needless to go deeper into details. I have said already enough to make it clear to the reader that a German university, as far as buildings and outward show are concerned, is made up of *disjecta membra*. There is a bond of vital union, a very strong one too, but it is wholly spiritual; it does not appeal to the senses. In architectural display, I am confident that the most unimportant College at Oxford or Cambridge will surpass any University in Germany.

STUDENT DOMESTIC LIFE.

The landlady, Frau H—, was the only one who pretended to give what we call "boarding." German students, be it observed,

never board; each man lives by himself, in his own room, takes his breakfast, and generally his supper, there, but dines at the *table d'hôte* of a hotel or restaurant. The life, then, that I led during my first winter in Göttingen was not strictly that of a German student. My breakfast, merely rolls and coffee, was brought to my room by the servant; dinner and supper, we, i. e., myself and the other boarders, two Americans and an Englishman, had in the dining-room with our landlady. We paid so much a month for "full board," while the German student hires his room by the semester, and keeps a book account for whatever he orders, paying up at the end of every week or month.

Yet the rooms that we had were like those of every other student. The one occupied by E— being rather more typical than my own, I shall describe it in preference. It was a large square room, the two front windows facing on the street, the side window overlooking the wall as it sloped down to make an entrance for the Geismar road into the town. Off to one side was the sleeping-room, one half the size of the study. Neither room was carpeted. In one corner of the room, near the door, stood the inevitable *Ofen*, a big stove of porcelain reaching almost to the ceiling. The German theory of heating is to have a large stove of massive porcelain, in which your servant makes a rousing fire in the morning; after the blaze has died out, and nothing is left but the glimmering coals, the door and the clapper are made fast. The stove is then supposed to hold its heat and maintain a uniform temperature in the room. The fuel used is generally wood; even in Leipsic and Berlin, where wood is dear and coal comparatively cheap, the former is preferred for room and parlor stoves. This plan of heating has its advantages and its drawbacks. It is rather economical, and it secures a uniform temperature for a certain time; besides saving one the trouble of raking and adding fresh fuel every few hours, it dispenses with dust and ashes. The disadvantages are that the air in the room is not properly renewed, and also that the stove cools down so gradually that, before the inmate is aware, the temperature has dropped several degrees. On the whole, I prefer the American base-burner.

Another indispensable article of furniture in a student's room is the *Secretär*, or secretary. This consists of three parts: the lower, a set of drawers; in the middle, a sort of door that can be let down, disclosing a fascinating arrangement of pigeonholes and very small drawers for storing away letters and papers and "traps" generally; up above, a cupboard.

The ceiling of E—'s room was scored in every direction. These marks, I was informed, were the scars of old sabre-wounds that had been left there by the former inmate. As the ceiling was rather low, a tall man in reaching out for *Hochquart* would be apt to graze the top of the room with the point of his sabre or his *Schläger*. The

former inmate, judged by the number of tokens of his existence that he had left, must have kept himself and his visitors in pretty thorough practice. Against the wall, in the corner opposite the stove, hung a pair of the instruments of destruction, with masks and gloves. In the third corner was the equally inevitable sofa, upon which the student lies off to enjoy his after-dinner pipe and coffee. Over the sofa hung a picture of the Brunswick Corps, representing, in lithograph, the members of the corps holding their annual *Commerz* (celebration) at some place in the country, perhaps Marie Spring. Some are sitting around a table, others are grouped picturesquely on the grass, others again are standing; but every one has a long pipe in one hand, and a *Deckel-schoppen* (large beer glass with a cover) in the other. E—— was not a member of the corps, but he had been for some time a *Conkneipant*, i. e., one who attends the weekly meetings when he feels disposed, and joins in the revelry; the picture, then, was a souvenir of his old friends. Around this large picture were grouped many smaller ones, all likenesses of German and American students. Scattered around the room were pipe-bowls, stems, ash-cups, "stoppers" (curious little arms and legs of porcelain for plugging the pipes), and the other paraphernalia of smoking. Nearly all these articles were gifts. The German plan of making presents, by the way, is a curious one. Jones and Smith, we will suppose, agree to dedicate (*dediciren*) to each other. They select two articles of exactly the same kind and value, say two porcelain pipe-bowls; each pays for the other and has the inscription put on: Jones to his dear Smith, or Smith to his dear Jones (*J. sm.—In. S.*) The advantage of the system is that you get a keepsake of your friend without feeling that you have put yourself under obligations. Each man gives as good as he gets.

What books E—— possessed were stacked up in a rather rickety set of shelves under the sabres. E—— was an industrious student, but, being a chemist, was not supposed to have need of a large library. His helps to study were in the University laboratory.

Every student in a university town occupies a room like the one that I have described. The room may be larger or smaller, may be located front or back, its furniture may be more or less elegant, but the general features do not vary. The point to which I desire to call especial attention is this: every student, no matter how straitened in circumstances, has a study and a sleeping-room exclusively to himself; "chumming" is unknown in Germany, except occasionally in the large cities, Berlin and Vienna, where the disproportionately high rents force a few of the poorer students to take apartments in common. But even in Berlin and Vienna, chumming is looked upon as a last resort. The superiority of the German system is incalculable; it is more manly, it conduces to independence of study and prevents much waste of time. One who shares his room with a chum

is often at the mercy of bores; he can turn away his own visitors perhaps, but not his chum's. Besides, if two or more students wish at any time to work up a subject after the coöperative fashion, as the Germans frequently do, they can accomplish the object by simply meeting at each other's rooms. But really independent, thorough research, study that is to tell in after life, can be done only in the privacy of one's own sanctum. * * *

Yet, notwithstanding the advantages of the home-circle* that I was enjoying, I determined in early spring to make a change of quarters. To come to a German university and not live just as a student, seemed like visiting Rome without getting a look at the Pope. Besides, I was somewhat cramped and uncomfortable, the best rooms in the house being occupied by the older boarders. I selected, therefore, a student-room on the Wende street, the principal street of the town, and had my books and "traps" transferred. It was a pleasant abode. The main room had three windows in front, and one on the side: the sleeping room, facing on a side street, had two windows. The furniture was altogether new. For all this comfort I paid the moderate sum of five and a half *louis d'or* per semester, i. e., from Easter to Michaelmas, or *vice versa*. In university towns, this is the habitual way of renting rooms. Reckoning the *louis d'or* at five thalers and a half, my rental for six months was a fraction over thirty thalers, say twenty-two dollars, for more room than I needed.

Meals and fuel were of course extra. I had to make a slight outlay for table furniture, buying some knives and forks, plates, cups and saucers, napkins, and table-cloths. This was my bachelor outfit. The slight expense was more than balanced by the luxurious sense of being my own master, of being able to give a bachelor supper to my friends whenever so disposed. I continued to take my dinner with Frau H—, but breakfast and supper were in my own room. Short of being in one's own family, I doubt whether there is a more enjoyable state than that of living by one's self in hired lodgings in Germany. It is possible in New York, to say nothing of London and Paris; but in New York the expense is ruinous, and even in England and France one will miss that peculiar institution, the *Dienstmädchen*. The German *Dienstmädchen* is no more the domestic of France, or the "Bridget" of America, than Göttingen is Oxford or Harvard. She is an institution by herself, and therefore deserves especial mention. In fact, life in Germany would be scarcely what it is without her. If you wish an extra supper in the evening, you consult your *Dienstmädchen*; if you merely wish to send out for a glass of beer, you employ her services. She will bring home a basketful of books from the university library, make your fires, go on your thousand and one errands, and do everything for you but

* In another place the author remarks: "Whatever of conversational ability I may possess, I attribute quite as much to the children as to the parents."

blacken your boots. That is the perquisite of the *Stiefelsuck*. Her capacity for work and her general cheerfulness border on the marvellous. One such servant girl will wait upon six or seven students and do the family work in addition. She brings the dinner for those who take that meal in their rooms; she makes the beds and sweeps the rooms (when they are swept); in the autumn, she is sent to the family estate outside the city walls to dig potatoes by way of variety. Yet she is able and ready to dance every Sunday night from seven o'clock to two, and go about her work on Monday morning as fresh as a June rose. Her only fault is a slight shade of impertinence; not the surly, mutinous impertinence of "Bridget," but the pert forwardness of a good-natured, spoiled child. Like all privileged servants, she thinks that she knows everything much better than her master.

Students commonly take their dinner at a hotel or restaurant, paying a fixed price per month. Some few, either on account of ill-health or because they wish to economize time, dine in their rooms. This is unquestionably a pernicious habit; no one can really enjoy the principal meal of the day in solitude. But the basket used for bringing meals into the house is so practical and so peculiar that I cannot refrain from describing it. It is round, small in diameter, and very deep; a wide slit runs down one side to the bottom. Into this basket the dishes, generally four in number, are dropped one upon the other. The bottom of the first dish fits upon and into the second, the third upon the second, and so on, after the fashion of the rings used in moulding for long vertical castings. Each of the dishes has a knob that slips down the slit and is used as a handle in pulling the dish out. When the dishes are all in place and the cover is on, the whole can be easily carried quite a distance, by means of an arched handle over the top, without spilling or cooling the contents.

The reader may imagine me, then, as lodged in very comfortable sunny rooms on the principal street in town, nearly opposite the Church of St. James. This venerable edifice, the stones of which have grown gray-black with the lapse of centuries, is not beautiful; its outlines are too bald, its solitary tower too stiff and awkward. Still it is an attractive building; my chief pleasure in connection with it was to watch the going and coming and listen to the incessant cawing of the rooks that had built their nests under the eaves and in the chinks of the tower. Every fair day, about sunset, they flew around the tower again and again in a flock, evidently settling the affairs of the day and wishing each other good-night before retiring.

MATRICULATION AND LECTURES.

A German university is the one institution in the world that has for its motto: Time is not money. The university is a law unto

itself, each professor is a law unto himself, each student revolves on his own axis and at his own rate of speed. English and Americans have formed not a few queer notions of university life in Germany. They picture to themselves a town like Göttingen, for instance, as a place where everybody is running a break-neck race for scholarly fame, where days are months and hours days, where minutes are emphatically the gold-dust of time. The truth is, that no one hurries or gets into a feaze over anything, the University itself setting a good example. The academic year is divided into two terms, called the winter and the summer semesters. The winter semester covers nominally five months, from October 15th to March 15th. In reality, both beginning and end are whittled off, so to speak, and there is a pause of two weeks at Christmas, so that the actual working time is little over four months. From March 15th to April 15th is the spring vacation. The summer semester then runs to August 15th, but practically the work is over by the first of that month.

Supposing yourself to be a tyro in such matters, and the 15th of October to be drawing near, you are naturally impatient to be matriculated and at work. But you will discover that the older students are not yet back, and, on consulting the "Black Board," you see no announcement of lectures. There is no hurry. A day or two after the 15th, perhaps, a general announcement is affixed, to the effect that candidates for matriculation may present themselves at the *Aula* on such and such days of the week, at certain hours. The ceremony is a simple one. In the first place you proceed to the secretary's office and deposit there your "documents" entitling you to admission. For a German, this is a matter of some importance: he is not admitted unless he is able to produce certain papers, the principal one of which is a certificate that he has attended a gymnasium or *Realschule*, and has passed satisfactorily the final examination (*Abiturien, tenezamen*). As the University holds no entrance-examination, this is the only guarantee it can have that those seeking admission are properly qualified. But in the case of a foreigner, the utmost liberality is displayed. Ten years ago, while Göttingen was a Hanoverian university, the only document required of a foreigner was his passport. It is the same to this day in Leipsic, Heidelberg, and the South German universities. The Prussian universities are a trifle stricter; in the case of Americans, they generally expect a diploma of Bachelor of Arts or the like, but they can scarcely be said to exact it. I doubt whether any German university would refuse to admit any foreign candidate who showed by his size and bearing that he was able to look after himself, and not a mere boy.

Matriculation Fee.

The next step in matriculation is to visit the treasurer (*Quasstor*) and pay the matriculation fees. These vary somewhat with the

different universities, but are nowhere excessive. In Göttingen they amounted to about five dollars. In exchange for your fees you get two weighty documents, the *a b c* of student life: your *Anmeldungs-buch*, and your student card. The former varies in size and shape (in Berlin they used the *Anmeldungs-bogen* as distinguished from *buch*), but whether book or merely folded sheet, it answers the same purpose; it is to be your record of work done. Imagine to yourself a large, stout book like a copy-book; each page is for a semester, and there are eight or ten pages in all, that being the estimated maximum number of semesters that you will remain. If you study longer, you can get a fresh book. The page is ruled in vertical columns, one for the names of the courses of lectures that you hear, another for the treasurer's certificate that you have paid the lecture-fees, a third and a fourth for the professor's certificates that you have attended the course, entered at the beginning and at the end of the semesters. The *modus operandi* is as follows. After deciding what lectures you will hear, you yourself write the official title in the left hand column. You then get the *Quæstor* to affix his *teste* in the second column. This entitles you to a seat, and if the course happens to be a popular one, attended by large numbers, the sooner you secure your seat the better. After "hearing" a week or two, you make your visit upon the professor himself, selecting some hour in the forenoon when he has no official engagement. If you wish to conform rigorously to etiquette, you must appear in grand toilet, *i. e.*, in dress coat and kid-gloves, although the chances are ninety-nine in a hundred that in so doing you will catch the professor himself in wrapper and slippers, unshaven and smoking a long pipe. With regard to the second certification, given at the close of the lecture course, there is no fixed rule; any time not too long before the end of the semester will do; you can even wait until the next semester or still later; in fact, you need not go in person, but can send the book around by your servant-girl or your boot-black.

Legitimation or Student-Card.

The student-card, like the *Anmeldungs-buch*, is a peculiarly German institution. When you are matriculated, not only is your name entered in the general university register, but you must be inscribed under some one of the four general faculties, *viz.*: theology, law, medicine, philosophy. You then receive a card, not much larger than an ordinary visiting card, of stout pasteboard. On the face of the card is placed your name, Herr N. N., *aus* (from) such and such a place, student in such a faculty. On the reverse is a printed announcement, couched in the knottiest of German sentences, that none but the accomplished scholar of both English and German can untie, to the effect that you are always to carry this card about you on your person, and produce it whenever it may be demanded by the university or town police, under penalty of a fine of twenty Silber Groschen (50 cents).

This simple card is your *Legitimation*. In a university that has a complete jurisdiction of its own, as Göttingen has, at least did have in the days of which I write, producing this card secures you against all municipal arrest. You are member of a special corporation, and as such are amenable only to the university court; neither civil nor criminal action can be brought against you in the ordinary courts, but must be laid before the university court in the first instance. If this body should find you guilty of a crime or a grave misdemeanor, it would then surrender you to the Supreme Court, Criminal Section, the German equivalent to our Circuit Court. You cannot be arrested or locked up by a town policeman; all he can do with you is to keep you for a few minutes in custody, until he can find a University *Pedell* (beadle) to take you in charge.

Your card in your pocket and your *Anmeldungs-buch* in your hand, in company with ten or twelve other candidates, you are then ushered into the august presence of the *Rector magnificus*, or Chancellor of the University. You will probably find him to be a man much as other men, only looking a trifle uncomfortable in his dress coat. The rector makes a short harangue, of which, if you are in the backward condition that I was, you will probably understand one word in five, but the substance of which is that he is rejoiced to see so many promising young men aspirants to the higher culture imparted by the *Georgia Augusta* (the official name of the University), and that he hopes you will be good fellows and make the most of your time and opportunities. In token of which, each candidate in turn shakes hands with him. You are then ushered out, to make room for a fresh squad who have just got their books and cards.

The ceremony is over, you are a German student, or a student in Germany, at last, ready to absorb all the knowledge and *Bildung* that your Alma Mater deals out with lavish hand. If you happen to be of an amiable, convivial turn of mind, your spirits will be buoyant; you will consider it your privilege and duty to celebrate the occasion by "dedicating" a bowl of punch to your elder brethren and compatriots who have helped you through the ordeal by telling you where to go and what to do. You and they will then make an afternoon of it, driving out to the Glietzen or the Plesse to enjoy the scenery, and indulge in coffee in the open air, and on your return, if still unsatisfied, you can make a night of it at Fritz's or the *Universitätskneipe*. Should you wake up next morning with a headache, a *Jammer* or a *Kater*, you can derive consolation from two circumstances: first, that it is only what has happened to thousands before you and will happen to thousands after you; next that you have fairly and honorably initiated yourself into student-life. You know now what it is to be a student, as Victor Hugo might felicitously express it, *avant d'avoir craché du latin dans la boutique d'un professeur*.

SELECTION OF LECTURES.

Having habituated yourself to the sense of your new dignity, the next step is to decide upon the professors with whom you are to "hear." This will not be so easy as you might suppose. Unless you have come to the university with a preconceived plan of study, you will find yourself embarrassed by the wealth from which you are to choose. Fortunately the professors give you ample time for making a suitable selection.

The University opens nominally, it may be assumed, on the 15th of October. One professor announces that he will begin to read on the 18th, another on the 20th, a third on the 25th; in fact, I have known one professor to begin his course on the 9th of November. Each professor, it has been already observed, is a law unto himself: the main point is that he read at least one course of lectures each semester, on a subject of his own selection, for which he has properly qualified himself, and that he cover about so much ground. Whether he begins late and stops early, is a matter in his own discretion. This is not indifference or sloth on the part of the professors, but rather a deliberate forecasting of time and labor. Where the work is heavy, and the field wide, the professor will not waste an hour. Vangerow, for instance, in lecturing at Heidelberg on the Pandects, used to begin on the very first day after the nominal opening day, and continue, averaging three hours daily throughout the winter, until two weeks after the semester had nominally closed.

Each course of lectures is paid for separately, the prices varying with the number of hours occupied in the week. Thus a single course, as it is called, one taking four or five hours a week, is charged about \$5; a double course, one of ten or twelve hours a week, would cost \$10. The usual double courses are those on the Pandects, on Anatomy and Physiology, and on Chemistry. The highest number of courses (double and single) that I have taken in any one semester (my fifth) was four, aggregating twenty-five hours a week, for which I paid between \$25 and \$30, a small price, in view of the quantity and quality of the instruction.

Lecture-fees are paid to the *Quæstor*, and not to the professor direct, although this latter eventually receives them, or the greater part of them, from the *Quæstor*. The new-comer will be puzzled at the distinction between lectures *publicæ*, *privatim*, and *privatissime*. Public lectures are those held by a professor gratuitously, on some minor topic of general interest. In the Prussian Universities each professor is held to announce at least one such lecture a term. The *privatim* lectures are the ordinary ones, for which fees are paid, and which are regarded as the substance of university teaching. A lecture *privatissime* is nothing more than our private lesson, the terms and times for which are settled by agreement between the professor

and the student. The fees for it are not paid to the *Quæstor*, and the lecture, or lesson, is not entered in the *Anmeldungsbuch*.

I have used more than once the expression "a course of lectures;" to guard against misapprehension, it may be advisable to stop and explain at length. By a course of lectures in a German university is meant a series of lectures on one subject, delivered by one man, during one semester. A German university has, strictly speaking, *no course of instruction*; there are no classes, the students are not arranged according to their standing by years, there are no recitations, there is no grading; until the candidate presents himself at the end of three or four years for his doctor's degree, when the quality of his attainments is briefly and roughly indicated by the wording of the diploma.

Hospitiren, or Dropping-in-Attendance.

Under the pilotage of H—, a countryman who had been pursuing classical studies for two years, I went the rounds of what the German students call *Hospitiren*, i. e., dropping in to a lecture to see how you like the lecturer. This practice prevails to a considerable extent at the University, at least at the beginning of a semester. It is practically the only way that newly matriculated students have of deciding between rival lecturers or of selecting some lecture that is not embraced in the ordinary routine of study. On this, as on so many points, the Germans display a great deal of practical sense. The student is free to roam about for two or three weeks, but at the end of that time it is expected of him that he will come to a decision and settle down, either to steady work or to steady idleness. Consequently, if you should attend regularly a certain course of lectures, occupying a seat and taking notes, without presenting your *Anmeldungsbuch* to the professor, you would probably be waited upon by the beadle, at your room, and interrogated as to your studies, what you had paid for, what you intended to pay for, and the like. In other words, your freedom of *hospitiren* will not be suffered to amount to unmistakable "sponging."

I availed myself pretty thoroughly of the *hospitiren* privilege, attending one or two lectures in every course delivered upon subjects connected in any way with letters. The philosophical faculty covers everything that is not law, medicine, or theology. It embraces, consequently, the exact sciences, mathematics, physics, chemistry, and the like, the descriptive sciences, botany, physiology, geology, the historical sciences, political history, political economy, finance, the humanities, that is, Latin and Greek, *Alterthumswissenschaft*, Oriental and general philology, and the modern languages, as they are taught philologically and critically. The field, therefore, is immense, and often overlaps those of the other faculties. Thus the medical student, being held to a general knowledge of chemistry, botany, and comparative physiology and anatomy, has to pass at

least three semesters under the philosophical faculty, although enrolled in the medical. Hebrew, as a study in linguistics, is not regarded as a part of theology proper, but the professor of Hebrew is a member of the philosophical faculty. Candidates for orders, by the way, are obliged to master the outlines of Hebrew grammar at the Gymnasium, before entering the University. On the other hand, students who obtain the degree of Ph.D. for studies in history and political economy are examined in certain legal topics, viz.: *Institutes*, *römische Rechtsgeschichte*, and *deutsche Rechts- und Verfassungsgeschichte* that is, the history of Roman legislation and constitutional forms in Germany. This would cover nearly two semesters in the legal faculty. The German theory is that no one is qualified to become an historian or an office-holder of the higher grades, who has not an insight at least into the elements of jurisprudence.

Sample Lectures—Curtius and Ritter.

In making my selection of lectures, I was determined by one simple consideration: which of the many distinguished men whom I heard would be likely to teach me the most German. I decided upon two, about as opposite in manner and substance as can well be imagined: Ernst Curtius, now professor in Berlin, who lectured on Greek Art, and Ritter, since deceased, who lectured on the History of Modern Philosophy.

Curtius, then a comparatively young man, had an energetic and rapid, but very distinct enunciation. As his lectures were to a large extent the analysis and criticism of the remains of Greek art, such as temples, friezes, statues, intaglios, and the like, I judged that the subject itself would not only be interesting and profitable, but that the prints which were passed around the class during the lecture, would give me at least a visible image of what the lecturer was speaking about. I made no attempt to take notes. The chief good that the lectures of Professor Curtius did me was to train my ear day by day to the flow of very rapid and very elegant German. This point, it seems to me, has not been sufficiently attended to. It is one thing to read a work in the privacy and quiet of your own room, but it is quite another to listen for an hour to the same author as the words come fast and warm from his lips. Even if you do not catch at first more than a thought or two here and there, and the body of the discourse sounds as the tangled maze of a symphony does to the uninitiated in music, still you are training your perceptive faculties far more than you are apt to suspect. Both ear and brain are on the stretch, you put forth your best efforts to seize and hold the fleeting breath; in short, you work under pressure, whereas in your room you are apt to dilly-dally over your books, to fall asleep, as it were, for want of outside stimulus. Hearing, of course, does not exclude reading; both are necessary, and the one supplements the other. But I take the liberty of calling especial attention

to the importance of hearing German well delivered, in view of the fact that only too many English and Americans neglect this element of training.

Professor Ritter was the exact opposite of his colleague. He spoke very slowly and deliberately, from full notes, with a mild, almost droning intonation, so that it was possible, even for me, to write down every word. In his lectures, then, I used my pen industriously, and succeeded in making an exact reproduction of the professor's text. This it was my practice to take to my room immediately after the lecture hour, which was from four to five in the afternoon, spending the interval to tea time in going over it again, grammar and dictionary in hand, and writing the translations of words and phrases on the margin and between the lines.

Besides a general knowledge of German, I made one valuable acquisition through Professor Ritter's lectures, to wit, an acquaintance with the vocabulary of abstract and philosophical terms. This, it is well known, is the most difficult part of the language. Our abstract terms are taken from the Latin and Greek, as they are in French, so that the reader who is familiar with their meaning in one language can easily recognize them in the other. All that an Englishman or an American needs to prepare himself for reading a French treatise on art, or science, or history, is a slight knowledge of the pronouns and irregular verbs. It is only where concrete terms come in question, names of objects and things, such as *bread, house, dog* and the like, that the two languages diverge. These concrete terms in German coincide generally with the English. But the abstract terms have been developed by means of suffixes and prefixes from German root-forms, and cannot be comprehended without an insight into the genius of the language.

THE GERMAN LECTURE SYSTEM.

The lecture system of Germany has been extolled and decried with equal injustice. Like every other system of man's invention, it is confessedly imperfect. One who attends lectures is not necessarily on the road to knowledge, one who lectures is not necessarily wiser or more interesting than a printed book. But taken all in all, I think that it works well. It gives the lecturer an opportunity of revising his own studies and incorporating fresh knowledge; every course of lectures can be made, as it were, a new edition, which is not usually practicable with a printed book. It gives the hearer the ripest fruits of research direct from the investigator himself, it quickens the faculties of apprehension, and stimulates subsequent study and collateral reading. Say what they will, the devotees of the Socratic method will never succeed in arguing the *personal* element in the lecture-system out of existence.

There are as many different styles of lecturing in Germany as there are different professors. They can all be reduced, however,

under three general categories: the system of dictating everything, the system of dictating part and explaining part, the system of rapid delivery. By the first is meant that plan in pursuance of which the professor reads off the entire lecture at a uniform rate of speed, slow enough to allow his hearers, unless they should be very clumsy writers, to take down every or nearly every word. Under the second system, the professor dictates a paragraph at a time, reading so slowly that his hearers cannot help catching it, and even pausing and repeating, if he should see that any one in the audience is at fault, and then proceeds to comment rapidly and in a colloquial tone upon what has just been dictated. Under the third system, that of rapid delivery, the instructor speaks after the fashion of our public lecturers, aiming more to impress his students, to arouse and stimulate them, than to give them something that they can carry home "black on white." Many of the more popular lecturers on political history or on topics connected with literary history are delivered in this style, especially where the professor can take for granted that his hearers have some previous knowledge, so that his remarks are as it were the novel presentment of an old theme. But in general it may be safely asserted that wherever exact, positive information is to be conveyed, as for instance in law, or in the descriptive and exact sciences, there the only systems followed are the first and the second.

Lectures are usually delivered with what is called *tempus*, which is emphatically *not* "on time." *Tempus*, or the "academic quarter," as it is otherwise styled, denotes that a lecture announced, *e. g.*, for ten o'clock, is not begun until ten or fifteen minutes after the hour. The reason for this apparent procrastination is a practical one. It not unfrequently happens that the lecturer, to save the time and trouble of going to and fro between his home and the *Collegien-haus*, will secure two successive hours for two lectures. Still, it is not desirable to read one hundred and twenty minutes on a stretch; the pause, then, is very opportune, giving the lecturer a chance to rest his voice. But the chief utility of the "academic quarter" is for the students themselves. As many of them have three or four lectures in succession, perhaps in different buildings, the pause enables them to make the transition without inconvenience.

As a rule, a university lecture is a simple, straightforward enunciation of fact or opinion, without any attempt at brilliancy of style. You are seated with a dozen or two or three dozen other young men like yourself, smoking, perhaps, and chatting with your neighbor. The bench on which you sit is hard and uncomfortable, the elevated bench before you is inscribed with all sorts of devices and names, the legacy of former generations. Your pen, ink, and paper are spread out before you. The door opens softly, the form of the lecturer moves quietly across the room and ascends the rostrum,

without preamble, without prelude, the hour's work begins. *Meine Herren—Thomas von Aquinas sah in der vernünftigen Seele den höchsten Grad der weltlichen Dinge* (Thomas Aquinas regarded the rational soul as the climax of things earthly.) The lecturer has simply resumed where he had broken off the day before. I have listened to lectures by many different professors, in different universities, but I cannot truthfully say that I have ever heard one that could be called brilliant. The aim of a German professor is not so much to arouse or interest or even persuade his hearers, as to teach them. The substance of his discourse is the unfolding of truth, grave, solid truth.

But by far the ablest lecture that I have ever heard, in Germany or at home, was one delivered by Vangerow. Happening to be in Heidelberg on a visit in October, 1884, I profited by the occasion to *hospitieren* with the then most prominent jurist in Germany. The subject was thoroughly familiar to me, as I was at the time in full preparation for my examination at Göttingen, which came off a few weeks later. The auditorium was crowded—there could not have been much less than two hundred students present—but the silence and attention were profound. Seated on a small raised platform near the center of the room, the lecturer spoke for an hour and a half in an easy, clear, sustained voice, without pause and without break, on one of the most complicated points in Roman Law. He had no notes, not even a schedule, only a slip of paper, on which were written one or two references to passages to be cited from the Digest; yet the ideas and words came forth as clear and logical and well placed as if the lecturer were reading from a printed book. The subject was one which the German spirit delights to develop after the I, A, 1, a, β , γ . . . style, in all sorts of main and subsidiary paragraphs, with minor and modifying clauses, exceptions, qualifications, and reservations, references to foot-notes and the like. But the lecturer had such an insight into and such a grasp of his subject that his discourse seemed to be nothing else than the easy, spontaneous process of organic evolution; it seemed to grow of itself out of his brain. There was no brilliancy, no flight of eloquence, no outburst of humor or sarcasm; the lecture would scarcely have been intelligible to one not familiar with the study. But it was a masterly, didactic statement of the clear, crystalline truths of the law, introducing nothing superfluous, omitting nothing necessary, and putting everything in the right place.

The paper used for taking notes is of a peculiar kind. A German student rarely if ever has what we call a notebook or a copy-book. He uses those called *Punctaten* or *Collegienpapier*, plain, white writing-paper, unruled; the page varies in size, but is generally what book-publishers designate as lexicon-octavo untrimmed. Six or eight sheets (twelve or sixteen pages) are stitched together at the back, making a *Heft*. The *Heft*, before it is sold, is put under a press of which the face is smaller than the face of the page. This blocks out by

indentation a sort of inner page, leaving a wide margin. The inner page alone is used for writing in the lecture-hour; the margin is reserved for subsequent corrections and additions. At the end of the semester, the *Hefte* of any one course can be bound up in a volume for preservation. The advantages of this paper are that it enables the student to dispense with an armful of cumbersome note-books—he has only to carry as many *Hefte* at a time as he has separate lectures to attend—and prevents the waste of paper. In buying a note-book, the student runs the risk of getting one either too small or too large; but with the *Pandectenpapier*, he has only to add a *Heft* from time to time, and he can also intercalate as long as the *Hefte* are unbound. It has always been a matter of surprise to me that the *Pandectenpapier* has not been introduced into our American colleges. It is by far the most practical method of taking notes. The *Hefte* are carried in a small black leather portfolio (*Mappe*), just large enough to hold three or four at a time, and flexible enough to be rolled up and carried conveniently under the arm. The notes are always written in ink. The inkstand generally used is not flat bottomed, as with us, but terminates in a sharp point of iron, which can be thrust into the desk. When carried in the pocket, the point is protected by a capsule of horn that screws over it.

The conduct of the students during the lecture-hour is propriety itself. One might attend hundreds of lectures in different universities, without witnessing any disorder or whispering. The first attempt to create such disturbances as disgrace the halls of our colleges would be punished by the summary expulsion of all the offenders. To an American faculty, the discipline in the German universities will appear lax in more than one respect. There are no chapel-services, no marks, no tutorial supervision. The student is free to live where and as he pleases, his movements are unfettered. But whatever else the University may wink at, it never tolerates disorder and disrespect in the lecture-room. The student is treated as a man having a sense of propriety and duty. If he does not like a particular professor, he can hear another; if he does not like a particular university, he can go elsewhere. If he does not feel disposed to attend on a particular day he can stay away. But if he attends, he is expected to conduct himself as in all respects a man.

The German student, however, has one privilege which the American has not: he can manifest his wishes by scraping his feet on the floor. If a professor lectures too fast or fails to explain a point to the complete satisfaction of his hearers, or if he lectures over the hour, instantly you will hear three or four pairs of shoes at work. This hint is always taken by the professor in good part. With regard to lecturing over the hour, the practice varies. Where the students know that the course is a heavy one, in which the professor has need of all the time he can get, they are not so apt to interrupt, unless the time of "grace" should exceed five minutes.

A PRINCETON GRADUATE AT GÖTTINGEN.

SECOND ARTICLE.

STUDY OF LAW AT BERLIN AND GÖTTINGEN.

[At the close of the Winter semester (the middle of March, 1885), and a season, it proved, of sickness and low spirits, our Student makes a trip to Berlin, where he was struck "with the energy, I might almost say the agony of preparation," "in which the city resembled a huge camp," two or three years before the formal declaration of war. Here he decided to remain for the Summer semester, and enter on study for the degree of Doctor in Law.]

Brief Experience of Student Life in Berlin.

I obtained from the University secretary the necessary *Abgangszeugnis* (honorable dismissal), and removed to Berlin about the middle of April. The ceremony of re-matriculation was very simple. Coming as a regular student from another German university, I had only to deposit the *Abgangszeugnis* with the Berlin secretary, pay a small fee, and give the customary pledge, the hand-shake, to the Rector. I then matriculated in the legal faculty. This transferring one's self from one faculty to another is called expressively by the students, *Umsatteln*, changing saddles. One can meet students who have performed the operation three or four times; failing in every attempt at a degree, they are content to drift along from semester to semester and bear the title of *demooate Häupter*, moss-grown heads.

The Berlin University at that time was in its glory. The medical faculty was uncommonly strong. In theology there were such men as Dörner, Hengstenberg, Niedner, and Twesden, in philosophy Trendelenburg, Hefflerich, Michelet, in the natural sciences Dove, Rose, Braun, in political economy Helwing and Hanssen, in history Droysen, Ranke, Jaffé, Köpke, Kiepert, in philology Steinthal, Bopp, Böckh, Bekker, Haupt, Weber. Many of these illustrious men have been called to their rest; their places have been taken, we can scarcely say filled, by their successors. In law there were Bruns, Gneist, Holtzendorff, Rudorff, Richter, Beseler, Homeyer, Heffter, and many others; I have named only the most illustrious. Gneist is the well-known politician and leading debater in the Prussian Parliament and the Imperial Diet. Holtzendorff is now professor in Munich; Rudolff, and, I believe, Homeyer and Richter are deceased. The brightest stars of the Berlin legal faculty—Savigny and Puchta—had already set; in fact, as I afterwards discovered, I might have done better for the first semester or two by going to Heidelberg, where Vangerow was then in his prime. Yet the loss was not great.

In fact, I may say, once for all, that a student cannot go very far out of his way in selecting any one of the leading universities. Two of the most delightful and most profitable months of my life were once passed in even a very small university, the name and fame of which have scarcely reached America. I mean Marburg, about half way between Frankfort and Cassel. The number of students, all told, did not exceed four hundred, and the professors were correspondingly few. Yet I was surprised at the comparatively large number of eminent men and the general breadth of culture. The reader may be assured that the smaller universities, such as Marburg, Rostock, Greifswald, Tübingen, differ from the larger ones in extent, in quantity, rather than in quality. Unless the student be engaged in some very limited specialty, he can do well almost anywhere.

To decide upon the study of the law is one thing; to carry out the decision is another. By consulting the list—still in my possession—of Berlin lectures for the summer of 1863, I find that there were announced no less than 59 courses of lectures on legal topics, covering 183 hours per week! That the reader, if of a legal turn of mind, may form some idea of what a legal faculty in Germany is, and what it accomplishes, I give the list entire:

- Encyclopædy and Methodology of the Sciences of Law*, by Professors Heydemann and Holtzendorff, and Dr. Schmidt.
- Naturrecht, or Philosophy of Law*, by Professor Heydemann.
- Institutes*, by Professors Bruns and Gneist.
- History and Archaeology of the Roman Law*, the same.
- History of Civil Procedure among the Romans*, the same.
- Institutes*, by Drs. Rivier and Degenkolb.
- Select Cases in Roman Law*, explained by Dr. Degenkolb.
- Pandects*, by Professor Rudolph.
- Erbrecht* (Doctrine of Inheritance), by Dr. Baron.
- Pandects and Utrrecht*, by Dr. Witte.
- Select Passages from the Pandects*, explained by Professor Rudolph and Dr. Witte.
- De Solutionibus*, (D. xlv. 3), explained by Dr. Schmidt.
- Practical Exercises in Roman Law* (a sort of Moot Court), by Dr. Baron.
- Ecclesiastical Law, Catholic and Protestant*, by Professor Richter and Drs. Friedberg and Hinschius.
- Law of Matrimony*, by Dr. Friedberg.
- Practical Exercises in Ecclesiastical Law*, by Professor Richter, and Drs. Friedberg and Hinschius.
- History of German Constitutional Law*, by Professors Beseler and Daniels, and Dr. Kühne.
- History of the Decline of the Roman-German Empire*, by Professor Lancizolle.
- German Common Law*, by Professor Homeyer.
- Law of Preliminary Notes*, by Dr. Kühne.
- Practical Exercises in German Law*, by Professor Beseler.
- Public and Private Rights of German Sovereigns*, by Professors Beseler and Holtzendorff.
- German Constitutional Law*, by Professor Daniels.
- Church and State*, by Friedberg.
- Practical Exercises in State Law*, by Professor Holtzendorff.
- International Law*, by Professors Heffter and Holtzendorff.
- Civil Procedure, according to the Common Law of Germany and the Prussian Code*, by Professors Heffter and Bruns.
- The same, including also the Code Napoleon* (for the Rhine provinces), by Dr. Hinschius.
- Practical Exercises in Procedure*, by Dr. Hinschius.
- Criminal Law*, by Professors Gneist and Berner.
- Criminal Procedure*, by Professors Heffter, Gneist and Berner.
- Practical Exercises in Criminal Law*, by Professor Berner.
- The Death Penalty*, by Professor Holtzendorff.
- Penitentiary System*, the same.
- Prussian Code*, by Professors Daniels and Heydemann.
- Special Questions under the Prussian Code*, by Professor Heydemann.
- Doctrine of Inheritance in Prussia*, by Dr. Bornemann.
- History of the Code Napoleon*, by Dr. Rivier.

Franco-Rhenish Rights of Real Property between Husband and Wife, by Professor Daniels.
English Constitutional History, by Professor Gneist.

The total number of professors and doctors (*Privat-docenten*) on the list is twenty-one.

A few qualifying and explanatory remarks will not be superfluous. In the first place, not all the lectures announced, especially at a university like Berlin, are actually read. The professor, or *Privat-docent*, upon whom has been conferred the *venias docendi*, the privilege of lecturing, is held to announce at least one *publica* each semester. But if auditors fail to present themselves in sufficient numbers, as not infrequently happens, the course is not delivered, the lecturer is exonerated. This may seem an odd procedure, but the explanation is not remote. A German university faculty consists of professors (either regular or extraordinary), and *Privat-docenten*, who are nothing more than candidates for professorships. The university looks to its professors for bearing the burden of instruction; the *Privat-docent* keep the professors up to the mark by competing with them. A *Privat-docent* is free to lecture on any topic connected with his department, even although a course of lectures on that same topic may have been announced by a professor. The reader will observe that the above list contains several instances of such direct competition. But ordinarily the *Privat-docent* prefers to compete indirectly, as it were, by reading on some special topic that is not taken up by any of the professors. These special-topic lectures are the germs of future essays and monographs; after the *Privat-docent* has worked his lectures into the proper shape by repeated readings, he publishes them in book-form, with a view to wider reputation, and a "call." But if the topic is too remote, too special, the lecturer will not find hearers. In fact, a professor, or even a *Privat-docent*, whose reputation is already established, and whose time is occupied with *privatum* lectures, will purposely select a very special topic, so as not to attract hearers and yet comply with the regulations. On general principles, then, I should say that twenty per cent. of the lectures announced in the above list were not read. On the other hand, the reader should bear in mind that it was the summer semester, which is always and everywhere "lighter" than the winter. I am inclined to believe that we should get the actual amount of winter work by restoring the twenty per cent.

Legal Profession in Germany.

The study of law in Germany is treated seriously. No one is admitted to the bar or to the bench who has not been through the full university course. This of itself presupposes the gymnasial course. The consequence is that every practitioner and every judge, down to the humblest justice of the peace, has had a *thorough classical and legal education*. Can we wonder, then, at the pride with which Germany points to her judicial system, and the scarcely concealed disdain

with which she looks down upon the uncertainty and circumlocution of the English and the American? It is not my purpose to draw invidious comparisons. It must be admitted that our best judges and our best lawyers will compare favorably with those of any land. But the world is not made up of best men. Allowances are to be made for respectable mediocrity. Here it is that the superiority of the German system, as a system, over our want of system, becomes manifest. That system is briefly as follows. A young German wishing to fit himself for the profession must first acquire the broad general culture of the gymnasium. In the next place, he must attend the university at least three full years, six half-years, and hear certain prescribed lectures, say eighteen or twenty in all. He need not hear them in any prescribed order, but he must hear them at some time. He need not pass the university examination, but he must pass the *Staats-examen*, which is a serious matter. This state-examination is conducted after a peculiarly German fashion. The candidate presents himself to the Court of Appeals of the state or province, bringing with him his gymnasial and university certificates. The court assigns to him two *schriftliche Arbeiten*, that is, two cases which have actually come up on appeal, and upon which he must give a reference. He gets fac-similes of all the papers in each case, from the original summons down to the final appeal in error, and also all the evidence. In his reference he must review every point taken on both sides, whether of law or of fact, whether controverted or not. In short, he must subject each case to an exhaustive theoretical analysis, and submit his reports in writing. This is a labor of several months. After the *schriftliche Arbeiten* have been read and approved by the Court, the candidate is admitted to an oral examination, which lasts from two to three hours. This second ordeal over, he becomes an *Auditor*. That is to say, he is assigned to some one of the higher courts (*Obergerichte*) as a compulsory listener to all the proceedings for two years. At the end of the two years, he has his choice either to pass his second examination then and be admitted to practice, or to wait two years longer as *Assessor*, that is, as one who sits on the bench with the judges, but has no vote, and then pass a final examination as a candidate for judicial appointment.

A German state, it is evident, does not regard either the practice or the administration of the law as something to be "picked up." While it is perfectly true that no amount of teaching and examining will make a lawyer of a man whom nature intended for something else, yet it can scarcely be doubted that the German system works admirably in suppressing shysters, pettifoggers, and low-lived individuals of all sorts. One cannot take the first step toward entering the profession without having acquired some substantial knowledge, some elements of culture and breeding. The law itself in Germany has

its defects, obvious and grave ones; but these spring from the political and social organization of the country, and are not due especially to the bench or the bar. The whole tendency of the German system is to develop a body of enlightened, upright jurists, and to make the course of justice prompt and inexpensive. The judges, holding their office by royal appointment, and utterly indifferent to so-called public opinion, watch the lawyers very sharply and compel them to expedite matters. Besides, they regard themselves more as equitable umpires, than as judges in our sense. They try as much as possible to bring about compromises, and go far more than our judges into the real merits of the case. A judge, according to the English or American system, contents himself with passing his opinion on points that have been expressly raised; in Germany he will often take cognizance of points that have not been raised. In other words, he regards the equitable rights of the client as the main thing, and is not disposed to let them be sacrificed through the laches or ignorance of the attorney.

Preparatory Study for Legal Practice.

Having thus given a brief outline of the way in which law is studied in Germany, I must say a few words about the substance of the instruction, reserving a fuller discussion of it for a subsequent chapter. The law of Germany has a threefold origin: it is either Roman, or German, or the product of recent legislation. By Roman law is meant that set of rules and principles which is contained in the *Corpus juris civilis*, the codification made at Constantinople in the sixth century by order of the Emperor Justinian. To explain how the *corpus juris* came to be adopted in Germany, would lead me too far out of my way. The adoption grew out of the intimate political relations existing between Germany and Italy, where the old Roman Law, as Savigny has shown, had never gone out of use. It was begun under the Hohenstaufen or Swabian dynasty, but proceeded very slowly, and was not thoroughly completed even at the advent of the Reformation. Its career was a prolonged struggle between the "illiterate" law of the folk and the subtleties of the clerks and doctors at the seats of learning. A somewhat similar phenomenon, but attended with very different results, may be observed in the course of English Common Law. The Canonists and Civilians of Oxford tried to introduce the *corpus juris* into England, and came nearer to success than is commonly known. In Germany, the passages of the *corpus juris* not annotated by the Glossators of the Italian school are not regarded as received. But these are few in number. Practically, the *corpus juris* may be said to have been adopted entire by the common consent and common practice of the German mediæval courts, so that the presumption is in its favor. Whoever attempts to controvert the applicability of any one annotated passage must show either that it has been specifically rejected, or that it has been

altered or abrogated. Even in countries that have a modern code of civil law, a thorough knowledge of the Roman law is regarded as indispensable, inasmuch as that law is still applicable in cases not provided for by the code. The German law, *i. e.*, the law of German origin, has chiefly to do with marital and domestic relations, and the rights and obligations of real property, more exactly, entailed and peasant estates. But all general ideas on legal topics, the entire legal nomenclature, the theory of contracts, payment, time, conditions, everything in short that is not limited or local, is derived from the Roman law. A complete and accurate understanding of the principles embodied in the *corpus juris* is therefore justly considered as the basis of the lawyer's education. The Canon Law, *i. e.*, the principles and rulings embodied in the *corpus juris canonici*, or body of mediæval Roman Catholic law, has not been adopted to the same extent as the *corpus juris civilis*. Although the university title of LL.D. is *doctor juris utriusque (sc. tam romani quam canonici)*, the Canon Law as such is no longer taught in Germany. The *corpus juris canonici* embodies the rules that governed the mediæval ecclesiastical courts during their existence. As those courts had cognizance of everything relating to the church and church property, to marriage and divorce, crimes committed by or against the clergy, the sanctity of the oath, etc., their jurisdiction covered many cases that modern usage has vindicated for the secular courts exclusively. The terms Canon Law and Modern Ecclesiastical Law, therefore, do not coincide; the former is the law, whether spiritual or secular in its nature, administered by the old spiritual courts; the latter is the law now applicable to spiritual matters exclusively, whether that law be derived from the *corpus juris canonici* or from modern statutes and concordats, whether it be Roman Catholic or Protestant law. The universities of Germany teach at the present time only Ecclesiastical Law. The Canon Law made its influence upon Roman and German law felt chiefly in practice and procedure, and most especially in the theory of evidence. All these matters, however, have been thoroughly revised and put upon a new basis by the modern codes of procedure.

As regards the Roman law more particularly, the course of instruction embraces ordinarily four sets of lectures, which I give by their German names: *Institutionen*, *Rechtsgeschichte*, *Pandecten*, *Erbrecht*. The *Institutionen* are a condensed exposition of the outlines of the Roman law. The order followed is usually that of the Institutes of Justinian, and the object of the course is, not the exhaustive statement of all the principles in all their details, but rather the historic development of the leading principles, from the earliest times of the Republic, through the Empire, to the age of Justinian. In other words, the organic growth of the Roman law during seven or eight centuries forms the substance of the course called *Institutionen*. The

Rechtsgeschichte, or *Aeusere Rechtsgeschichte*, as it is more exactly called, is a history of Roman legislation rather than of Roman law. It treats of the various phases of the Roman constitution, the growth of the *plebs*, the power of the Senate, the scope of the *senatus consulta*, the functions of the prætor and the prætorian edict, the rescripts and decrees of the emperors, the *responsa prudentium*, the history of Justinian's codification. The *Rechtsgeschichte*, then, aims at acquainting the student with the various agents and means at work in producing the body of the law. The *Pandecten* are in one sense merely the *Institutionen* expanded; in another sense, they are quite different. The professor who lectures on the *Pandecten*, taking for granted that his hearers are already familiar with the *Institutionen* and *Rechtsgeschichte*, develops the Roman law as a matter of scientific theory. He does not follow the order adopted by Justinian in his *Liber Digestorum*. He seeks to define law in general, to define persons, things, the rights of persons, family relations, the rights of things, modes of acquiring and losing property, modes of entering into, suspending, and annulling contracts, and the like, fortifying each position as he goes by citations from the *corpus juris*. The treatment of *Erbrecht* (the doctrine of inheritance) as a separate course is purely arbitrary; it belongs rightfully to the *Pandecten*. But inasmuch as it is the most complicated and difficult part of the whole, it is more conveniently treated by itself. Vangerow read it in his course on the *Pandecten*.

I cannot revert to my semester in Berlin with much satisfaction. The fault was not with the university or the professors, but lay in myself. I committed the mistake of attempting to begin a new study in a large city. One who has advanced beyond the rudiments, and has a clear idea of what he really needs, and what he can dispense with, will derive benefit from the concourse of intellect and character in a capital like Berlin. But the beginner, I am persuaded, cannot do better than by remaining in a small town for a term or two at least. He loses less time in finding out things, in making acquaintances among those who are pursuing the same study, and in catching the spirit of that study.

After pondering over the distracting list of lectures given above, and getting the advice of one or two acquaintances to whom I had letters of introduction, I made the following selection of lectures: *Institutionen* and *Rechtsgeschichte*, by Professor Gneist, and *Encyclopædie und Methodologie der Rechtswissenschaft*, by Professor Holtzendorff. As the reader will readily understand, the lectures were "all Greek" to me. The German was not difficult, and both lecturers spoke slowly and clearly enough to let me take full notes. But the subject itself was a strange world of terms and ideas. I forced myself to write down paragraph after paragraph without being able to see into the connection or practical bearings of the whole. Fortunately I caught up a hint thrown out by Professor

Gneist in one of his lectures, and purchased a copy of Mommsen's Roman History. Here, at least, was something that I could understand. Although my recollections of early Roman history, the fabulous dynasty of kings, the law of the Twelve Tables, the centurial constitutions and the like were as shadowy and imperfect as those of the average American graduate, still it was scarcely possible not to learn much from a master like Mommsen. I read through the two large volumes of the original with great interest and care. Then it was that something like light began to shine upon me, that I caught something like an insight into the growth of that wonderful organism called the Roman Constitution and the Roman State. Using Mommsen as a running commentary, I succeeded in understanding my lectures after a fashion. I purchased also Gneist's edition of the Institutes of Gaius and Justinian, but could make little out of the book. The Latin was easy enough, but I had no appreciation of the technical terms, and no friend to whom to go for enlightenment.

[Before the close of the Summer semester, our Student leaves Berlin, and before returning to Göttingen, spent three weeks at Wiesbaden, where the climate, the waters, and a quiet life, wrought a perfect cure in his bodily ailments, and his conferences with Dr. Maxen, *Privat-docent* at Göttingen, settled his course and method of legal study for the next two years.]

Value of a Privat-docent.

One afternoon, at a garden-concert, I was presented to Dr. Maxen, *Privat-docent* in the legal faculty, a stout, bluff, but genial and intelligent man in the thirties. Our conversation soon shook off all idle formality. Emboldened by the signs of friendly interest on his part, I told him my story; how I had made an attempt in Berlin and failed; how much, or rather how little, I had done; what a maze of doubt and ignorance I was in, even as to the best books to read. At all of which he laughed good-naturedly. "Well," said he, "I do not think that you have done much worse than other students in their first semester. Rome, you know, was not built in a day. What you need is to read certain books well, and especially to go at the *Quellen*. Let me draw up a scheme of work for you. In the first place, read through Marezzoll's *Institutionen*. The book is not worth much, but it will familiarize you with terms and definitions, and the general ground plan of the law. Then, after reading Marezzoll, take up Puchta's three volumes of *Institutionen*. This will give you everything you want to know in a clear, logical, thoroughly scientific shape. But, above all else, you must read the Institutes of Gaius and Justinian in the original. This study of modern text-books is all very well, but it cannot absolve you from the knowledge of the *Quellen*." I replied that I had Gneist's edition of the Institutes already in my possession, and had tried to read it, but without success. "Of course you can't understand it alone. You must have Heu-

mann's *Hand-lexicon to the corpus juris*, and you must read in company with some advanced student who can explain things to you step by step. Call at my room to-morrow, or the day after, and by that time perhaps I shall have some one for you." I felt that a load had been rolled off my mind. These words of sympathy and advice, few, but to the point, had at least pointed out to me the way of knowledge. Henceforth it rested only with myself to follow up the clue.

I have dwelt at length upon this incident, because it will reveal in the brightest light the part played in a German university by the *Privat-docent*. The professors are, of course, very learned men, but they are not always amiable, at least not always communicative. Standing on the isolated pinnacles of science, they are rather cut off from the world below, and the student feels reluctant to approach them. But the *Privat-docent*, still a young man in the prime of physical life, fast growing in greatness, but not so far beyond the recollection of his own student days as to be unable to enter fully into the trials of his younger brethren beneath him, is the *Vermittler*, the mediator, in the university organism. With one hand he urges on the professor to renewed research, with the other he raises up and cheers the student. A university without *Privat-docenten* would be like a regiment without corporals, a ship without a boatswain; with them, it is the most powerful and yet the most flexible organization for spiritual purposes in the world. The student who knows one or more *Privat-docenten* can post himself readily on the literature of every topic as fast as it may come up, can get the latest ideas, pick up any amount of odds and ends of information such as books never give, and always be sure of friendly advice. The relation between *Privat-docent* and student is purely one of friendship, characterized on one part by elder-brotherly interest, on the other by respect, unrestrained by ceremonial awe.

Within twenty-four hours all the books mentioned by Dr. Maxen were in my possession. A brief examination of Marezzoli's *Institutiones* showed me that the Doctor's estimate of the book had not been too unfavorable. But Puchta's work was something altogether different. Although entitled *Institutiones*, it was really a *Pandecten* treatise, but with a large infusion of the historical element. It gave me precisely the help that I had long sought after, a clear, concise exposition of legal ideas and doctrines, and a pretty complete genesis, so to speak, of the body of Roman law. The first volume is a discussion of Roman constitutional history and *Rechtsgeschichte*. The third volume, unfortunately, was left unfinished in consequence of the author's death, the last half being edited by Professor Rudorff from posthumous notes. For six weeks Puchta was scarcely out of my hand. I not only read through the entire three volumes (nearly 3,000 pages), but committed many of the definitions and distinctions

to memory, and reviewed incessantly. In this way I obtained a tolerably clear idea of what law in general is, the difference between statute law and common law, the theory of suspending, abrogating, and retroactive conditions, the distinction between a condition and a *dies ad quem* or a *quo*, the Roman notions as to natural persons and juristic persons, as to *hereditas*, *patria potestas in manu*, and the like, the more common kinds of contracts and of real property. Puchta's work is an eminently useful one for the beginner. It gives a good deal of law, but gives it in such a logical shape and in such a luminous style that it captivates the reader. It is much to be regretted that there is no similar work in English for the study of our English common law, in place of the antiquated method and jejune, eighteenth century philosophy called Blackstone's Commentaries. If the reader can imagine Sharswood's Blackstone, Parsons on Contracts, Washburne on Real Property, and Willard's Equity, condensed into three volumes, infused with the spirit of modern philosophic inquiry and couched in language as fresh and limpid throughout as that of Chancellor Kent, he will form some idea of Puchta as a jurist. With this exception, that no English or American writer goes, after the fashion of the Germans, into the history of the law. There are no such works in English as Savigny's *History of Roman Law in the Middle Ages*, Keller's *History of Roman Procedure by Formula*, Rudorff's *Rechtsgeschichte*, and a dozen others that I might mention, where advantage is taken of all the results of modern philology and modern historic inquiry. In England and in America, law is regarded as a practice, a mode of earning one's livelihood, a sort of blind swearing in *verba magistrorum*. In Germany, it is treated as an historic science, in fact, as the twin brother of history. Nearly every German jurist is somewhat of an historian, every historian is a jurist. Indeed, the student in history cannot obtain his Ph.D. without passing an examination in the rudiments of Roman and German law. We wonder at the firm grasp, the unerring insight of such men as Niebuhr and Mommsen, but we overlook the circumstance that they were jurists as well as historians. Mommsen in particular was for many years full professor in law. Germany has been for half a century under the influence of the so called "historic school," that is to say, a set of principles which have been advocated by such men as Thibaut, Savigny, Puchta, Goeschen, Vangerow, and which may be reduced to one fundamental idea: that law is a growth and not a product, and that it can be neither comprehended, amended, expanded, nor expounded properly without a full and scientific study of it from its beginnings.

Puchta was to me at that time a sort of condensed student-library, it contained nearly everything that I needed for preliminary instruction. But Puchta did not make me overlook the *Quellen*, upon which my friend had laid such stress. Thanks to Dr. Maxen's

coöperation, I was put in the way of becoming one of a trio to read the Institutes of Gaius. Fifty years before, the thing would have been impossible, for the work was reckoned among the lost treasures of antiquity, like the Comedies of Menander. To explain this point fully, I must go into details, which, I trust, will not prove uninteresting. The codification of Justinian was made in the early part of the sixth century. The Roman law had undergone so many and so radical changes, the legal literature had accumulated to such an enormous extent that the emperor, thinking to simplify matters, appointed a commission, of which the jurist Tribonian was the chief, to elaborate a reform by classifying and simplifying things. The work done by this commission was subdivided into three parts: 1, the *Institutiones*, a short, easy text-book for beginners; 2, the *Digesta seu Pandecten*, a vast compilation of principles and opinions taken from the leading jurists of the classic era of the Roman law (under the empire before the partition) and arranged in fifty books under appropriate headings; and, 3, the *Codez*, a similar collection of imperial statutes down to the reign of Justinian himself. These three parts, as one work, were declared to be of equal authority, and to be the sole legal guide and standard in the realm of Justinian. Everything else was expressly abrogated. The codification thus prepared was to be regarded as self-explanatory. After it had been published, the emperor enacted from time to time a number of subsequent statutes, many of them very important ones, which were collected under the title of *Novella*, or new laws. These four works, then, the Institutes, Digest, Code, and Novels, taken as one, with a short appendix of feudal law, and the so-called *Authentica Fredericiana*, added in the reigns of the emperors Frederick I. and II., constitute the *Corpus Juris Civilis*.

Concerning the Institutes in particular, it was known that Tribonian's commission, in preparing their text-book for beginners, had made liberal use of a similar treatise written by one Gaius during the reign of the emperor Marcus Antonius. They had simply taken the Institutes of Gaius and adapted them to the usages of the sixth century, by omitting certain portions regarded as obsolete, inserting fresh matter, and slightly altering the phraseology of the portions retained. But what had become of the original Gaius? No one could answer the question, and it was generally believed, until the beginning of the present century, that the Institutes of Gaius perished in the confusion of the Dark Ages. But in the year 1816, Niebuhr, who was then exploring the library at Verona, stumbled upon a manuscript that looked to him like a copy of the long lost work. Being unable himself to follow up the discovery, for want of time, he simply announced it. In 1817, Goeschen, then professor at Göttingen, was sent to Verona, on Niebuhr's recommendation, to undertake the critical editing of the manuscript. It was far more

serious than had been supposed, and the final success was one of the greatest triumphs of modern scholarship and ingenuity. Not only was the manuscript a palimpsest, a manuscript of which the original text had been covered by a second, but sixty-two of the one hundred and twenty-five pages of the MS. were even a *double* palimpsest; the second writing had been in its turn covered by a third. For over a year Goeschen, assisted by Bethmann-Hollweg, worked assiduously; by the most careful application of certain chemicals, he succeeded in erasing the second and third writings—the epistles of St. Jerome—and deciphering nearly all the original text. His first edition appeared in 1820, the second, containing the emendations of Blume, in 1834; they created a revolution in the study of the Roman law. I doubt whether any other literary discovery ever wrought such wonders. Let the reader imagine, if he can, Greek literature without Homer, and then let him imagine a copy of the Iliad or the Odyssey suddenly unearthed in some convent of Wallachia. The study of the Roman law in Germany has been reconstructed from top to bottom, to such an extent that Vangerow dismisses the entire early literature on the subject of Roman pleadings, in the following pithy sentence: All books written on this subject before the year 1820 are useless. But not only was the theory of pleadings understood *for the first time*, the entire body of the Roman law was overhauled. Passages in the *corpus juris*, upon which whole libraries of angry controversial pamphlets had been written to no avail, were now found to be quite plain; technical terms, once unintelligible, explained themselves in a very simple manner. The student had at last a small portable key with which to unlock three-fourths of the mysteries that had haunted the *corpus juris* for a thousand years. I hazard little in asserting that at the present day the veriest tyro in the Roman law can glibly rattle off correct answers to many a grave question, and translate intelligibly more than one passage of the Digest that proved itself too difficult for the entire body of Italian, Dutch, French and German glossators and commentators from Irnerius down to Pufendorf and Glück.

The reading of Galus was not completed by the end of the vacation, but continued for some time into the winter semester. My associates were at first P— of the Westphalians, and M— of the Saxons, both candidates at the approaching state examination in Celle. They were of course far more advanced than myself, and also older by two or three years, so that I derived great benefit from their superior knowledge. We constituted a comfortable "clover-leaf," as the Germans call social trios. Our meetings were regular, but perfectly informal. We met at one another's rooms in rotation for an hour or more every day. Each man had his own copy of Galus, and the owner of the room was held to have in readiness the dictionaries and other works of reference. Our practice was to translate a

paragraph at a time, in turn, trying to make the rendering as close as possible, in fact, to make it what would be in print an inter-linear version, line by line, word by word. The listeners had the right to interrupt the one translating, and call upon him for explanations. Our progress was very slow. Although the style of Gaius is simplicity itself, we spent often ten or fifteen minutes over a single phrase to get its exact technical signification. Thus the phrase *hanc rem meam esse aio ex jure Quiritium*, means one thing, and *hanc rem in bonis meis esse* means something very different. It was the object of our reading, then, to bring out all such distinctions, to discuss them thoroughly, and, if necessary, trace them through the text-books. A German text-book on law always contains, besides the index of topics, an index of passages quoted from the *corpus juris*, just as an English law book contains the list of cases cited. By consulting these indexes of passages and comparing Gaius with Justinian, we were able to find whether the paragraph in question was cited by Puchta or Arndt or Vangerow in their works, and if so, what were the various interpretations put upon it, and deductions made from it. This naturally took a good deal of time, but the results were very gratifying. I found that, by dint of repetition and collateral reading, not only the outlines of the law were fixing themselves in my mind, but I was acquiring a high degree of facility in construing law-Latin. This, it may not be superfluous to observe, is a language by itself, differing from the ordinary classic Latin as the phraseology of Blackstone differs from that of Byron. The *corpus juris* abounds in terms and phrases fully as technical as the *reliefs*, *primer seisin*, *estoppels* of English legal treatises, and unless one understands them precisely, the *corpus juris* is a sealed book. The best Latin scholar, not a jurist, could not read a title of the Digest without being "floored" in every paragraph by one or more of them. The Institutes of Gaius are not comprised in the *corpus juris*, it is true, but they serve all the better as a propædæutic by reason of their exhibiting the Roman law in an earlier stage of development. Whoever has worked his way faithfully through Gaius, can read the Institutes of Justinian off-hand, and after he has read these, he can construe readily passages taken from the Digest at random.

Besides reading the text of Gaius, we questioned one another every day on the substance of the preceding day's work, and tried to catch one another in a friendly way. This necessitated diligent review and preparation at home. The larger share of the benefit fell to me, of course, as the beginner. In one sense, my co-workers could teach me everything and I had nothing to give in return. But on the other hand, the duty of setting me aright obliged them to keep their own knowledge constantly in hand, as it were. They could not correct, they could not even interrogate me properly, without first putting their own ideas in perfect order. No one can realize—until he

tries it—how much benefit he can derive from teaching, and how carefully he must overhaul his own information before he will succeed in imparting it to a beginner.

Recreations.

The mornings and evenings were sacred to work, but the afternoons were devoted religiously to recreation, either going over my rambles of the year before or playing an unlimited number of games of *Kejel*. The German game of nine-pins is different from our ten-pins. The pins are set up in diamond shape, and not in a triangle, and the count increases in a sort of geometrical ratio—instead of an arithmetical—with the number of pins thrown down. Each side begins with a minus number, say 300 or 400, and adds every count as a plus quantity. The game is over when the plus above zero on one side equals the minus below zero on the other. The alleys are much inferior to our own, but the game can be made to develop any amount of fun. The alleys are generally in the open air, in the garden of the restaurant, merely protected from the weather by a shed overhead. The game therefore affords a healthy exercise, free from the musty, whisky-laden atmosphere and other disagreeable associations of the American bar-room. I look upon *Kejel* as the climax of amusement in the minor German towns.

After finishing Gaius, my friends P— and M— left for Celle, to enter the state examination. I had yet the Institutes of Justinian to read. Dr. Maxen was successful, however, in arranging a second "clover-leaf" quite as good as the first. The two new members were E— and S—, both Westphalians. E— was my superior in age and academic standing, being then in his fourth semester. He was also a young man of decided legal acumen and of quick perceptions, but had not yet developed into a very steady worker. S— was a *Fuchs* in his second semester, like myself, but having spent his time after the approved fashion in *Kneipen* and *Pauken*, knew very little law. So far as he was concerned, then, I occupied the dignified position of teacher. Indeed, thanks to the regular working habits acquired in the vacation, I put E— himself on his mettle to retain the lead. Between us we succeeded in keeping our *Fuchs* busy. It always affords high moral satisfaction to know that there is somebody worse off than yourself, toward whom you can assume the air of superior information. We finished the Institutes by the middle of November. I should state that the edition which we used was that prepared by Gneist, of Berlin. It is a very handy, practical book. Each page is divided into two parallel columns. The left hand column is reserved for Gaius, the right for Justinian. The two works are thus placed side by side, so that the reader has the greatest facility for comparing them, and also for reviewing his studies. I improved the opportunity, while reading Justinian, by reviewing Gaius entire, passage for passage.

Before proceeding to give an account of the winter lectures, I wish to say a few words about *Kneipen* in connection with the most imposing student affair of the kind that I attended. The word *Kneipe* has a double meaning. It denotes the place where drinking is done, the drinking hall or room or house, or it denotes the drinking itself, the carouse. The verb *Kneipen* means to drink, being used promiscuously with *trinken*; *bekneipt*, for instance, is the same as *betrunken*.

In whatever other respects the German student may be irregular, he always *kneipt* according to rule. It is not necessary to go into all the particulars of the German beer-code; to be frank, I do not know them all myself, for they are as complicated and numerous as the provisions of the *Notherbenrecht* (doctrine of disinheritance) of the *corpus juris*. The reader who wishes to post himself thoroughly can study the famous Heidelberg *Bier-comment* or *Sauf-comment*. The chief point is that when you sit down with other students to a *Kneipe*, you must drink with the others and not according to your own fancy. Even if you are an invited guest, you will commit a breach of etiquette by drinking by yourself. You must always "come," to the health of some one in particular. The *modus operandi* is this. A calls out to B: *es kommt Ihnen (Dir) etwas, Ich komme Dir einen halben, einen ganzen vor*, that is: "Here's something to you, a half glass, a whole glass," as the case may be. This is called *Vorkommen*. B's duty is to respond, which he can do in a variety of phrases, such as: *Prosit trink'ihn, Trinken Sie ihn, sauf'ihn, in die Welt*, etc. B must also drink exactly the same quantity. This he can do either immediately, saying *Ich komme mit*, literally, "I come along with you," or after an interval, when he says, *Ich komme nach*, "I come after you." When B comes *mit* or *nach* to A, he can at the same time come *vor* to any third man C, thereby making one potation do double service. If A wishes to drink to the health of B without putting him under the obligation of *mitkommen* or *nachkommen*, he says: *Auf Ihr (dein) Specielles, i. e., "To your especial good health."* This is the usual way of showing attention to an invited guest, particularly one rather advanced in life or in social standing.

Every *Kneipe* has a master, or presiding officer, whose duty it is to see that each man meets the requirements of the *Comment*, and from whose decision there is no appeal. He gives tone and character to the entertainment, selecting the songs to be sung, and appointing the editor of the so-called *Beer gazette*. This is a sort of comic paper, either in prose or verse, composed impromptu, and devoted to the persiflage of the members of the *kneipe* and the incidents of the week. The master can punish disorder or disobedience, by ordering the unruly member to drink a quantity of beer, *pro poena*, as it is called.

One of the side performances of a *Kneipe* is a "beer duel." Two students, wishing to ascertain which one is the better man, i. e., the

faster drinker of the two, choose an umpire. This umpire places the duelists side by side, sees that each one has his glass properly filled, and calls off: One, two, three. At the word three, each one must put his glass to his mouth and empty it as fast as he can. The one who can rap his glass first on the table, is the victor. It is the umpire's duty to see that the duel has been fairly conducted, *i. e.*, that no heel-tap is left in the glass. The victor has the right to call the other his beer boy, *Bierjungen*. To challenge another to the duel is, in technical parlance, *ihm einen Bierjungen aufbrummen*. I advise my countrymen not to venture upon a beer duel without considerable preliminary practice; for the greenhorn may be sure of getting the worst. The veteran student has a knack at swallowing beer that would horrify any respectable professor of anatomy and hygiene. In truth he does not swallow it at all; he throws his head slightly back, opens his mouth and, holding his breath, simply pours the beer down the esophagus as if it were a long funnel. The rapidity with which a glass of beer can be made to disappear by this process is something incredible.

Until comparatively recent times, the study of the Pandects consisted in listening to or reading a sort of running commentary upon the principal passages of the fifty books, in the order in which they occur. But this method has gone out of use, in Germany at least. A professor who lectures on the Pandects arranges his own order of topics, or follows that of some popular text-book, generally that of Arndts. In either case, the order is strictly scientific and the subdivision very minute. The course is a systematic grouping and exposition of the principles scattered throughout the *corpus juris*, each statement being supported by references.

The winter's work was heavy. I had Pandects with Professor Mommsen every day, including Saturday, from nine to eleven, Criminal Law with Professor Zachariæ every day from twelve to one, Doctrine of Inheritance with Dr. Schlesinger five times a week, in the afternoon, History of Civil Procedure among the Romans with Dr. Maxen twice a week. In all, twenty-five hours of rapid writing a week. The lecturers, Dr. Maxen excepted, gave very little *tempus*; Mommsen, in particular, scarcely any.

The labor, it is perhaps superfluous to say, was wearing. One cannot attend twenty-five hours of lecture per week, taking full notes, and not feel his brain and fingers grow weary. In addition to the lectures, I had a good deal of collateral reading. Besides finishing the Institutes of Justinian, I also read with an older student a number of selected titles from the Digest, worked up my notes as fast as they accumulated, consulted such works as Vangerow and Goeschen on the Pandects, and Berner on Criminal Law, to say nothing of Rudorff's *Rechtsgeschichte* and Keller's *History of Civil Procedure by Formula*, and reviewed the greater part of Puchta.

My relations with Dr. Maxen became more intimate. The doctor had several ways of extracting information without seeming to question; his favorite method was to start some very heretical proposition and lure his victim on to combating it vigorously. He was, therefore, accurately posted, not only as to what I was hearing and reading, but also the greater or less extent to which I had really mastered the subjects. At the end of the semester, he said to me in an encouraging manner: "You have certainly done well so far. I don't know how long you will be able to keep up this rate of work, but if you can only hold out until next fall, and can be exempted from examination in German law, you might perhaps 'go in' for your degree. But you must consult Ribbentropp. He is not the dean of the faculty at present, but he is the Nestor, and if he takes an interest in you, your chances are good. I cannot help you directly in the matter, but I can do something indirectly. There is a mass of work yet to be done. You must have Ecclesiastical Law, and a *Pandecten Practicum*, and go through a regular *Repetitorium*. I hope to be able to organize one this summer. Several students have made application, but I am not willing to take everybody, and four is the limit. If three of the right kind offer themselves, shall I reserve the fourth place for you?" I thanked him warmly, and assured him that it would meet my wishes exactly to place myself for an entire term under his personal supervision.

Preparing for Examination.

Having every reason to expect that the coming summer semester would probably decide my chances as a candidate for the degree of Doctor Juris, I thought it advisable to prepare for it by taking a rest in the spring vacation. There was no necessity for revisiting Wiesbaden, as my health throughout the winter had been unexceptionable. But feeling attached to the place, and confident that the bathing would at least do no harm, I took a second *Cour* of a fortnight. The spring of 1864 was quite backward, and the weather, even on the Rhine, uncomfortably chilly. The season had not yet commenced, and the number of guests was extremely small. As a matter of course, the place was *langweilig*, yet the change and the entire absence of excitement were probably the best thing for me under the circumstances. After suffering myself to be bored unmercifully for a fortnight, I ran over to Heidelberg, and from there down the Rhine as far as Coblenz, returning to Göttingen by the valley of the Lahn and Cassel. The last week of the vacation was passed in making preparations for the semestrial work. I decided to hear only two lectures, one on Ecclesiastical Law, by Herrmann, and one on *Erbrecht*, by Francke. This latter subject I had heard in the winter, but as Schlesinger had not succeeded in making the subject clear to me, and as Francke would be one of the chief examiners, I deemed it expedient to take the course over again.

Subsequent events proved that I was right. Besides these lectures, I took a *Pandecten-practicum* with Thöl. This bears a strong resemblance to the Moot Courts in our Law Schools. Thöl met his hearers once every week for two hours. At each meeting, a practical case was given out for discussion. Our opinions upon it were submitted, in writing, the next week, and returned to us, with the professor's criticisms, the third week. This returning did not consist in merely handing the papers back, like compositions, with marginal corrections. After each member of the class had placed his paper before him, the professor took up the question, and discussed it in all its bearings, stating what his own views were, showing what views had been presented by the members of the class, which of those views were correct, which incorrect, but not mentioning names. Each student could see for himself, however, where he had made a mistake. These verbal discussions—they were not arguments in our legal acceptance of the term—were very informal. The students were at liberty to interrupt the professor whenever they felt the need of fuller explanations. If any time remained after this exhaustive discussion of the question set for the day, the professor utilized it by submitting one or more short cases to be analyzed on the spot.

I give one of the set cases. It is a very easy one. A has a claim against B of \$100; B against C of \$120; C against D of \$130; D against A of \$140. Meeting by chance, they discover, in the course of conversation, that there is the sum of \$100 mutually claimed and owned by all four. This they agree to cancel, leaving the balance of the claims to run. Some time after, C finds among the papers of his father, from whom the debt of \$120 devolved by inheritance, evidence that this debt had already been paid to B. What remedy has C, and what is the legal character of the agreement entered into by the four to cancel the common claim of \$100?

These practical exercises are of great advantage to the students. They are, I believe, better than our Moot Courts. The questions submitted are generally of a higher order, and more complicated in their nature, and—the main point—the exercises are better adapted to teaching the class. The necessity of writing out one's opinions at length every week and submitting them to the deliberate inspection of the professor, has the tendency to make one careful. Now and then a Moot Court case is well argued, but generally the so-called arguments are too wordy and rhetorical. Besides, there is a great difference between speaking once in three months or six months, and writing out an opinion once every week for an entire semester.

The *Pandecten-practicum* covers only the substance of civil law. The more advanced students have practical exercises of a similar nature in Criminal Law, in Ecclesiastical Law, and in Procedure and Evidence.

Francke's lectures on the Law of Inheritance were extremely clear

and satisfactory. As the lecturer spoke slowly, there was no difficulty in taking him down verbatim. The subject is complicated, so complicated, in fact, that I can not hope to give the reader even an outline. I can only call attention to one or two cardinal points. The Roman Law has a much more philosophical conception of succession by inheritance than the English Law. It regards the personality of the deceased as in a measure continued after death, that is to say, all the property, whether real or personal, all claims held by, all debts due by the deceased, everything in short that does not perish with him, devolves as a unit upon one or more persons who represent him, who continue his existence, as it were. The *heres* succeeds to the defunct, is entitled to all his property, is under obligation to pay all his debts, *heres defuncti locum sustinet*. Our Common Law, hampered from the outset by the feudal distinction between real and personal property, has never yet succeeded in elaborating a satisfactory theory of inheritance. The Roman Law, on the other hand, labored under a difficulty peculiar to itself. It was in the beginning extremely illiberal in doctrine and rigid in its forms. The Praetorian edicts effected gradually a thorough equitable reform, by admitting the claims of kinsmen who were not entitled under the old law of the XII. Tables, by smoothing over mistakes in drawing up wills, and by checking as much as possible, in favor of lineal descendants, the privilege of disinheritance. The development of the Roman law of inheritance is, in fine, the history of a protracted struggle between the narrow-mindedness of the old *hereditas* and the equity of the Praetorian *bonorum possessio*. The Praetor had no right to repeal or formally overthrow the old law, but what he was unable to accomplish directly, he did indirectly. Like the English Chancellor, the keeper of his Majesty's conscience, he could not say that such and such a claimant was not legally entitled, but he could in various ways prevent him from enforcing the claim.

A most interesting course of lectures was that delivered by Herrmann on Ecclesiastical Law. The lecturer's delivery was fluent, almost too fluent for those who wished to take complete notes, but his language was clear, and the substance of his remarks was, to me at least, intensely interesting. I can not but regret that no one of our law schools has seen fit to introduce such a topic in its curriculum. Surely, in view of the conflict between Church and State now raging over Europe, it is of the highest importance that the lawyers and jurists of every land calling itself civilized should be acquainted with the principles involved in the issue. The primitive organization of the Christian Church, the growth of the hierarchy, the concentration of power first in the hands of the priests, then of the bishops, finally of the Pope, the Oriental Schism, the Reformation, the Declaration of Gallican Independence, Josephism in Austria, the scope and functions of Concordats, the claims of the Church to

the exclusive regulation of marriage and divorce, the provisions of the Council of Trent on this point, the Westphalian Treaty of Peace, are all subjects fraught with the deepest interest to every liberal thinker. Hermann's lectures were to me a pleasure rather than a burden, while the notes then taken have since been of great service to me on more than one occasion. I am indebted to them for a very clear and comprehensive survey of the march of Christian society during eighteen centuries.

Göttingen being an exclusively Protestant university, nearly all the professors and students were in my day Protestant. Hermann treated the subject of Ecclesiastical Law, accordingly, from the Protestant point of view, but without becoming polemic. His exposition of the theory and doctrines of the Catholic Church, being based upon Catholic authorities, was eminently fair. Indeed, the object of the course was to acquaint the hearer with the facts of history and the actual shaping of principles and doctrines, rather than to defend or to controvert any one system. Herrmann now occupies the most important ecclesiastical position in Prussia, to wit, the presidency of the Upper Consistory in Berlin.

The reader can perceive that two lectures a day, and an elaborate opinion in writing once a week, to say nothing of collateral reading, did not leave much unemployed time. But the most searching part of the semestrial work has yet to be mentioned. Dr. Maxen succeeded in forming his *Repitorium*, or *Ezegeticum*, as he called it. The three members besides myself were students in their sixth semester, preparing for the State examination at Celle in the fall. We met six times a week, at the doctor's rooms, from twelve to one o'clock. The exercise was what medical students call a "quiz," and did ample justice to the name. We students naturally thought that we knew at least some law, but one or two quizzes were sufficient to convince us that we knew nothing. The doctor's method was, in appearance, as immethodical as one could imagine. We never knew before the hour what topic he might take up, and consequently were unable to prepare ourselves. This seemed to me unsatisfactory, and I ventured to say as much to the doctor, in private. At this he only laughed, and replied: "That is precisely what I aim at doing, to make you dissatisfied. If I gave you ten or twenty pages of Vangerow or Arndts to recite upon, you would get the work by heart, I dare say, and forget it again in a week. But if I catch you to-day on some point that has never occurred to you, you will feel vexed at yourself, and when you return to your room you will look it up carefully, and then you will not forget it. My business is not to discover what you know, but what you do not know, and the best way of doing that is to keep changing the subject unexpectedly. I wish to catch you unprepared, for then I shall certainly detect the defects in your reading. Besides, is it not the best preparation for

the examination? What you need is not only the knowledge of facts and principles, but the ability to answer all sorts of questions that may be sprung upon you. Relieve your mind by considering that every hour spent with me is an informal examination, and not a recitation, and be assured that you are not the first set of young men that I have had in training."

Notwithstanding the doctor's assurances, and the firm confidence that I had in his ability and sincerity, I felt many misgivings for the first month or two. It seemed as though we were making no progress, as though our modest but hard-bought attainments were a sort of ten-pins, set up only to be knocked down again. Perhaps the reader has taken boxing lessons himself, or at least has seen one or more of them. In that case, he will be able to appreciate the simile, when I liken myself and my three fellow victims to pupils in the manly art of self-defence being "punished" mercilessly by the master. Mr. Bristed, in his book on Cambridge, p. 193 sqq. (ed. of 1873), has given a very racy account of the way in which "coaching" is conducted in an English university. I regret extremely my inability to sketch a like tableau of our quiz in the Georgia Augusta. Dr. Maxen "slanged" us plentifully, in the technical sense of that term; that is, he did not smooth over our ignorance with lavender-water, but made us feel it keenly. Yet his method differed radically from that followed by Mr. Bristed's coach, Travis, and furthermore, the subjects themselves, the *Supplices* of Æschylus and the body of the Roman Law, can scarcely be treated after the same fashion. Mr. Bristed's coaching is a mere recitation, that is, a literal translation, with running commentary, of a given passage in the *Supplices*, reproduced, I presume, from notes taken at the time. The reader, even if not a classical scholar, can at least follow the recitation line by line. With regard to our quiz, on the other hand, I must remark, in the first place, that the subject is so foreign to the reader that, in order to make a description barely intelligible, I should be forced to give about six pages of prefatory explanation to one of description, and, in the next place, that the quiz was an examination, not a recitation, the subject being changed abruptly every few minutes. My note-book is filled with names and dates, detached fragments of law, references to authorities, queries to be pursued at leisure, and the like, but it contains nothing that would give the reader a satisfactory idea of how the work was done.

At all events, there was the satisfaction of perceiving that my three co-workers were not much better off than myself. They knew more law, but they did not have their knowledge in a more available shape. Practically, we are on an equality. The real benefit of the quiz came after the hour. Having the afternoons and evenings to myself, I spent the time in reviewing, with the utmost care, what the doctor had run over hastily in the forenoon. Still smarting

under the lash of criticism, to speak figuratively, and having some definite object of search, I ransacked Puchta, Arndts, Goeschen, Vangerow, and my notes, for everything that might throw additional light on the topics that were started by the doctor from day to day. I made no attempt to prepare for the doctor in advance. There was enough to do to follow up his hints as fast as they were given. After pursuing this method for two months, the conviction finally dawned upon me that the doctor was correct. The quiz was not only a powerful stimulant, but it gave some object to my private reading. Instead of droning over one book at a time, page after page and chapter after chapter in consecutive order, I was forced to go through each book every day, from cover to cover, in search of examples, definitions, exceptions, authorities, whatever, in short, might aid me in understanding more clearly half a dozen points raised, but not exhausted in the quiz.

By the end of the semester I made a further discovery. Dr. Maxen's plan, seemingly immethodical, was in truth the highest kind of method. Running over my note-book, I could see that the doctor had covered the law of obligations, at least in its general principles, almost entire, and had taken in a large portion of the law of real property and family relations, and not a little of the law of inheritance. While zigzagging to right and left in a manner that gave no indication from one day to the next of a deep-laid plan, the doctor had succeeded nevertheless in starting us on all the more important subjects. One object he had certainly realized: he had taught us how to study. When the last quiz was ended, and we broke up as a class, I felt that I had been shifted to an altogether new stand-point, that success in the examination would probably resolve itself into a matter of time and endurance.

I have stated, on a previous occasion, that the relation between student and professor is generally formal, savoring little of intimacy. There are brilliant exceptions, however, and it was my good fortune to profit directly by one of these exceptional cases. About the middle of July, Dr. Mazen said to me: "It is time that you should call on Ribbentropp and confer with him on the subject of your examination. He is not the Dean of the faculty, but he is the oldest and most influential member. You must make him interested in you. There is no need of a letter of introduction; you will find him very charming and affable."

The *Geheimjustizrath* v. Ribbentropp occupied a most enviable position. He had made his reputation as a jurist while still a young man, by his treatise on the law of *Correal* Obligations. Coming into the possession of a handsome property by inheritance, in addition to his salary as professor, he was able to live in what, for Göttingen, was decidedly style. He occupied a large house by himself, something very unusual in a German university town; the parlors and dining-

room were on the second floor, his study and private apartments on the third. Over the ground-floor the housekeeper reigned supreme. Gossip had it that the housekeeper was the only person in the town who disturbed the mental quiet (*Gemüthsruhe*) of the *Geheimjustiarath*. Not that she was vinegar-aspected or harsh of manner; but, like all spinsters of a certain age, she had come to regard men in general, and old bachelors in particular, as helpless beings, whom it was never safe to trust too long or too far out of sight. The object of this anxious supervision often made a jest of it to his friends.

Summoning up courage, I called upon the *Geheimjustiarath*, one evening, and running successfully the gauntlet of the housekeeper and under-servant, obtained admission to the sanctum sanctorum, the library. I found a gentleman not over sixty, as well as I could make out, of decidedly *distinguis* bearing, rather short in stature, but with a superbly shaped head, a winning smile, and the most fascinating pair of eyes that I have ever encountered. Whether perfectly black, or only of a very dark brown, I am unable to state from memory; but the play of lambent light emitted from them, joined to the witchery of a humorous smile around the corners of the mouth, gave to the massive forehead and classic features a grace and an animation that were irresistible. I perceived, at the very first glance, that I was dealing with one of nature's noblemen. Speaking frankly, I fell quite in love with the elderly gentleman who received me with such an uncommon blending of French suavity and German simplicity. It was the gracious commencement of an acquaintance that—to me certainly—was to be fraught with benefit and pleasure.

I stated as briefly as possible the object of my visit, mentioned the lectures I had already heard or was then hearing, the text-books I was using, the amount of private reading already accomplished, the private instruction received from Dr. Maxen. I said that I was perfectly aware of the incompleteness and hurried nature of my course of study as a jurist, but that it would be impossible to remain in Germany beyond the coming Christmas, and that I was anxious to take back with me to America tangible evidence of my industry in the shape of a degree. Would he have the kindness to give me his opinion frankly as to my chances of being admitted to examination, and advise me generally as a friend?

He listened patiently, with the same bright, flashing look of the eye, and the same good-natured smile. "Stop a moment," he said, "don't you smoke?" I hesitated. I *was* a smoker, but then it did not seem to be exactly "the thing" to be puffing at such a solemn audience in the sanctum of a *Geheimjustiarath*. "Ah!" he continued, "you hesitate. I *know* you smoke, but you don't like to say so. Wait a moment." So the great jurist frisked into the adjoining room with the alacrity of a boy let loose from school, and returned, presenting a box of unimpeachable Havanas. "There,"

he exclaimed, "now we can talk up this matter of yours at our leisure."

Under ordinary circumstances, the offering of a cigar means very little. But when you call upon a great man for the first time, without any other recommendation than yourself and your own story, and he insists upon your smoking one of his best cigars, you may safely take for granted that he is kindly disposed toward you.

My visit was protracted until a late hour. The *Geheimjustizrath* had a great many questions to ask me, but they were about everything else than jurisprudence. He wished to know what I had seen of Switzerland and Germany; what I thought of the war in my own country (then approaching a crisis); how I liked Germany as compared with America. In fine, I passed a most delightful evening in easy conversation. I was treated, not as a student, scarcely even as a young man, but as a welcome guest, or as one who had presented strong letters of recommendation. I did not elicit any definite expression of opinion as to my chances of a degree. In truth, that was not what I expected. I knew enough of the ways of the world to refrain from urging the matter to an immediate decision, and to be satisfied, and more than satisfied with having created a favorable impression, and excited the interest of the most influential member of the Examining Faculty. On my taking leave, the *Geheimjustizrath* said: "Herr Hart, you must come and see me often, once a week. Come to tea, and then we can have the entire evening to ourselves. Just consider that as part of your legal education. I must become well acquainted with you."

On relating my experience to Dr. Maxen the next day, he said, in his blunt, off-hand fashion: "Well, I think you will do. Keep on as you have begun."

I obeyed the *Geheimjustizrath's* friendly injunction to the letter. Scarcely a week passed without my dropping in to tea in an informal way. I always found the same hearty, unaffected welcome, and the same animated flow of conversation. The host was not merely a profound jurist, but thoroughly versed in the classics, and in the literature of his own country, and an amateur in art. His collection of engravings was not large, but it was very choice. I cannot better illustrate his genial character, and his thorough, unselfish appreciation of the best efforts of human genius in every line, than by narrating the following incident. One evening the conversation happened to turn upon Goethe. I believe that I introduced the subject by alluding to the great number of poets who had begun their career as students of the law, "Ja, ja," said the *Geheimjustizrath*, "*Goethe, das war ein ganzer Kerl!*" You know of course," he continued, with a most mischievous twinkle in his eye, "you know, of course, his stupendous lines in *Faust* on the study of law." I had read *Faust*, as already stated, very carefully in my second semes-

ter. But what with Pandects and *Erbrecht*, *Practica*, and *Ezegetica*, the muses had been strictly banished from my thoughts for many a month. I had become a stranger to everything that could not be demonstrated logically from the *corpus juris*, and was forced to plead forgetfulness as to the passage in question. "What," exclaimed my host, "you don't mean to say that you, a *studiosus juris*, have forgotten the very best thing ever said by mortal man on the science of law? Really, I must give it to you on the spot. Take it to heart." Thereupon, assuming somewhat the pose of an actor on the stage, but not rising from his seat, he declaimed, from memory, in a rich, sonorous voice, and with the most expressive emphasis, the magnificent lines:

*Es erben sich Geistes und Rechte
Wie eine eu'ge Krankheit fort,
Sie schleppen von Geschlecht sich zum Geschlechte,
Und rücken sacht von Ort zu Ort,
Vernunft wird Unsinn, Wohlthat Plage,
Weh Dir, dass Du ein Enkel bist!
Vom Rechte, das bei uns geboren ist,
Von Dem—ist leider nie die Frage!**

"Now, just see how the great poet has hit the thing off. What venom there is in every line, in every word! And how the climax is reached in the line: *Weh Dir, dass Du ein Enkel bist!* Ha, ha! Not only has a man to bear the consequences of all the foolish legislation and stupid decisions of his own day and generation, but he is crushed with the accumulated burden of his father's and his grandfather's asininity. Isn't it sublime? *Ja, ja, der Goethe, das war ein vernunftselbst schlauer Kerl, er wusste, was er sagen wollte.*"

Curriculum Vitae.

Between the middle and the end of the summer semester, I made my formal application to the dean of the legal faculty to be admitted to examination for the degree of *Doctor juris*. The paper, or document, consisted of a concisely worded but full statement of the place and time of birth, and the schools and other institutions that I had attended in America, and a more detailed account of my studies in Germany. I gave the titles of all the lecturers I had heard, all the text-books on law that I had read or was then reading, all the practical exercises that I had attended. Nothing was omitted that could help in putting my studies in the proper light. This *curriculum vitae*, as it is styled, concluded with a brief petition.

* The author, not finding a methodical rendering of the passage to his satisfaction, put the same into prose, as follows:

Our laws and legal systems do transmit themselves
Like an inherited disease;
They drag themselves along from race to race,
And softly crawl from land to land,
What once was sense is turned to nonsense, the boon becomes a torment.
Alas for thee, that thou art a grandchild!
The right that's down with us,
Of that—good lack—we never hear the mention.

The reader must bear in mind that the speaker is Mephistopheles, who, wrapped in Faust's mantle and seated in his chair, proceeds to give the young student advice as to his studies, and the respective merits of the different faculties.

Accompanying it was my *Anmeldungsbuch*, duly signed and certified by the professors whose lectures I had heard.

Conferment of Degree and the Preparation.

At Göttingen—and I presume the same arrangement exists in the other universities—the conferment of degrees is in the hands of a limited number of the regular faculty in each department. This select body, called the *Honoren-facultät*, comprised, in the law faculty, five men, Kraut (then dean), Ribbentropp, Francke, Zachariae, and Briegleb. Ordinarily, the application for an examination is granted as of course. My petition, however, was a special one, involving special concessions. In the first place, I had not studied law the ordinary number (six) of semesters. In the next place, I desired to be examined only in Roman, Canonical, and Criminal Law, with the exclusion of Practice and German Law. The faculty of honors in law at Göttingen was governed at that time by strict principles, and was not disposed to make any concessions that looked like lowering the standard of scholarship. Ribbentropp, I knew, was in favor of granting my request, and so was the dean, Kraut. With regard to Zachariae, I was not at all certain. The remaining two, Briegleb and Francke, were set against me. The latter, indeed, told me as much, saying very frankly that he did not believe that I had studied long enough and knew enough. Monday morning, as I was idling over my books and papers in a rather listless, because hopeless, frame of mind, I heard a heavy tramp down the passage-way leading to my room. The steps came nearer and nearer, there was a sharp, authoritative knock at my door. I answered, *Herein*, and one of the university beadles entered. Touching his cap with a half-military salute, he said: "*Empfehlung von Herrn Hofrath Kraut, und er schickt Ihnen dieses*, Hofrath Kraut sends you his compliments and *this*," handing me a slip of paper. On it was written, in curt, cabalistic characters:

*Cap. Non est vobis (11) X de sponsal. (4, 1).
i. Deff 16 D. de condit. causa dat. (13, 4).*

Nothing more. Not a word of explanation; not even a signature. But it was enough. I knew that it was the summons, the token that my request for examination was granted. The paper contained the references to two passages, one from the *corpus juris civilis*, the other from the *corpus juris canonici*, upon which passages I was to prepare and hand in elaborate dissertations. Should these dissertations prove satisfactory, I must be admitted to the oral examination; if unsatisfactory, I was barred from applying again for a semester.

[The dissertations prepared with much painstaking, both in reading and writing, were accepted, and in the course of his remarks, our Student records his estimate of Blackstone and Kent's knowledge of Roman Law: "Coming to the study of the *Commentaries* fresh from my training in Göttingen, I was struck, nay more, thun-

derstruck, with Blackstone's ignorance. It is scarcely going too far to say that Blackstone, in a majority of the cases where he ventures upon some statement of Roman Law, is not only wrong, but grossly wrong; so far out of the way indeed, that one wonders how he could possibly have fallen into such a predicament. On the other hand, Chancellor Kent, who studied the Roman Law carefully and systematically, is a safe guide to follow. Knowing that law as an expert, not as an amateur, he has succeeded in applying its principles to the elucidation of our English system with a sureness of insight and a breadth of vision that may possibly be rivaled by some future disciple, but will never be surpassed."]

Cramming.

The dissertations thus disposed of, I suffered them to lie idle a while with a view to making verbal emendations from time to time, before submitting them to the dean, and turned my energies to the distasteful but indispensable labor of "cramming." The recollection of the days and weeks spent in this monotonous process, makes me feel, even at the present day, unspeakably discomfited. What should have been spread over four or five months, and taken in homoeopathic doses, had to be devoured in a few weeks. If there be one thing more than another to which I am opposed, on general principles, it is "cramming" for an examination. Not only is the brain worn out by the effort to master mere words and forms, but the chances are that when the object is attained, the examination over, one's dearly-bought knowledge will slip away nearly as fast as it came. The task before me was not to learn anything new, to develop new principles, to follow out some line of independent investigation, but to drum into my head definitions, names, dates, subdivisions of topics, exceptions, so as to be able to recite them glibly. This, of course, was not to be all the examination. But it would be undoubtedly a prominent part. Had I been able to prolong my stay until spring, I should have made things easier, by combining memorizing with collateral reading. As it was, I had to make the best of my limited time. The examiners, I knew, expected me to be thoroughly informed on certain subjects. Inasmuch as my examination would not cover the entire range of the law, but only so much as came under Roman and ecclesiastical jurisprudence, it behooved me to work up that portion all the more thoroughly, and thus prove to the examiners that they had not acted indiscreetly in giving me a trial. Being favored, I was under especial obligations. So I sacrificed my general principles to the needs of the situation, and "crammed" to the best of my ability.

As has been already mentioned, I had reduced my notes and portions of certain text books to a compact and manageable shape. Allowing ten hours a day for four weeks, I drew up an elaborate schedule of study. So many hours or portions of hours every day

were assigned to this topic, so many to that. I learned everything by heart, by sheer dint of repetition. Not being endowed by nature with a good memory, I had to proceed slowly and very systematically, catechising myself at every step. The three main subjects were *Erbrecht*, Criminal Law, and Ecclesiastical Law. To the first I gave two hours and a half every day, to the two others two hours each. The remaining three hours and a half were split up in miscellaneous cram. The process was anything but an intellectual one. It consisted in going over the memoranda again and again until I had made sure of every point.

At the end of three or four weeks, I was surprised to see how much progress I had made, and how the memory had trained itself to retain names and dates and divisions. No one can realize the extent to which the memory can be trained, until he has tried for himself the experiment of memorizing an extensive and complicated subject. At first, the attempt seems hopeless. Names and rules slip in by the eyes and out again by the ears. What was learned one day, is forgotten the next. But the reader, if he does not know it already through his own experience, may take my word for it, that there will come a time when the knowledge sticks. Minor points may need occasional revision, but the solid frame-work of the subject will acquire a firm foothold in the memory. The subject itself has passed into the student's mind, it forms part and parcel of his very being, and cannot be dislodged, not even at will. What has been "crammed" into the memory, haunts the crammer like Banquo's ghost, thrusting up its hateful head on the most unseasonable occasions. At this stage of the work, it is a problem to decide whether the student has mastered the subject, or the subject the student.

By the middle of October, but for one unfortunate circumstance, I might have announced myself ready for the examination. [This circumstance was, he broke down in health.] The week before the opening of the winter semester, I began to be conscious of a total want of energy, and an inability to keep my mind fixed on one subject for longer than half an hour. I could neither sleep by night nor rest by day, and was nervous to the last degree. It became evident to me that this was no fit state of mind or body in which to encounter a severe examination. The nervousness assumed such a violent shape that I suspected an attack of chills and fever, or possibly something worse. The physician, however, assured me that it was only a temporary prostration, and could be cured by rest and change of air, but by nothing else. To attempt to go on with my work would be downright madness. Fortunately no day had yet been set for the examination, neither were there many candidates at that time. Both Ribbentropp and Krant, whom I consulted more as friends than as professors, advised me by all means to drop everything and take a vacation. "It will make very little, if any, difference to us,"

they said, "whether you are examined in October or in November. In fact, the delay will rather suit us, because it will give us more time for working off prior applications. Hand in your dissertations, which we can then read at our leisure, take a holiday of a fortnight or more, and when you are back inform us of your return. The rest can be easily arranged." [A trip to Heidelberg, where one or two *Kneipen* were arranged in honor of the guest, rambles over the castle, an excursion to Schwetzingen, and to Strasburg, set our Student up in strength and spirits for his examination.]

At four o'clock punctually, the door of the Hofrath's study opened, and the beadle ushered me into the august presence of the examiners. Like myself, they were in grand toilet, seated in a sort of semi-circle facing the door, and looking quite unconcerned. An unoccupied chair stood in the centre of the circle. Off in one corner was a small table; on it were two or three bottles of wine and a basket of cake. The festive aspect of the room suggested a reception rather than an examination. After I had bowed to the company in general, and shaken hands with them individually, the dean motioned to me to be seated.

The examination was opened without preamble or ceremony, by the head of the faculty, the dean. Hofrath Kraut's specialty was German law, but as that did not form a part of my examination, he took up Ecclesiastical Law. This covered the entire field of matrimony and matrimonial rights and obligations, the mode of contracting marriage according to the early Roman Law, according to the law of the Empire, according to the practice of the early Church, according to the Council of Trent, according to the Code Napoleon. I was called upon to state the Catholic theory of marriage as a sacrament, and the obstacles to marriage between certain parties, the *impedimentum ætatis, erroris, vis ac metus, cognationis*, and the like, the papal dispensations, divorce *a vinculo, a mensa et thoro*. The next topic was the nature of the priesthood in the Catholic church and in the Protestant, the right of patronage (advowsons), and the composition of the *corpus juris canonici clausum*. * * *

The next examiner was Ribbentropp. His questions were much sharper than I had anticipated from one who had proved himself such a good friend. Perhaps the *Geheimjustizrath* had confidence in his protégé's claims and wished to demonstrate to some of his colleagues that his partiality was not without foundation. Of course I did not get a single question on the *contractus innominatus* or the *condictiones*. But I was questioned most unmercifully on the general theory of contracts, upon suspensive and abrogating conditions, upon times and terms, and especially upon the contract of sale. Had I been writing a monograph on the subject, I could not have been called upon for more exact and detailed statements. Suddenly the topic was changed, and we were in the midst of the rights of real

property. I had to give all that I knew or was supposed to know of the ways of acquiring and losing real property, from the laws of the XII. Tables down to the codification of Justinian. This led to the servitudes (easements) of the Roman Law, their classification, their nature in general and in particular, and their operation. The questions came so fast that I had barely time to answer them.

It was quarter past five. The Pandects had "blown" me a trifle. The dean, probably suspecting as much, said, with a good-natured smile: "We will now make a little pause." Going to the table, he filled the glasses with wine. The professors helped themselves liberally, and enjoyed the refreshments with a gusto that seemed to me cold-blooded. I declined the proffered wine; the relaxation was very acceptable.

The pause did not last longer than five minutes. The third examiner was Zachariae, in Criminal Law. His questions, like those of Kraut, were not difficult, and were put even more deliberately. They were mainly upon the general theory of the right of punishment, the criticism of the Roman system, the views of Beccaria, Rossi, Bentham, Abegg, Feuerbach, and Mittermaier, the doctrine of punishment as a divine ordinance, the *lex talionis*, the theory of expiation, prevention, determent, reformation, self-preservation on the part of society. The nature and kinds of punishment, the death penalty, imprisonment, fines, the several penitentiary systems in force in Europe and the United States, the definition of criminal intent and criminal negligence completed the examination. At one question I suppressed with difficulty a smile. "Can you give me the precise meaning of *crimen*, as it is used in the *corpus juris*?" *Ans.* "The word denotes the *Strafsache* (the indictment and trial, procedure), rather than the criminal act itself. This latter is designated by the Roman jurists by the terms *delictum*, *maleficium*, *scelus*, and the like." In themselves considered, there was nothing about either question or answer to provoke risibility. The joke lay in the circumstance that I knew long before the examination that this particular question would be given. It had occurred in Dr. Maxen's Repetitorium, and the doctor warned us at the time, saying: "If any of you are examined by Zachariae, be sure that you know what *crimen* is. It is one of his hobbies."

Francke opened the interesting field of *Erbrecht*. It was evident from his manner, and from the first few questions, that he meant to be thorough. Forewarned, however, is forearmed. During the forty-five or fifty minutes that he kept me on the "anxious-bench," I was sustained by one, and only one, reflection. It was this: Treat me fairly; give me such questions as ought to be given; examine me only on things that you yourself have explained, and I ask no favor. You shall have an answer to every question. And such was the case. The examination was very long and exhaustive. Each question

came as quick and searching as though the examiner himself were in doubt and sought for information. . . .

The fifth and last examiner, Briegleb, had things pretty much his own way. I had gone into the examination knowing that Procedure was the weak side of my preparation, and had supposed that I should be spared any questions touching upon the special developments of the Roman law in Germany. Had the examiner confined himself to the *Formular-process* (procedure by formulae) of the ante-Justinian law, he would have elicited more satisfactory answers. Instead of doing this, he dwelt, apparently with great delight, upon the theory of appeals according to the practice of the mediæval courts of the church, a matter about as familiar to me as were the laws of Manu.

About five or ten minutes past 7, Briegleb closed his examination. I withdrew to the ante-room, to await the decision. Over three hours, I muttered; they have not shown me much mercy. The suspense was almost intolerable. With the consciousness of having done so poorly at the close, and the general reaction, I was overpowered by a nervous chill. The time of waiting was only five minutes, yet it dragged as though it had been as many hours. The beadle opened the door, and I was ushered once more into the presence of the judges to listen to the sentence. They were all standing. The dean stepped forward and said, in a measured accent, as if to make sure of each word: "Candidate, in consideration of the dissertations submitted in writing, and of the oral examination just concluded, we, the faculty of degrees of the *Georgia Augusta*, have resolved to confer upon you the second degree, raised, *vera cum laude*. Permit me to congratulate you." With that, he extended his hand.

The legal faculty of Göttingen distinguish three grades. The lowest was entitled simply *examine superato*. The one above it was entitled *examine cum laude superato*. The next in order was the *vera cum laude*. There was still another, nominally the first, called *insigniter*, or *post insignia exhibita specim na*. It was given, however, very seldom, and only to such candidates as displayed extraordinary knowledge, both in their examinations and in their dissertations. The last instance of its conferment had occurred eight or ten years before. Even had my work been twice as good as it was, it would not have entitled me to an *insigniter*, for the reason that it did not cover the entire field of jurisprudence. Practically, the examiners had conferred upon me the highest degree in their power.

Ribbentropp, who certainly showed his delight more than I did mine, patted me most paternally on the shoulder and whispered: "You did yourself credit. Come and see me to-morrow morning at eleven. We will talk it up then." There was nothing more to do. I shook each examiner's hand in turn, muttered a few words of thanks, and fled.

The candidate who has passed his university examination is not

yet a doctor. He is only a *doctorandus*. The ceremony of conferring the diploma is distinct from the examination, and is confined to the dean and the candidate. On the Monday after the examination, I called, by appointment, upon Hofrath Kraut to receive the diploma. This document, printed on parchment-paper and not on parchment, is signed by the dean alone in the name of the faculty, and sealed with the great seal of the university. It is worded, as might be expected, in Latin. It is not my intention to inflict the text upon the reader, especially as it does not differ much in style from the pompous declarations of a like nature issued from our American colleges. Before receiving the diploma from the dean the *doctorandus* was obliged to sign a declaration that he would not pervert his legal attainments to the frustration of human and divine justice, and that done, he was in full possession of his academic honors.

Within twenty-four hours after my examination every one in town who knew me at all seemed to have heard of my success. Even the waiters put on an extra touch of politeness, and greeted me as *Herr Doctor*. Titles have great weight in Germany. Perhaps some of my readers have heard of the German Mrs. Partington, who divides mankind into two classes, the orderly (*ordentlichen*) and the unorderly (*unordentlichen*). The orderly are those who have an *order*, and the unorderly are those who have not. The case is not quite so bad as that. Still there can be no question but that the man who is able to put Doctor, or Professor, or *Rath* before his name is much better off, in the eyes of the community at large, than one who is simply *Herr*. The title is an official recognition that the wearer is a person of some culture and attainments.

Several universities make a practice of excusing the candidates for Ph. D. from the oral examination. This is called taking the degree *in absentia*. The candidate submits his dissertation and goes out of town for a few days. The fiction is, of course, that he is called away by some unexpected and urgent business. To obtain the degree *in absentia*, however, one must prepare a very elaborate dissertation, containing a good deal of original matter. In chemistry, physics, and the like, when the candidate has worked two, or three years, perhaps, under the constant supervision of the professors, so that they have had abundant opportunity of testing his knowledge from week to week, this dispensing with the examination is not such an evidence of laxity as it would seem. No German University showers down honorary degrees upon business men and generals, after the fashion of our American Colleges.

SUPERIOR INSTRUCTION IN SCOTLAND.

INTRODUCTION.*

PREVIOUS to the establishment of Universities in Scotland, a residence abroad was considered indispensable for all who aimed at advancing their fortunes by other means than the sword; and even after these institutions arose, the custom continued for more than a century in green observance. At a much later period, and indeed down to the middle of the eighteenth century, we meet with few eminent Scotchmen who were not partially educated on the Continent; and it is probable that the generation now at maturity had less intercourse with foreign countries in their youth than any other within the range of our authentic history. During the last thirty years the custom has in some degree revived; and it is productive of so many advantages, both intellectual and social, that we would gladly see it more generally reinstated. So long as even a highly instructed man has not actually seen political relations, social life, civilization, and refinement, under more than one form, however much he may have heard of the manner in which they exist, some degree of narrowness will invariably belong to his character. By such a person the accidental peculiarities of that phase which society exhibits in his own country, will be continually mistaken for the necessary consequences of a normal human development; and with Chinese exclusiveness he will become as intolerant of a custom which sins against his conventional notions, as of one which violates a universal law. It is by no means sufficient that the distinction, when pointed out, should be admitted; the practical conduct of the individual will be the same so long as he does not *feel* that whilst the one is as universal as the heaven which is over all, the other may be set at nought, not only innocently, but frequently with advantage. Now this *feeling*, so far as we have observed, is to be found only in those who have, so to speak, absorbed more than one nationality; that is, to whom the manners and modes of thinking of some foreign people have at one time been so familiar, that those of their own country would have been felt to be strange. At first sight it may appear that that rigidity in trifles, by which it will be admitted our countrymen frequently expose themselves to ridicule, is too insignificant a fault to merit so costly a cure as a foreign education, but it should not be forgotten that in magnifying trifles to the level of moral and religious duties, we run no small risk of occasionally degrading these latter to the level of trifles, or what is still more frequent in this country, the half interest with which we regard, and the half strictness with which we perform the one extends to the other, and a sort of unmeaning and indiscriminating stiffness, which speedily becomes the grave

* *Lectures on the Universities of Scotland.*

of every thing like generous enthusiasm or fearless sincerity, extends itself to our whole conduct. Now the advantages thus arising from foreign residence and instruction, it was the object of our ancestors to secure to our youth by positive institutions; and with this view it was that Balloil College, Oxford, and the Scotch College in the University of Paris, were founded, the first by Dervorguilla, the wife of the elder Balloil, in 1282, and the latter by David, Bishop of Moray, in 1325. Similar institutions of less celebrity existed in other parts of the Continent, all of which have either been swept away by successive revolutions, or converted into training schools for the exclusive use of the Roman Catholic priesthood. Those who know how rarely the advantages we have hinted at, to say nothing of the more special ones of positive scientific instruction, fall to the lot of those innumerable swarms of our youthful countrymen who at present infest every part of the Continent, will be able to appreciate the wisdom of an arrangement by which provision was made for the superintendence of their studies immediately on their arrival. Nor was it only where such establishments had been instituted for their benefit that Scotch students in earlier times had an advantage over those of our own day. To say nothing of the facilities afforded for foreign study by the use of Latin as the common language of the learned, there was scarcely a university on the Continent where Scotchmen did not hold professors' chairs during the sixteenth century. In turning over the leaves of Dr. Irving's '*Lives of Scottish Writers*,' we have ourselves hit upon no less than thirty-three names of countrymen of our own, who during this time were professors in the Universities of France, Germany, and Holland. It was into the hands, and not unfrequently into the houses, of these men, that a Scottish youth of those days naturally passed, when he had completed his course at the burgh or monastic school, and from their position they must have been eminently qualified not only to give him every information and assistance with reference to the course of study pursued at the Foreign School, but from being his countrymen, and consequently acquainted with the course of his previous training, they would be enabled to adapt their advice to the condition of his actual advancement.

The four existing universities of Scotland were founded as follows: St. Andrews in 1411, by Henry Ward Law, bishop of St. Andrews, and confirmed by Pope Benedict XIII. in 1413; Glasgow, by Pope Nicholas V., in 1450; Aberdeen, by Pope Alexander VI., in 1494; and Edinburgh, by James VI., in 1582.

In the *First Book of Discipline* a plan for the reorganization of the universities was set forth, which would have harmonized the conflicting claims of each, and put them all on to the special work for which each was best fitted.

In 1858, an act of Parliament was passed 'to make provision for the better government and discipline of the Universities of Scotland) and improving and regulating the course of study therein, and for the union to the two universities and colleges of Aberdeen.' By this act a Board of University Commissioners was appointed, with ample powers, and in the universities there is a uniform system of government and instruction—so that the present constitution of the University of Edinburgh, hereafter described, will answer as a type of the whole.

*Historical Development of Universities.**

It was on the 3rd of February, 1413, that the bells of St. Andrews rang out, and the crowds gathered with shouts of joy, to welcome the bearer of a papal bull of Benedict XIII., confirming the privileges of the university established there two years before by Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews, the tutor of James I. Wars and dangers by sea and land had made it hard for the studious Scottish youth to reach the college at Paris established for them by their own Bishop of Moray; and now St. Andrews, with its 'peace in all the region round about, its plenty of provisions, its abundance of fine lodgings,' is to have a home of learning for itself. In solemn procession, the bishops, abbots, and priors, at the head of four hundred clerks, passed up the cathedral aisle to the high altar, where the bull of 'the servants of the servants of God' was read, and after they had knelt in silent gratitude before the altar, the whole congregation burst forth into the *Te Deum*, to celebrate the gift of privileges so highly valued. In the evening the townsfolk broke into unrestrained joy, and the birth of the young university was welcomed with peals of bells, with noise of trumpet and song, with dances, bonfires, and carousings. The first Scottish University is thus established. It has its chancellor and rector, its charter and its privileges, but it is still a university without a college. That addition does not come till 1458, when the bounty of Bishop Kennedy founds the college of St. Salvator, 'to meet,' as his foundation says, 'the pestilent schisms of heretics' (*hæreticorum pestiferis scismatibus obviandum*). It was followed by that of St. Leonard and that of St. Mary, in 1512. But the institution of these colleges has the same effect as Laud's restriction of the University of Oxford to her colleges, in the seventeenth century: the crowds that had before flocked to hear the lectures of the professors, and lodged in the 'fine lodging-houses' (*insignia hospitii*) throughout the town—the 'subjects of the university,' owning a light discipline only, and protected by a sort of treaty with the townsfolk—these crowds dwindled down to the smaller, though better disciplined and compacted members of the colleges, taught and looked after by their 'regenta,' as the teachers were called, and subject even in their chambers to the early and late 'perustrations' of the 'hebdomadar,' or as the English student would say, 'dean,' of the college. But meantime other universities had arisen.

On the morning after Christmas Day, 1450, Pope Nicholas V., acknowledging the worth 'in this frail life of the pearl of learning' (*scientia margaritam*), granted a bull to the Bishop of Glasgow for the institution there of a university, induced to do so (strange as the words may seem to the student of Glasgow, who knew her as a very grimy *Alma Mater*, amid the purlious of the *New Vennel*) because there 'the climate' is fine, food abundant, and all things fit for such an institution.' In this case the larger notion of a university never had any complement in subordinate colleges. The foundation was modeled, as the Pope's bull tells us, on the pattern of that of Bologna, and like it, the students were divided into the four nations, as they are even now.

The only other pre-Reformation foundation is that of the University or King's college of Aberdeen, founded in 1494. Curiously enough, Aberdeen had not only one university with several colleges, but from 1593, when Marischal College and University was added, it had, and continued till 1853 to have two distinct universities as well as two colleges, each with its own professors, its own officers, its own revenues, and its own privilege of conferring degrees.

* *British Quarterly Review* for April, 1877.

In the ecclesiastical and political agitation of the sixteenth century, the universities were sufferers, and with the triumphs of the new or Protestant party over the old church, old incumbents of chairs, and old sources of income were cut off; and although the universities obtained grants of church lands, which were increased on the abolition of Episcopacy in the next century, still the thorough reorganization contemplated by John Knox and James Buchanan in the First Book of Discipline was not effected.

Educational Organization for Scotland in 1560.

The First Book of Discipline, drawn up by John Knox and presented to the Estates of Scotland and subscribed by the Secret Council in the year 1560, contains Knox's Plan of Educational Organization in Scotland, which provides for the equal distribution of the means and institutions of education among the whole population—recognizing a gradation of schools, and a primary school by every parish church, in which, in lack of a schoolmaster, the minister with his reader or clerk should 'take care over the children and youth of the parish to instruct them in their first rudiments, and especially in the catechism;' (2) in all large parishes there was to be a good school, with a schoolmaster 'able to teach at least grammar and the Latin tongue;' (3) in the ten towns, which were centers of the superintendent's districts (Kirkwell, Ross, Argyle, Brechin, St. Andrews, Edinburgh, Jedburgh, Glasgow, Dumfries, and subsequently Ayr, Dunfermline, Dundee, Montrose, and Perth) colleges, where the students were 'to be taught logic and rhetoric and the tongues;' (4) universities.

All of these schools were to be subject to inspection—the parochial and burgh schools by 'discreet, grave, and learned men, to wit, the ministers and elders, with the goodly learned men in every town, who shall every quarter make examination how the youth have profited.' They were charged 'to discover if there be a spirit of docilitie in any of the pupils,' and to direct such 'to further knowledge' in the colleges and universities; and those who do not show signs of fitness for higher learning are to be taught some handicraft, or set about some other occupation.'

*John Knox's Plan of University Reform in 1560.**

The First Book of Discipline proposes that the three Scotch universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen be retained and remodeled in order to give a thorough general and special training to the students who had been prepared by previous courses at the parish schools and the middle class colleges. Knox states his plan for the reformation of the universities at some length and with great minuteness. He saw that to suit the needs of the time, the whole university teaching and arrangements must be entirely altered. The Scotch universities had been modeled after some of the great continental schools, and retained the methods of mediævalism after the spirit had gone. The Reformation had brought a new intellectual life into the world, and the universities must adapt themselves to this, if they desired to keep their places as the intellectual guides of the people. Many of our Scottish Reformers were well able to help Knox in his attempt to reorganize the highest educational machinery of his country—men who had studied under the great Erasmus, under Melancthon at Wittenberg, and Macabeus in Denmark, and who knew all the latest methods used abroad to feed and fan the new intellectual life kindled there. Such men were George Buchanan, John Row, Andrew Simpson, and many

* *McMillan's Magazine* for November, 1870

others, who now set themselves at the head of the new intellectual movement in Scotland, and helped Knox to draw up his plan for the reformation of the universities. At the time of the Reformation there were in all the Scotch universities one or two colleges—St. Andrews had three, Aberdeen two, and Glasgow two—in all of which the same branches of learning were taught according to the old monastic method. Knox proposed a division of labor, and recommended that one college should devote its strength to the work of general preparation, while the others should instruct in the more strictly professional learning. Thus, to take the University of St. Andrews as an example, the three colleges of St. Salvator, St. Leonard, and St. Mary, were no longer to be in the same position as the smaller colleges at an English university, with a teaching staff of a score of clergymen under the names of principals, masters of arts, regents, and chaplains, training slowly a limited number of students and scholars or *pauperes clerici*: the number of teachers was to be regulated by the work ready for them, and the number of students was to be limited only by the size of the class-rooms. Nor was the teaching power of the university to be wasted by setting several men to do the same duties. It was proposed that one college should be appropriated to the study of the Arts, including medicine; another to the study of Law, including ethics, economics, and politics; and the third to the study of Divinity, including the Greek and Hebrew languages. The Arts course was to embrace Dialectics; Mathematics, including arithmetic, geometry, cosmography, and astronomy; and Natural Philosophy. Students were to remain for three years at the Arts course, and it was decreed that 'those who after three years by trial and examination shall be found sufficiently instructed in these aforesaid sciences, shall be laureate and graduate in Philosophy.' Graduation in Philosophy was essential to entrance into the medical class; the students of Law had to pass besides an examination in ethics, economics, and politics; and the students of Divinity, in addition to this, had to show 'sufficient testimonials of time well spent at the Hebrew tongue.' The Medical course lasted five years, the Law course four years, and the course of Divinity five years. Each course was finished by graduation in law, medicine, or divinity. These three professional, with the indispensable degree in Arts, made the four degrees to be conferred by the university.

Entrance to the university was guarded by a sufficiently strict examination, and students were required to bring certificates of good conduct from the master of their school, or from the minister of their parish; they had to undergo an examination in their past work ere they could pass from a lower to a higher class; they had to pass their degree examinations ere they could remove from the Arts classes to the professional; and they were to be well kept at their work during their whole college career by monthly examinations conducted by the principal himself. The discipline of the college was to be in the hands of the principal, who was also to be the master of the college. The head of the university was to be the Rector, who was to be chosen by the principals, regents, and resident graduates of the colleges.

All petty municipal distinctions between students and townsmen, and specially with that university privilege which granted students immunity in wrongdoing were done away. 'Seeing,' he says, 'that we desire that innocence shall defend us rather than privilege, we think that each person of the university should answer before the provost and bailies of each town where the universities are,

of all the crimes whereof they are accused, only that the Rector be assessor to them in the said actions.'

The support of the schools was to come from one-third of the old property of the church. Out of this third part of the old church revenues, Knox proposed to pay a certain fixed salary to each parish and burgh schoolmaster, and to give him besides an allowance for teaching those children whose parents were too poor to pay fees; to pay the salaries of the teachers in the middle-class schools or colleges, and to give a certain number of bursaries to enable poor boys to go on with their education if they seem fit for it; and to support the whole of the university expenses, including the salaries of principals, regents, readers, and servants, and the bursaries or scholarships given to encourage deserving students. The property of the old Scottish church was so extensive, that had Knox got the third of it for educational purposes, Scotland would have had the wealthiest, instead of the poorest, educational endowments of any country. But at this point Knox's scheme broke down entirely. The robber Lords of the Congregation had got possession of the old church lands, and refused to give them up or any part of them.

Commission of 1695.

The act of 1695, appointing the commission of sixty members, begins by reciting the need of inquiry to insure that all who hold office in the universities should be 'pious, able, and well affected;' or, as it goes on to define these qualities, 'should subscribe the confession of faith, swear allegiance to their present majesties, and be of good and sufficient literature.' All who do not fulfill these conditions, the commissioners are enjoined 'to purge out and remove.' The commissioners are to have power to issue 'instructions and injunctions as they shall think fit to give them;' and lastly, this commission 'is to endure aye and while their majesties shall recall and discharge the same' (*sic*).

On the task thus appointed, the commissioners went to work in a most thorough manner. Not a rule or regulation apparently was free from their introspection and criticism: from the oath of allegiance to be taken by the officers of the college, down to the hours at which the students were to be in their chambers, and the proficiency which the *Bajans** were expected to show on entrance, there is nothing which is not passed in review. Some of their regulations are both practical and useful. No one is to be admitted to the universities without a competent knowledge of the Latin tongue. Punctual attendance and strict discipline are enforced. To prevent 'vagrancy and vice,' the students are to wear red gowns, the regents (or masters) gowns of black. The hebdomadar is to 'lye in the college,' and to be responsible for the behavior of the students. Moving from a lower to a higher class is not to be possible except on condition of due proficiency. There is a strict inquiry into the revenues of the universities. But there were other points in which the commissioners interfered, and with which they were hardly very well fitted to deal. It had all along been the habit in the Scotch universities that there should be four *regents*, who were responsible for all the teaching in each college. The course extended over four years, to which the names of *Bajans*, *Semts*, *Bachelors*, and *Magistrands* were applied. The four regents took the Bajans by turns, and carried them on through their course until they ended their Magistrand's year and became grad-

* This is a word formerly in common use in all the Scotch Universities, now almost forgotten. It denoted the members of the junior classes, and is probably a corruption of *Pagani*, those citizens of the *Civis Academicus* who were yet new to her usages, and fresh from the country.

uates. As each year had its own prescribed subject, this involved an acquaintance with all the subjects embraced in the curriculum on the part of the regent; or, to speak more correctly, it made it probable that the regent had no more than a general acquaintance with any. To a certain extent, the commissioners were conscious of this defect, but they provided only a partial remedy. They recommended that there should be a 'fixed regent' for the Greek class, whose business it should be to teach the students of one year only, and to teach them nothing but Greek. To this most of the universities objected, but none more than the University of Glasgow. This goes, they seem to say, either too far, or not far enough. It implies a slight on our knowledge of Greek, which we believe to be undeserved. But if it is to be partially carried out, let it be done in full. 'With all submission,' they go on, 'the pluralitie of our number here doe think the fixation of all classes in everie universitie verie necessarie;' and they proceed to give their reasons. It prevents jealousy and animosity between the regents: men, besides, 'are more fit for teaching that part allotted to them, than by this ambulatorie way they can be.' In this suggestion, the 'masters of the College of Glasgow' hit upon the very point on which the future character of the Scotch universities was in a great degree to hinge. The regents were evidently like the tutors in an English university. They had a certain number of students to look after: they superintended all their work: they gave their personal advice and help: but they did not stand, as it were, at the gateway of some special domain of knowledge, to deeper researches in which they might open the way. When the regents ceased to rear the Bajan up to the Magistrand, when they were allocated to one special branch of learning, they then ceased to be *tutores*, and became *professores*, and the first hint of the change comes in this remonstrance on the part of Glasgow University, addressed to the commissioners of 1695.

But the interference of the commissioners with the studies of the universities did not end here. The regents they recommend are not to be appointed without standing a competition by any one who may challenge their claim; and this claim is to be made good only 'by dispute and programme in case of competition.' Whether this would attract the best masters of higher learning may well be doubted, but more than this was to be taken into account in making these appointments. 'Not only the abilities and learning of the parties' are to be considered, 'but also their piety, good life and conversation, prudence, fitness for the place, affection for the government of Church and State now established, and other good qualifications complexly.' In other words, a good political adherent would run the best chance of appointment, and the commission manages to say so pretty plainly.

Thus appointed, the regents are to teach what they are told, and no more. In the first year, Greek, and it alone, is to be taught; in the second (*semi* or *junior*) year, 'Logicks, without mixture of what concerns Metaphysics;' in the third, 'Ethicks, general and speciall;' and in the fourth, 'Speciell physicsks and pneumatologia (psychology).' More than this, the students are not to spend their time 'in writing their courses of philosophy in their class,' but there is to be 'printed an uniform course of philosophy, to be hereafter taught in all the colleges.' It is this last restriction, as well as the banishment of metaphysics, that chiefly rouses the discontent, as far as they dare show it, of the universities. Glasgow, for some reason or other, is ready to submit to it; and in their overture, the masters of that university even hint that it might be well to assign

to each university its own special subject—logic and metaphysics (they object to give up the latter) to one; ethics to another; physics to a third; and to a fourth, mathematics.

But Edinburgh and St. Andrews employ both expostulation and banter to meet the proposal. 'We indeed approve,' says St. Andrews, 'that masters be not allowed to teach or vent errors, or dangerous principles, and are sure none can be charged upon us.' But this is a different matter from having a printed course, which is to supply irregularity of attendance, to limit the teacher, and through which students may trust to 'the help of country pedants, . . . which may in a short time bring schools in contempt, and multiply dunces in the name of scholars. We think it hard,' they say, 'to stint or confine from improving notions and inventions in matters merely philosophick, seeing men soon and often alter their thoughts.' Then as to writing the dictates. 'To write,' they say, 'is not altogether in vain; many remember things the better (that) they write them, and students should not be dry-fingered.' But it is the banter of Edinburgh which is most amusing. 'We heartily concur in your lordships' suggestions,' they say, 'not doubting but your lordships will at the same time be careful to prevent the inconveniences which attend all changes, and may attend this change of the method of learning.' The worst of it is that no such 'compleat system of philosophy' is quite ready to their hand. 'We know one indeed, the *Philosophia vetus et nova*, but (this to a Parliamentary commission in 1695) it is done by a Popish author, and smells rank of that religion. Though it be a pretty book, yet it can not be the standard to be taught, laboring with obscurity, unintelligible by youths; short in the topicks, running out into digressions idly, and making use (horrible to say!) of Protestant arguments as examples of sophisms.' The commissioners were surely not thinking of this? But 'Derodon, his logicks are too prolix; Burgesdick's logicks hardly deserve the name.' It can not be 'Henry Moor's ethicks,' they are 'grossly Arminian.' Mr. Gauem, 'he is prolix in his didacticks. Le Clerk is merely scepticall.' For Descartes, 'and others of his gang,' they have each and all their own inconveniences. 'So, upon the whole, we can not think of any course of philosophy extant sufficient to be taught. So perhaps we might humbly suggest that the present method be kept until your lordships, in your wisdom, can supply us with one complete printed course.'

Commission of 1826 and 1830—New Commission, 1877.

Under Sir Robert Peel's Ministry in 1826, a Royal Commission was issued and renewed in 1830, which reported in 1837 in four folio volumes, full of material for a history of the universities, and wise suggestions for their improvement. These suggestions were considered, and entered into the act of 1858, and the subsequent action of the commissioners appointed under that act for the reorganization of the universities. By that act subscription to the Confession of Faith was abolished, and the headships of the universities were no longer made prizes of the National Church, and the administration of each university was greatly simplified.

The new Commission of 1876, is composed of the Lord President of the Court of Sessions, two members of the College of Justice, the Lord Advocate, the Duke of Buccleuch, Sir William Maxwell, Chancellor of the University of Glasgow; Dr. Lyon Playfair, of the University of Edinburgh; Mr. Froude and Mr. Huxley, who have been Lord Rectors of St. Andrews and Aberdeen.

DIFFERENCES IN ENGLISH AND SCOTCH UNIVERSITIES.*

1. *Their Preparatory Schools and Teachers.*

Numerous as are the undergraduates at the English universities who do not come from the public schools, there can be no doubt that in the main the tone of the universities is taken from that of the public schools. The English public school-boy lives again at Oxford in the clique belonging to his own school; the social usages, the very phraseology, the standard of attainment, all are in the main colored by public school life. In some cases an even closer tie exists, such as that between Eton and King's college in Cambridge, or between Winchester and New college in Oxford. The Eton foundationer looks to King's as the natural goal of his school life; the Winchester boy emerges in Oxford into the society of those who have been his compeers, only a year removed, at school. In all cases, the tone alike of lecture-room and of society is a reflection of that of the schools. But while this gives a certain uniformity, it also insures in the main a certain standard of attainment. The universities can count with certainty upon a supply of fairly educated youths, possessing an average standard of intelligence, although perhaps endued with a certain monotony of tone and thought. But this is not all that the public schools do for the universities. They not only act as their nurseries, they also afford an abundant supply of more or less lucrative posts to which a training at the universities is the recognized stepping-stone. The universities possess no more unassailable source of indirect patronage than that which is open to them in the public schools. No instrument by which they can affect the broad middle stratum of society is more powerful than this, whereby they form the center, as it were, toward which the whole energies of the public schools throughout the country are tending, and the single source from which the staff of the public schools is recruited. The instruction in these schools may be defective: granted that it is so, the existence of such deficiency is recognized by the universities in tolerating the poll or pass degree. But the fact that it reaches, on the whole, a fair average, enables the universities to take for granted in those who come to them a certain amount of preliminary acquaintance with the subjects embraced in the ordinary university curriculum.

The Parochial Schoolmaster.

The type of Goldsmith's schoolmaster, the wonderment of the villagers 'that one small head could carry all he knew,' was far more common in Scotland than in England. His salary, it is true, was of the scantiest. Some £40 or £50 a year, with a scrap of cabbage garden and a very modest house, constituted the utmost emoluments of his office. His work was hard, and his days were spent in the close atmosphere of a crowded school-room, where his attention was mostly engaged in wielding the 'taws,' or indoctrinating the urchins of the village into the mysteries of their dog-eared primers. But it was not without its charms in a country which has always yielded a plentiful supply of men ready to accept an ascetic independence rather than well-cushioned subordination. To begin with, he was his own master. His tenure of house and yard was freehold; his possession could only be disturbed by costly process of law, and even then only on the assignment and the proof of unanswerable reasons. Next to the laird and the minister, his was the most respectable position in the village. He combined with the duties of pedagogue many offices, which though

* *British Quarterly Review*, April, 1877.

they brought him in little or no money, yet brought him much influence and consideration. As Session Clerk, he generally held the ear of the minister. As Inspector of the Poor, he held a certain quasi-magisterial authority. As a ruling elder, he had the privilege of regularly-recurring invitations to the manse, and his voice might even be heard in the deliberations of the presbytery, or his form be seen in the annual procession of the black coats up the high street of Edinburgh to the General Assembly Hall. Above all, his was a 'sinecure' in the highest sense. His wants were few, and care could seldom cross the gateway of his little garden. His ambition was best gratified if the scholarship of some village hopeful, the product of long and weary hours of the soon-to-be-forgotten dominie's labors, brought home honor for himself and his old school after the annual spring prize-givings at the Scotch universities.

But whatever the reward, the work this primitive type of schoolmaster did for the Scotch universities was invaluable. By him had been trained a few of the 'pregnant spirits,' as an old college paper calls them, amongst the crowds of students who each autumn flocked to the class-rooms of Glasgow and Edinburgh, where personal teaching or supervision was a thing impossible. From him and the stray students of his training were gained those habits of study, and that love of learning for learning's sake, which made a spirit of quaint and unworldly enthusiasm not unknown in the Scotch universities. From him came that spirit of almost precocious independence of thought which constant and individual association with an older mind generally gives. He could often pride himself in being an *alumnus** of some one of the universities, and in preparing his special pupils, he studied most dutifully the wants of his *Alma Mater*.

The disappearance of the old type of the parish schoolmaster has cut away from the universities their best source for such trained material as they formerly possessed. On systematic secondary education they could at no time rely. But they might at least reckon on a certain supply of vigorous intelligence, trained according to the diverse idiosyncrasies of teacher or pupil. On the constant friction which the intercourse of such diverse elements produced, on the heterogeneous mass of half-digested information which the Scotch student sometimes possessed, on his habituation to free and original independence of thought, it is not too much to say that the whole life of the Scotch university turned. But of late years that independent, albeit erratic, culture has gone, and yet no systematic training has come to take its place. Secondary education in Scotland languishes, not from want of material, not from indifference as to its value, but simply because that class upon whose almost gratuitous and fitful assistance it depended has been turned to other work. No village schoolmaster now could find time to prepare one or two special pupils for the universities. His time would be wasted; the average of his school would be lowered; the year would end with the disaster of an unfavorable report; and he might deservedly, as neglecting the duty which is properly his, find himself cast adrift by an unsympathetic School Board as 'incompetent, unfit, and inefficient.' The work of his profession now lies elsewhere, and he has plenty of masters ready to see that it is performed. But meantime the universities suffer. They have to stoop to the level of their students. The Greek professor at Glasgow has to initiate his

* In an interesting return published in the Report of 1857, we find that 583 parishes have parochial teachers of university training, against 241 parishes whose teachers have not had such training. Dated 1857: a similar return in 1877 would show a strange reversal of circumstances.

junior class—or Tyrones—into the Greek Alphabet. To do this for a mixed class of one hundred and fifty students, of all ages, of all degrees of mental training, of all capacities, is not only an uncongenial, it is also a hopeless task. It evidently renders impossible the achievement of any high standard of scholarship before the end of the three years' course; and as a fact, the Greek grammar, a very small amount of Greek prose composition, and the reading of it, it may be, Xenophon's *Anabasis*, a book of Thucydides, and a Greek play, is the measure of their achievements in Greek literature to the bulk even of the better students. The institution of the elementary Greek class is not a new one, nor is the complaint of its necessity urged for the first time in recent years; but undoubtedly the lack of that preliminary training which the old parochial schoolmasters furnished to a few students, and which more or less leavened the whole mass, has both made the necessity greater, and the demand for a remedy more urgent. It is true that a scattered few, whose training has been more systematic, come from the two or three schools in the principal cities where the system has been modeled more or less on that of the English public schools; but it is not they who give the tone to the universities, nor, perhaps, is it desirable that they should. However well trained as school-boys, they are school-boys only; the sturdy independence, the valuable, though uncouth, originality which the typical Scotch student often possesses, is not theirs. The pity would be less did the Scotch universities feel only that they were obliged to open their doors to ill-trained school-boys; but this is not all. Plenty of good material is there, only it is often thrown away for want of a certain preliminary training. Plenty of ardor for study, plenty of earnestness in aim, is to be found in the Scotch student, but the opportunity comes too late, and the university professor only feels himself impotent to retrieve the omissions whose ill effects he sees so clearly.

2. *College or Domestic Life of the Student.*

The contrast between the two systems is even more marked when we begin to look at the life of the student in each country. It is a contrast visible in the very name. The youth of fourteen or upward at Glasgow finds himself in possession of the dignified title of 'student;' his compeer at Oxford, never less than seventeen or eighteen, is only 'the undergraduate.' Let us picture the life of a country student at one of the Scotch universities, situated perhaps in the center of a large commercial town. Once settled in a lodging in one of the crowded thoroughfares, his first acquaintance with the university is in the purchase of his matriculation and class ticket, a transaction carried out on exactly the same principle as if he were paying a railway fare or securing a seat at a theater. From the college notices he learns when the class opens, and at the hour—it may be eight o'clock on a November morning—he reaches the door of the lecture-room from his lodging in the town. He must find his own place in a crowd of well nigh two hundred students, and all that is required of him is that he be punctual in his attendance. For four minutes after the hour the bell continues to ring; but the instant that it ceases, though his foot may be on the last step of the staircase, a grimly humorous janitor closes the door in his face, and perhaps, with a free and easy jocularly, indulges in a little sarcasm at his expense. The roll is called, the work of the class arranged, and the routine which is to be repeated for five or six months begins. The hour passed, he leaves the room, and after one or two hours of the same sort in other class-rooms, he is, so far as the college is concerned, left to himself for the day. No attempt at moral

discipline, no attempt at tutorial guidance or assistance, no attempt to insure that some part of the day is given to private work, is ever thought of. So far as the college authorities are concerned, he is free to initiate himself into the mysteries of the tavern life of the city. In the case of Glasgow, only very recent changes have removed the dangerous attractions of that life from the very precincts of the university. In many cases, the student's lodging must still be in neighborhoods where they abound, and for all they are within easy distance. The young student's first introduction to the gateway of higher learning is blended with no impressive associations. The hurry and bustle of the city crowds in upon the college, and save for the hour or two when he is present at lecture, he is in the midst of city life. Learning dwells in no shady quadrangles; no graces of architecture carry back his imagination insensibly to the hallowed associations and the long-drawn sympathy of the past. Four centuries of university history lie behind him, but they have been centuries in which adversity has been mingled in no small degree with a scanty and rare prosperity. The continuity of their history has more than once been roughly broken. They have left no relics to tell of the devotion which a home of learning could inspire. The 'pious founder' is conspicuous only by his rarity.

The Scotch student is a stranger, no doubt, to many of the influences that university life, under happier or more congenial circumstances, might give, but he deserves abundant praise in that he gains so much from the little that is given him. That bracing atmosphere of self-dependence, that pressing necessity for exertion and for self-denial, is to him the air in which he best thrives.

When he joins the university, the student does not enroll himself the member of a college which claims to dispose of some three or four years of his life. He pays a fee for six months, and at the end of that time his connection with the university ceases until it is renewed afresh the next year. When, how, or indeed whether at all, he proceed to his degree, is left entirely to his own judgment. But at the end of each college session, the rewards for eminence in the classes are dispensed according to the votes of the students, who are thus constituted judges over their fellows; and the prizes thus adjudged are distributed, in the case of Glasgow, at a public meeting, which answers in some degree to the 'Laureation' ceremony of old days. Nay, more than this, the highest honorary office in connection with each university—an honor which, troublesome as it must often be, has been held and prized by a long line of the greatest names amongst the poets, statesmen, and orators of Great Britain—is dispensed according to the votes of the students assembled in the *Comitia* of four nations. Once every two or three years, the college walls are plastered with electioneering squibs, and an electoral contest, turning generally on political principles, and conducted with all the acidity of emulation which might be expected where material interests are at stake, agitates for weeks the bosoms of the youthful constituency. Nor is the office of Lord Rector one merely honorary. He may play a very important part, both in directing the government and dispensing the patronage of the university; and yet all attempts to wrest the election from the students have failed.

College Life in England.

Contrast with this the life of the English University. There the undergraduate finds college life take hold of him, even before its educational work begins. His lodging, his mode of life, his society, are all to be found within the walls

of the college. The few non-collegiate students have had no such effect in modifying the tone of either university as to make them any thing more than a rare exception. The mass of the undergraduates still come, and still must continue to come, under the influence of college life. Before a lecture is attended, before an hour's work has been done, the associations of the place, its rules, its ceremonies, its observances, have insensibly closed in upon him. He must pass a qualifying examination, in parts so simple that most Scotch students would consider it to be something of a degradation, and yet demanding a fixed and imperative modicum in certain directions, which, with his defective preliminary training, that student might find it hard to satisfy. The rules and hours for leaving college, the morning roll-call or chapel, the common meal, the half-official bedmaker or scout, all impress the freshman with the fact, before his first day is done, that he is the member of a monastic and disciplined institution. He must acquiesce in an unwritten social code, not severe indeed, but unbending in its strictness. His very amusements are regulated for him. When attendance at lecture begins, it is only a part of the same life. In some room—perhaps a special lecture-room—but more likely the sitting-room of the lecturer or tutor, the audience of a few undergraduates assembles. They dispose themselves round the table, and the lecture is delivered in a half conversational way. The professorial lectures in connection with the university are of course different, but form only a slight element in undergraduate life. Besides these half conversational lectures aforesaid, he is assigned to one of the tutors of the college, who is answerable for the lectures he attends, for the amount of reading he manages to accomplish, and for his general amenableness to discipline. In this bond lies one of the most valuable, and at the same time most characteristic, parts of college life at Oxford: the student is not isolated, but feels himself the member of a regulated community, and the special charge of one, at least, of those who lead it. Beyond these minor regulations, the contrast between the two university systems widens and deepens as we come to the larger range of associations comprised in the life of an English undergraduate. He must be dull of imagination—perhaps he is often dull of imagination—to feel no impulse stirred by all the historic past of which the life around him appears only the outcome of to-day. The quiet and scholastic dignity of the college precincts, the slowly amassed treasures which learning has gathered round her as the offerings of ages, the memories of the past brought home by the presence of the scenes in which that past seems still to live, all this has an influence none the less telling because often drawn in unconsciously on the part of the recipient. It may be that all this is only the fetichism of learning or education, that it is a little more than a sublimated superstition. But we must be forgiven if we cling to those associations which an English university can still give, if we find something in the possession of a dignified history and a fitting home which deepens a love in itself not unworthy, nor likely, even if ignoble, to endure too permanently amidst the opposite influences that must soon assail it.

Bright, indeed, would be the hopes for Scottish learning, if one, at least, among her seats—say the oldest, and that least pressed by the hurry and the bustle of our time—were to gain such a fabric; not of gaudy splendor, but worthy of a past so dignified, though so austere as hers. A new light would rise upon that northern shore, to replace that which shone ages back from the burnished roof of her cathedral.

The Rectorship—Its Literature.

The office of Rector, the direct representative of the student's interest in the administration of University affairs, is now peculiar to Scotland, although an officer similarly elected belonged to the old Continental Universities,—as the arbiter in quarrels between students, and between professors and students, such matters belonged to the Rector's Court, and any severe sentence, such as rustication and expulsion, could be pronounced only by the Rector. It became incorporated into the organization of Glasgow because in the Bull of Pope Nicholas V. constituting a general study, the new institution was clothed with all the rights and privileges belonging to the University of Bologna. In the same way, and at an earlier date, the University of St. Andrews was modeled after those of Paris and Bologna, and the Rector was chosen by the four procurators who represented the four nations into which the students were divided according to the districts from which they came. Edinburgh did not possess a Rector in 1858.

The office has been filled from time to time by the most eminent men in Great Britain, and the occasion of the inauguration has been improved by the utterance of noble sentiments fitly expressed, and through the press, addressed to the ingenuous youth of the whole kingdom.

The biographer (Dr. Beattie) of Thomas Campbell has devoted a chapter to the poet's Rectorship of the University of Glasgow from 1826 to 1829, some extracts from which will throw light on the functions of this office, to which the Scotch students are much attached. The poet regards his election, over Mr. Canning, the popular Tory orator and statesman, and Sir Thomas Brisbane, after a heated canvass, by the unanimous vote of the four nations, 'as the crowning glory of his life.'

The majority of the professors having agreed to support Mr. Canning, one of the rival candidates, employed all their influence to secure his election. The 'Nations,' however, mustered very strong in support of Campbell; he was extolled as the beau-ideal of a patriot, a poet, a British classic—above all, as one of themselves—a son of the same Alma Mater; the only man living who could fill the office with dignity, and restore the 'invaded rights' of his constituents! It is amusing, at this day, to peruse the clever and often caustic arguments by which his claims were vindicated 'against all comers.' The enthusiasm called forth on the occasion was shared by most of the young talent in the University; and, though tinged with much amiable extravagance, the speeches, in praise, or in defense of Campbell, were often eloquent, and in every instance triumphant. Every hour the tide flowed more strongly in his favor; every meeting brought new volunteers to his standard—'hoisting counter placards, and shouting their *Jo-pheas* over the College Green.' One of the ardent leaders, when called upon to record his vote, threw himself into a theatrical attitude, and, at the top of his voice, thundered out '*Campbell!*' His example was followed by nearly the whole body; and 'this show of hearts,' as the Rector observed, 'made his election a flattering distinction—a sunburst in his experience of life—for he loved the College of Glasgow, as the home and birthplace of intellect.'

The Rector was inaugurated in April, 1827. In a letter dated the 18th, the new Rector writes:—

I delivered my inaugural speech yesterday with complete success; the enthusiasm was immense. I dined afterward with the professors, in the Faculty, with a party of forty strangers, invited on my account. . . .

I find the Rectorship will be no sinecure. I have sat four hours examining accounts, and hearing explanations from the Faculty, with Sir John Connel, the Dean of Faculty, my co-examiner and visitor, to whom the professors are anxious to render their accounts. . . . T. C.

In the published *Reminiscences of a Student*, there is the following notice:—

I was a student then, and like others, was charmed with his Inaugural Address. We have had the most distinguished men of the day successively elected to the office of Rector; Sir Robert Peel, Lord Stanley, Lord Brougham, Lord Jeffrey, Sir James Mackintosh, and many more celebrated in oratory, science, and general literature. I have heard all their addresses; but none of them came up to that of Thomas Campbell. Perhaps we were disposed to be enthusiastic, knowing that he was an old gownsmen of our own; but, whatever the predisposition might have been, the streams of eloquence issued from him and carried us onward in admiration and applause until poetry itself poured on us like a whelming flood: a flood that carried the soul captive in its resistless power. To say we applauded, is to say nothing. We evinced every symptom of respect and admiration from the loftiest tribute, even our tears—drawn forth by his eloquent recollections of olden times—down to escorting him with boisterous noise along the public streets.

The 'Rector Magnus', under date of April 23, writes:—

The professors have received me with great politeness,—the students with enthusiasm. The principal did me the honor of preaching before me yesterday, as Lord Rector, in the Common Hall, where I attended morning and evening; and I am now making the circuit of hearing the professors lecture in their different classes. I am to stop till the 1st of May, when the principal has requested me to make the valedictory address, which he usually delivers to the students at the breaking up of the session. Meanwhile, I attend the Faculty Hall daily, and, with several of the professors, go through an inspection of their books and records; and take notes, in order to qualify myself for knowing how far the rights of the students are respected, and the vast funds of the college properly applied. There is great openness in the conduct of the professors, and a willingness to be examined on all points, that augurs well for them. They have even expressed their thanks to me for not running away, like the most of Rectors, leaving their duties unfulfilled, and the professors to be calumniated by the suspicions of the students.

On the 21st of May, Campbell was again in London, and busily engaged in his two-fold duties of Rector and editor. The first of his series of 'Letters to the Students of Glasgow,' was now sent to the press, and published for gratuitous distribution among his young constituents. These letters, on the epochs of literature, appeared, though not at regular intervals, in 'The New Monthly;' and confirmed the high impressions which he had left behind him, of taste, eloquence, and classic erudition. His welcome from the late scene of his labors in Scotland, was very emphatically expressed by his friends in London, whose kindness and hospitality were redoubled on his return to Seymour street. But the grand object on which he had set his mind, and to which, to a certain extent, he had pledged himself, was to investigate their rights, and secure certain advantages to the students of Glasgow, of which, it was alleged, they had been, hitherto, unjustly deprived.

July 17th, 1827.—A gold medal will be given for the best composition in English verse, that shall be executed by any student in the University of Glasgow, before the 20th of January, 1828. The invited competitors are all students who may attend during the ensuing session. The subject and the length of the

composition are left entirely to the choice of the candidates. Each candidate will affix two mottoes to his production, but is not to announce his name, in any other way than in a sealed letter, accompanying the poem. Both are to be transmitted to the principal of the college. A silver medal will be given for the second best composition, if executed by any student in the *gowned* classes.

Oct. 31. . . . The Royal Commissioners and the Professors, *entre nous*, have had a considerable difference; and the former have referred the point in dispute to the Dean of Faculty and myself, as Rector. The professors, or part of them, at least, wished to avoid this point being arbitrated, and to leave the issue to the Court of Session. . . . They therefore proposed replying to the Commissioners that the point could not be so settled, because the Lord Rector was going back to London, and the Dean of Faculty was out of town: I went immediately to the Faculty, and told them that I should not go to London, as I intended, if I could be of any service in arbitrating the matter in question; and that they must find the Dean of Faculty to meet me. I shall thus save myself from all appearance of showing disrespect to the Royal Commissioners. . . . At this crisis, it is of great moment, that, as the friend and advocate of the student, I should conciliate the Commissioners. After all, I fear my poor boys will get but scrimp justice from the royal visitants.

Nov. 14.—The whole students have waited upon me in a body, to announce my re-election without one dissentient voice. They drew up, to the number of fourteen hundred, under Mr. Gray's windows, followed by crowds of the townspeople. I harangued them from the drawing-room window. It would have cheered you to hear the expressions of their enthusiasm.

Dec. 22.—I have received your kind letter, together with the Students' Petition and its eight hundred signatures. I will deliver the letter to Lord Aberdeen, the moment he is come to town. I need not say what pleasure it gives me to see it so ably drawn up, and to look back on the manly conduct of my constituents at their public meeting. I think the committee was right in not risking the possible evils of delay by waiting for additional signatures. The very reluctance of a timid minority to sign the appeal, is a powerful though indirect argument in proof of the influence of the professors, and the absence of those gentlemen may thus contribute to our success. . . . I am neither pleased, nor surprised, at what you tell me of the Faculty refusing you a copy of the records respecting the rights of rectorship; but you may assure my constituents that copies *shall* be procured for you of every paper that is just and necessary for the students to peruse.

May 8, 1828.—I trust before my rectorship is out, to distinguish it by a real benefit to the University—that is, to get all the new publications for the college library, copies of which the law awards to it, but which the booksellers contrive to keep back. The trade, I believe, owes us thousands of volumes for which they have charged the poor authors, but never accounted to us. I have also hopes of getting the Faculty to coöperate with me in the scheme of endowing college tutorships; and thus uniting the advantages both of the English and Scotch University systems.

The students resolved to give permanent *éclat* to the rectorship of Campbell, by electing him for the third time. Of this honor, the highest that could be conferred, no instance has occurred for a century; and in reply to the committee, Campbell thus expressed himself:—

In the character of your *friend*, Students of Glasgow, I desire only to prove to you my friendship; and therefore, if I can be of any use to you, I will come to you in any capacity in which you choose to invite me,—as you Rector, or as your simple adviser.

I always thought from the beginning of this great crisis—the Visitation—that until its end, there can be nothing more important for the students of Glasgow, than to have a Rector animated with a devoted and determined spirit in their cause.

We shall give elsewhere specimens of this Rectorship literature.

BELL CHAIR OF EDUCATION*—PROF. S. R. LAURIE

(Programme of Lectures and Instruction for 1877-8.)

I. Theory, or Philosophy of Education.

End and Idea of Education. Physiology and Psychology of Man, with special reference to Education. The Processes of Intellectual Growth. The Process of Moral and Religious, or Ethical, Growth. The Formal and the Real in Education. Auxiliaries of the Growth of Mind.

The Educative Process from the Ethical point of view. Analysis of the Educative process from the Ethical point of view into four steps.

II. Method and Art of Education.

First Section of the Educative Process—KNOWLEDGE.—Materials of Education. Method of acquisition in its principles. Method in relation to Discipline of Intelligence. Method in relation to periods of Mental Evolution.

PARTICULAR METHODOLOGY; or the application of Method to the teaching of Elementary Science, Language, Arithmetic, Geography, History, Grammar, Literature, &c., &c. Religion under this section.

Second Section of the Educative Process—GOODNESS.—Instruction in Goodness. Training to Goodness. Religion in this connection.

Third Section of the Educative Process—OBEDIENCE TO AUTHORITY.—Instruction in Obedience; Training to Obedience; Motives to Obedience; Moral or Attractive Motives; Legal or Coercive Motives; Punishments. Religion in this connection.

Fourth Section of the Educative Process.—EXERTION OF WILL; Difficulties in the way of Right-Willing; Relation of Right-Willing to Motives; Training to Right-Willing. Religion in this connection.

Music: Drawing: and the Aesthetic in Education.

Organisation of Schools.

Kindergarten Schools; Infant Schools; Primary Schools; Secondary Schools; University Schools.

Class-manipulation and subsidiary expedients in teaching.

School-Books, Apparatus, Buildings, &c.

III. History of Education, or Comparative Education.

1. Education in China. 2. Education of the Hindu Races. 3. The Education of the Ancient Persians. 4. A brief Sketch of Education among the Semitic Races of the Mesopotamian Basin and among the ancient Egyptians. 5. Education among the Hellenic Races. The educational views of Plato and Aristotle. 6. Education among the Romans. 7. Analysis and exposition of the Institutions of Quintilian. 8. Survey of the History of Education from Constantine to the time of the Reformation. 9. Erasmus and Colet. 10. Luther, Melancthon, and John Sturm. 11. Roger Ascham: Exposition of 'The Scholemaster.' 12. Analysis of Raticinius. 13. of Comenius; Exposition of the *Didactica Magna*. *Realism and Utility as opposed to Humanism and Culture*. 14. Milton's Educational views. 15. Analysis and exposition of John Locke's 'Thoughts on Education.' 16. Rousseau, Basedow, and Campe. 17. Dr. Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster. 18. Analysis and exposition of Pestalozzi. 19. Jacotot. 20. Fröbel. 21. Jean Paul Richter. 22. Diesterweg. 23. Dr. Arnold. 24. Herbert Spencer and contemporary Realism. 25. Sketch of History of Education in Scotland, and its present condition and prospects. 26. Organization and aims of Education in Germany, and a Sketch of the present state of Education in England, France, and the United States.

N.B.—Four Lectures weekly on Theory and Methodology, till the Christmas holidays. Thereafter two of the four Lectures will be devoted to History.

Arrangements will be made for the Visitation of Schools. Three written Examinations will be held during the Session, and Essays on practical questions called for.

* This Chair was founded in 1876 by the Trustees of Dr. Bell, to further the advancement of the Science and Art of Education in Scotland, by the better professional training of teachers.

The admirable Inaugural Discourse of Prof. Laurie in 1876, will be found in *Barnard's American Journal of Education*, Vol. XXVII, p. 193-211.

Bell Chair of Education, 1876.—Prof. J. M. D. Meiklejohn.

The Chair of Education was founded in 1876, by the Trustees of Dr. Bell—the Earl of Leven and Melville, Viscount Kirkcaldy, and Mr. John Cook, W.S., Edinburgh. It contemplates the instruction and training of Teachers in the Science and Art of Teaching; and the subject is divided into Three Parts:

I. THE THEORY.—This includes an inquiry into the *Psychology* of the growing mind—a collection of the knowledge we have of that from observation—an attempt to estimate the mode, rate, and kind of growth by experiment; and an inquiry into the relation of various kinds of knowledge to the mind, and the influence of certain thoughts, emotions, and sets of circumstances upon the character. The growth of the power of the senses, the memory, the understanding, the reason, the will, the imagination, the social emotions—have to be examined. The relation of the religious, moral, and intellectual sides of human nature to each other has to be shown; and the end of all processes which go by the name of *Education* clearly perceived. The best means toward the various minor ends—such as, the building up of a sound understanding, the formation of a just habit of action in the soul, etc., etc.—are to be inquired into and discussed. The forms of school-life, and the relation of school-life to the ordinary public life of this country, will also be examined. Under this head, too, fall to be discussed the theories and writings of the best thinkers upon education.

II. THE HISTORY.—This includes the history of the notions regarding education and the processes employed in producing it followed by all nations that are called civilized—that is, who have endeavored to found forms of society favorable to the growth of what is best in man. It therefore takes notice of the chief educational ideas of the East, of Greece and Rome, of the Jews, of Early, Medieval, and Reformed Christianity, of the Jesuits, and of the great men who have practiced, or thought and written on, education. It collects also the best and most inspiring statements of such men as Bacon, Selden, Milton, Locke, Jean Paul, Goethe, Herbert Spencer, and others. It discusses and compares the educational ideas and processes of such men as Comenius, Pestalozzi, Ratieh, Jacotot, Diesterweg, Fröbel, &c.; and it also examines and weighs the educational aims, beliefs, habits, and processes of the national systems which exist in Germany, France, England, and other countries.

III. THE PRACTICE.—This includes an examination of all the processes at present going on in the schools of the country—the relation of these processes to the growth of the mind, and their value considered as means to ends. It therefore discusses the teaching of languages—how they may best be taught, what are the mental habits to be created, what are the difficulties, either inherent in the language or adherent to the circumstances under which it is taught, which beset the road of the teacher, and how he may reduce these difficulties to a minimum. The difference between our aims in teaching classical and modern languages, and the consequent difference in the means, is also discussed. The best methods of teaching science, especially the sciences of observation, and the necessary conditions under which these must be taught, are also examined. The methods by which, and the conditions under which, a love of literature may be produced in the mind, is one of the subjects of prelection. Courses of lectures are also to be given on the more usual school subjects—such as History, Geography, Grammar, English Composition, &c. The engineering of each of these subjects—so that the pupil may go from the simpler and more striking parts of each subject to the more complex and intricately connected parts—is fully examined in relation to its principles; and the ground and nature of the obstacles are surveyed. What parts of a subject are fitted for what age; what are the tentacula by which the growing mind lays hold of each part; what and how much ought to be done by the teacher; what and how much must be done by the pupil; at what point mental action becomes independent and self-efficient; what powers of the mind are called into exercise by what subjects and by what parts of a subject. These are some of the questions which occupy the time of the Chair. The characteristics of the best books on each subject are also set forth and valued. The mental outfit of a Teacher, his aims, his practical ends, and the means to these; his difficulties, his rewards; the nature and limitations, of his profession, its advantages,—all these are to be lectured on by the Professor.

VAN DER PALM AND PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN HOLLAND.

BY NICOLAAS BEETS, D.D.

MEMOIR.

JOHN HENRY VAN DER PALM was born in Rotterdam July 17, 1763, in the house of his father Kornelis Van der Palm, who kept there, and afterward at Delfthaven, a very flourishing Dutch and French boarding-school, or institute. His father was a man of ability and learning, an accomplished linguist, and poet, and as such received several coronations for his special performances. He was one of the founders of the Rotterdam Society, a social literary club, of which his son was made a member at the age of sixteen. In his father's school the son was trained till the age of ten, when he passed into the Erasmian Grammar school, of which Henricus Dreux was Rector. Here he won several prizes in the competitions of the several classes—his themes foreshadowing the labors of his future life—'Diligence (*In Laudem Diligentiae*)' and 'A Sound Mind in a Sound Body—*de Sano Mente in Corpore Sano*'—robust, cheerful health being with him the normal condition of the human being, which, he inculcated, could only be secured by diligent and regular occupation, in which head, heart, and body were associated. His father's school and methods, and his home life were the ideals which the son held up for the instruction of teachers and school officials.

At the age of fifteen, young Van der Palm began his university studies at Leyden, where he continued in hard study for six years. Of this period of his life, his biographer, Dr. Beets, remarks:—

The years spent by Van der Palm at the University of Leyden fell in one of the most flourishing periods of that institution. Three years before his matriculation, the bi-centenary of its existence had been magnificently celebrated. The recollection of its foundation and princely founder, joined to the remembrance of the ancient famous occurrences which gave rise to its establishment; the rapid but deliberate review of its history, which brought before the mind such an extensive and estimable series of great men as had ever been its ornaments;—all this gave a new stimulus to resort to this seat of learning. The professorial chairs were filled by the most celebrated men in all departments of knowledge and science. Besides not a few English, the concourse of Netherland youth was greater than ever; and of these were formed in that period a great multitude of men who were destined to become eminent in every branch of learning and literature, and to be in different relations ornaments to Church and State. Among these, without contradiction of any, Van der Palm was to

occupy a most prominent position; and of this his first instructors, Valckenaar, Ruhnkenius, Van de Wijnpersee, and especially Hendrik Albert Schultens, were quickly convinced. To the instruction of these lights, which he improved with the greatest conscientiousness and with the most ardent zeal, was soon added that of Pestel, to whose lectures on the *fundamenta jurisprudentiæ naturalis* he attached great importance. In theology, he afterward heard Hollebeek, the reformer of the Netherland style of preaching, Gillissen, Scholten, Boers, and Rietveld; to the lectures of the last mentioned, he seems to have applied himself with special diligence. Of Schultens, his biographer Wijttenbach remarks: 'He had received from nature the rare gift of appearing to be what he really was. Uprightness of heart, greatness of mind, and benevolence were expressed in his countenance; yea, all that is praiseworthy. His bearing, gestures, movements, were most graceful. Add to this the finest perception of the beautiful and the true, an uncommon familiarity and affability, and the greatest agreeableness of speech and expression; and all this entirely natural, without the least affectation. Few therefore were, whether teaching or speaking, listened to with greater pleasure, or with greater confidence in their ability; and few there were whose society and intercourse were more sought in social life.'

On this high model Van der Palm formed his own ideal. Schultens was not only his favorite instructor, who imbued him with that genuine taste for Oriental languages and literature which was so peculiar to him, but he was also the man after whom he entirely formed himself; the man to whom he was indebted for that high refinement by which he was so peculiarly distinguished; the man whom he proposed to himself as his model in all things, and whose entire being he endeavored to express in his own, when he was afterward called to fill the same professorial chair himself.

The image of Schultens lived in his heart during the whole of his long life. His name sounds through all his writings; he denominates it a name 'which humanity in its highest nobility claims as its own.' After Schultens he named one of his sons; and of Schultens he spoke, as long as his strength permitted him to speak of any one, and his spirit roamed through the past. How high this man placed the youthful Van der Palm we can easily conceive, if we can represent to ourselves how agreeable it is to exercise influence over a gifted youth, to infuse our spirit into a susceptible breast, and to see our youth renewed as it were in another. He was the apple of his eye, his glory, his hope. He saw him daily at his own house, and saw no one more gladly; and when, after five years' instruction and intercourse, he parted with his beloved pupil, his eye followed him in his course, and up to his death he cherished him in his heart.

Van der Palm's collegiate life was of an exceptional high and pure character, which both his teachers and his fellow students unite in lifting into the region of the ideal. The professors, on whose instruction he attended during his six years connection with the university, vie with one another in extolling his eminent gifts, and his rare improvement of opportunities. 'It does not often happen that we send forth from our seminary a youth so thoroughly versed in all polite literature, and so far advanced in sacred learning.'

At no period of its history was the attendance of studious and talented young men larger in the different faculties of the university, or their mutual intercourse lively or more intimate. Schimmelpenninck, Brugmans, Nieuwland, Bilderdijk, were all his friends. Besides these were Jan Willem Bussingh, already mentioned, were Henricus van Roijen, Jacobus Kantelaar, Cornelis Franssen van Eck, Jacobus van Heusden, Johannes Stolk, Thomas Hoog, and particu-

larly Ewaldus Kist. How much he was attached to the last appears from the Dedication of the second volume of his Sermons, in which he recalls, with the greatest delight, the six years spent in daily intercourse with this friend. He mentions there that they 'as an inseparable pair were accustomed to walk together the streets of Leyden and its circumjacent lanes, and were in all things each other's confidants. We strengthened each other in our taste for, and knowledge of the best Greek and Latin writers; we stimulated each other in our diligent study of the speculative parts of philosophy; we roamed together through the fields of theology, rejected, again accepted, and formed for ourselves those fixed principles which to this moment have not failed us; together we chose our modern reading, and by no means neglected this means of enriching our minds; and we went together to the beloved house of our great and never to be forgotten Schultens, to gather up lessons on the knowledge of the world and on polite intercourse. But whilst all these advantages were naturally reciprocal, there is one thing for which I am wholly indebted to you, without knowing that I ever rendered you an equivalent for it. I mean the refinement and elevation of my taste by the influence of music. Still, it seems to me, I am seated in my apartment, and the transporting tones of your harpsichord are sounding in my ears; still, it seems to me, I close my books, leave my room, go to yours, give you a wink as I enter, to proceed undisturbed, place myself behind you, turn over for you the pages of your music, and leave you not, till the concert of Jourdany or Bach has been played to its close; and, attuned to the perception and appreciation of the humane and the beautiful, I return to my old books, to search in them especially for what is humane and beautiful in sentiment and expression.'

With Ewaldus Kist and a few of the other friends above mentioned, Van der Palm held a stated weekly conference, in which each in his turn read a composition of his own, and in which the criticism, both on that which had been read and on what might be further discussed, was free and informal. The youthful Van der Palm was lively, fond of visiting, of walking, of bodily exercises, of the theater,* of sports, and especially of playing at golf, which he did almost daily, and at which he was very expert.† Though he

* He resorted to it, so far as the opportunity was afforded in Leyden, somewhat frequently, especially when the great Corver was still on the stage. He testified that he, in the part of the Notary in *The Indigent of the Mercies*, first caused him to feel the nature of external eloquence, the idea of which was afterward fully developed in him by Bellamy.

† Fondness for social recreations continued with Van der Palm even to advanced age, and it was doubtless very beneficial to him both as to mind and body. He was particularly fond of relaxing

knew how to allow himself abundant time for these pleasures, he did not, however, on their account, neglect his studies.

'It was frequently matter of surprise,' he used to tell me, 'that I was seen playing the whole afternoon at golf in the Fountain, and in the evening at ombre, and yet was prepared the next morning to answer promptly on all the lectures; but it was not known that at three o'clock in the morning I was already washing myself in the States-basin, as the States-College was called.'

On Oriental languages and literature, his principal study, he read all the ancient and modern authors. The Schultenses, his favorites, lay ever at hand. Michaëlis, Lowth, Dathe, Herder, were his most confidential friends. How highly he esteemed the last appears from his writings. He assiduously pursued the Greek and Latin classics, and with what fruit is, among others, shown by his Memorial of the Restoration of the Netherlands, so entirely in the spirit of Sallust, and yet so entirely original and Dutch. Modern literature, we saw it recorded in his own recollections of Kist, he by no means neglected, especially the study of our national language and literature, early inculcated on him by his gifted father. With the best French writers he was familiar, and of the Germans he read Kleist, Haller, and Klopstock. With the rest he first became acquainted at a later period under the guidance of Bellamy, who knew how to inspire him with a predilection for Hölty, which he ever after retained. Of the English, he preferred the humorists,—Swift, Smollett, Fielding, especially Sterne. There was also in his own nature a humorous element, which even in old age was still very apparent in his relations and conversations, and also here and there in his writings directed the mode of expression. 'Tristram Shandy' was his favorite at the university, and remained so to his hoary days.

As a student mutual study was very agreeable to him. With a couple of select friends, to study together at the tea-table a lecture to which they had listened, in order that they might the next day answer on it more readily, was very much to his mind; and for those who were of this triumvirate (Van Roijen and Kist) this was, especially by means of his presence, and as it were under his presidency, very instructive.

When he approached theology proper, he did not allow his Oriental studies to repose, but prosecuted them zealously under the guidance and in the enjoyment of daily intercourse with Schultens.

himself by (sedate) card-playing, especially ombre, whist, and *tri-sept*, in which plays he was eminently skilled. The first he played in the family circle almost every winter evening after leaving his study, though seldom much longer than half an hour. He regarded the play, 'used as a moderate and not too long continued recreation, as neither unbecoming nor entirely useless.'

About this time he began the first work with which he was to appear before the public,—the 'Philological and Critical Elucidation of Ecclesiastes.' He completed it at the close of the year 1783, and defended it publicly the 31st January, of the following year, under the presidency of his beloved teacher, and in the presence of a great concourse. The first production of Van der Palm excited general admiration. It afforded evidence not only of his acute intellect, but also of his independent judgment, (as he had ventured to differ on some points even from Schultens,) and of the rarest learning for one at his period of life. It established his reputation as an Orientalist both at home and abroad, and is still regarded as one of the best works on its subject.

Meanwhile the time had arrived for Van der Palm to begin to give proof of that eloquence which, during half a century, has enjoyed the almost undivided admiration of our nation. He preached two or three trial sermons. The result of the first was, according to the assurance of contemporaries, a general consternation among the theological students. Great was the interest felt to hear him at each successive time; but however high expectations were raised, they were still surpassed, both by the beautiful assemblage of his external gifts, melodious voice, bearing, and gestures, and by what was at that time especially worthy of admiration, the beauty of the style, the simplicity and captivating power of presentation, and the appropriate and edifying treatment. The seats were crowded, even more than at an ordinary church service.

On the 5th of January, 1784, Van der Palm procured his dismission from the States-College, and on the 1st of November, following, he, together with J. J. van Steenberg, and J. Stolk, his former school-fellow and faithful university friend, was, after previous examination, received as candidate by the Classis of Leyden and the Lower Rhine. Here his success was great and immediate, and within a year he received overtures for an appointment as Professor of Theology, and Oriental languages at Lingen. He did not encourage the overtures, but labored on in his own vocation until 1787, when siding with the 'patriotic party,' he left Maartensdijk, precipitately on the approach of the Prussian army—and did not return. On the 14th of November, 1786, he married Miss Alida Bussingh, the daughter of his deceased paternal friend, the Delft-haven minister: a young, lovely, eminently beautiful and graceful woman, who was devotedly attached to him, and with whom he lived forty-nine years in the enjoyment of the highest connubial felicity.

LIFE AT MIDDELBURG AND MIDDELBURG MUSEUM.

Johan Adriaan van de Perre, Lord of Nieuwerwe, formerly representative of His Royal Highness, the Prince hereditary Stadtholder, lived, as first nobleman of Zealand, in great esteem and honor in Middelburg; having resigned his public offices, and reposing as a private citizen in the bosom of science. He is described by Van der Palm as a man of eminent piety, philanthropy, knowledge, and ability, excelling in all public and private virtues. Next to the honor of God, he had nothing so much at heart as the diffusion of sound knowledge and genuine refinement among all classes, and he felt constrained to devote himself to the promotion of this object. For this purpose an institution had been founded by him in Middelburg, bearing the name of the Middelburg Museum, and designed to combine in itself whatever might contribute 'to elevate the citizens, to enlighten the mass of the people, and, by refining their taste and ennobling their minds, to render more important the sphere of their activity.' The great object which he had in view he hoped to be able to attain by having the Middelburg youth educated by more competent and more experienced instructors, and by diffusing, so far as possible, and propagating the knowledge of the most useful sciences among persons in early life, and also among those of more advanced age. He desired, therefore, to procure a man sufficiently skilled in the necessary sciences, full of zeal for their diffusion, and qualified to communicate instruction in them in an attractive manner. Such a person, placed at the head of this institution, with some honorable title, was to reside in the Museum, and give regular lectures, without being restricted as to the precise method to be adopted, but bound never to inculcate any sentiments subversive of the confirmed and restored constitution of the republic.

To secure the services of a suitable overseer, Lord van de Perre offered to such a person an annual stipend of one thousand florins, besides a residence free, and required in return the following services: 'To assist him at all suitable times in the prosecution of his studies, and in all such scientific investigations as they were competent to make; to have the oversight of his library, cabinet, and curiosities; the direction of his charities to the necessitous, and the charge of his private expenditures, when traveling together; to conduct his domestic religious exercises twice a day, at appointed hours, which were to consist of a prayer, the reading of a portion of Scripture, accompanied by a brief exposition, and the singing of a psalm or hymn, in the presence of the whole family, on which

occasion Van de Perre desired that every one in his employ should be exhorted to the faithful performance of his duties.'

These duties; on the application of his friend Schultens, Van der Palm assumed in the spring of 1788. With the greatest zeal, he entered on his domestic career, amid a hundred delicate attentions on the part of his noble patron. The summer was spent by the family at the country seat Westhoven, situated on the west side of the charming island of Walcheren; about three-quarters of a mile from there the attractive Duinvielt was pointed out to Van der Palm as a residence for himself and family. Besides the customary religious exercises, maintained there as well as in Middelburg, Van der Palm held every Sabbath, late in the afternoon, (so as not to interfere with the afternoon service in the church,) a regular church service. For this purpose a spacious hall was set apart as a sort of chapel, and furnished with the necessary apparatus, even to an organ. It was sufficiently large to accommodate not only the entire family, but also a considerable number of persons from such of the neighboring villas as had access to it, by whom this privilege was highly appreciated.

With that ready and versatile talent for which he was so remarkable, and which was rendered the more valuable by his happy power of collecting and concentrating all the energies of his mind on the object demanding his present attention, Van der Palm now applied himself to those sciences which constituted Lord van de Perre's favorite study,—physics and every thing pertaining to it. How conducive this digression must have been to the increase of that general knowledge which appears in all his writings, may be easily comprehended. But his situation yielded him still another advantage. In the house of the nobleman he became familiar with the tone of the great world, which he subsequently, when the occasion required, could so perfectly assume without any appearance of affectation, and which was very serviceable to him, especially in his political career. The nature of his principal and most sacred employment, however, confined him chiefly to his favorite studies. The obligation to expound the Scriptures as a part of the family devotions, naturally gave him the opportunity of perfecting himself in the department of exegesis, and of subjecting various books of the Bible to a regular and critical investigation; whilst at the same time it was admirably fitted to make him practically acquainted with the requirements of a popular exposition of the Bible, and it laid him under a special necessity of cultivating his talent in this direction. It was not long before the public shared in the fruit of

these exercises, by the publication of 'Certain Songs of David,' in the year 1791, after the death of Lord van de Perre, dedicated to the dowager; a work which was pervaded by the spirit and taste of Schultens. Here he also laid the foundation for his work on Isaiah, published several years later, and in general for his gigantic work, the translation of the Bible, chiefly, however, with respect to the books of the Old Testament.

But the pleasures derived from religion and science which Van de Perre and Van der Palm enjoyed together, were of short continuance. The worthy Zealander died on the 8th of April, 1790; but Van der Palm, at her urgent solicitation, remained with the lady dowager Jacoba, whose maiden name was Van den Brande, to the time of her decease, which occurred August 14, 1794.

In 1795, Van der Palm was swept away into public life by the current of political events. The principles of liberty, equality, and popular sovereignty, on which the French revolution was based, had struck deep root among the patriotic party in this country. Toward the close of January, 1795, French commissaries came to demand the surrender of the island of Walcheren. On the 4th of February came General Moreau. But little choice remained. The revolution was actually effected. Honorable and estimable citizens perceived, that, if measures were to be taken to prevent excesses, as on occasion of the Orange revolution in 1787, many depredations had been committed in Zealand, and hence there was every reason to apprehend retaliations; if they were not to submit to the domination of the French, or to the dictation of functionaries, sent from Holland, of ultra-revolutionary sentiments, it was high time for them to take the matter into their own hand. Van der Palm shared in this sentiment. He accordingly placed himself with two of his friends, likewise men of integrity and of more than ordinary ability, at the head of the movement; and on the 7th of February, he was the first to appear before an appointed meeting of respectable citizens of Middelburg, and addressed them in the spirit in which he also composed the proclamation which was published on the 10th of February, and in which the aforesaid reasons for regulating a necessary revolution were exhibited.

In pursuance of his proclamation, the existing government was, a few days after, dissolved in the most courteous, gentle, and quiet manner, and twenty-five new members of government appointed. Among these was Van der Palm, and as such he was quickly dispatched to the meeting of the Provisional Representatives. His praise was soon proclaimed by the old members and by the secre-

tary De Beveren, who had gone with the revolution. . . . When called to leave his post, after discharging its duties for nearly a year, he retired uncontaminated, carrying with him, if not the favor of the opposite party, at least their esteem. He had executed many important commissions, having for their object the internal welfare of city and province, and had also interested himself in behalf of the Middelburg school system. He moreover contributed much to a weekly, bearing the name of 'The Friend of the People,' designed to direct public sentiment.

In the beginning of the year 1796, a second effort was made to call him to Lingen, as preacher and professor in place of the late Hajo Mensonides; but, probably mindful of the advice of Schultens, he declined this proposal. Soon after he was called to fill the professorial chair of Schultens, made vacant by the suspension of Professor Rau, and declined by Professor Muntinghe. In reply to the curators, he writes :—

From the time that I first applied myself to these branches of learning, I have felt that nothing would be more agreeable than to devote to them my whole time and attention, and nothing have I regarded as more desirable than to be engaged in imparting the knowledge of them to others; yet I have never allowed myself to cherish the hope of ever occupying, in this department, so honorable a position, nor have I as yet been so situated as to enable me to regulate all my studies with reference to such an object.

The office he assumed in June with a discourse 'De Litteris Hebraicis exornandis.' Two years later he was invested with the rectorate of the university, and resigned it, February 8th, 1799, in the usual manner, with an oration 'De Mohammede Religiosis Islamiticæ et Imperii Saracenici Conditoribus' (Mahomet, the Founder of the Islam Religion and the Saracen Empire). By this discourse, he produced in the auditory of the university a general sensation, both by the choiceness of his language and the extraordinary impressiveness of his delivery. Most striking was his eloquence when he employed it to set forth the eloquence of Mahomet, and on that occasion related the anecdote of Omar, who, having girded on his sword to bathe it in Mahomet's blood, finally fell at his feet, acknowledging him as Allah's great prophet.

SERVICE TO NATIONAL EDUCATION.

The executive government of the Batavian republic appointed, under the title of Agents, eight men, who distributed among themselves the various branches of internal administration. They were what are now called the ministers of the different departments, yet amenable only to the executive government. Among these agencies there was one of National Education, and to its administration were brought all matters pertaining to instruction, sciences, and arts, and

in general whatever could exert any influence on the morals of the people. To this office Van der Palm was called, in April, 1799, amid great applause of many correct thinkers in the land; and he accepted that important post, on condition of being permitted at any time to resume the professorship, which he reluctantly sacrificed to it. To this the curators of the university graciously consented, 'most highly extolling the happy choice which the executive government had made in selecting Professor van der Palm, from whose eminent abilities and universally known qualifications for the promotion of learning and the advancement of arts and sciences, as also for training the national spirit to the practice of the noblest virtues, the Batavian nation had already been led to entertain the highest expectations.' He retired accordingly to the Hague, but came, till the long vacation, on certain days of the week, to give lectures in Leyden, in order to complete the work undertaken with his students for that term.

It was in this high relation that Van der Palm was a second time to manifest his very extraordinary ability to reconnoitre, as with a single glance of his eye, the ground on which he was placed; to assume, by a single turn, the bearing which befitted him, and by a moment's reflection to comprehend all the means which could be rendered available. The dexterity with which he could manage affairs the most dissimilar, and which had excited the admiration of his political friends in Zealand, was here to appear on a more extensive scale. It was also quickly perceived at the Hague that the accomplished Orientalist, theologian, and orator had been born a statesman; and this was apparent not only from the manner in which he managed affairs, presided at meetings, granted audiences, spoke, or kept silence, but from his entire bearing and demeanor. Without losing any thing of his habitual amiableness and that agreeable negligence on which he always set so high a value, he was always and every where, even with respect to his most confidential friends, whilst he spoke or acted in his official capacity, entirely the minister, irresistibly maintaining his distance, though one knew not by what means. In a moment he was master of the entire vocabulary of the various branches of his administration, and understood all the requirements of a ministerial bureau. He secured in an eminent degree the affection of all his colleagues. His zeal was as great as his ability, and it was his sincere endeavor to render his country in this relation all those services which the beautiful combination of his rich endowments qualified him to perform. In a letter to a friend, he thus sets forth his motives for undertaking the work:—

When I accepted the Agency of National Education, one of the principal considerations which induced me not to evince an absolute unwillingness was the conviction that in this office very great injury could be inflicted on the national culture and morals, by rash measures and widely extended plans, based rather on the principles of a certain philosophy of the day than on a knowledge of human nature and true philanthropy, and the fear that this post might finally fall into wholly incompetent hands, should the sentiment gain ground that every good citizen must withdraw from the higher offices until he should be unworthily constrained to their acceptance, or, as the phrase is, until his services should be in demand. I was conscious that among my infirmities was not to be numbered, as least as chief, the disposition to devise extravagant plans, or, having devised them, to execute them at all hazards, directing and accommodating every thing to them; and it was almost my highest ambition in this delicate and onerous office simply to inflict no injury, not to wound the venerable national character, not to offend the indescribably deep-rooted national feeling of individual freedom, and to remove from the minds of many excellent persons the suspicion that this Agency of National Education was designed to undermine the influence of the Christian religion, and as far as possible to Frenchify our simple, inflexible nation. Should I have prevented this kind of evil, and should the agency have been in my hands neither a scourge with which to lacerate the upright heart of the simple, nor a means of causing the general discontent to rise to its highest pitch, then I flattered myself that I should at least have accomplished some relative good; and this I supposed myself in a condition to effect.

But I will not dissemble, that my expectations, at first so moderate, were subsequently enlarged; and, if they now exceed the limits of my abilities, it is chiefly due to you, sir, and to other worthy men, who thought me capable of something more.

In the matter of national instruction, I flatter myself that important improvements can not only be devised, but may also be effected, principally by avoiding two mistakes: the first, that of sacrificing to some ideal of imaginary perfection the real, but less brilliant improvements which it is possible to make (a principle that would probably admit of a wider application); the other, that of losing the good which is actually attainable, by desiring too much of it at once. Such shall be the rule of my activities in this matter, and from it I venture to promise myself something.

In the extended department which has for its object the practice of medicine in its entire compass, and in which so many glaring defects, chiefly in the rural districts, exists, I have the good will of many respectable men in this science, and their promised assistance and illumination, on which, in the devising of measures relative to this matter, I shall be able and obliged to rely; whilst, in the choice of the same, I hope to keep in view the required circumspection and considerateness; and I shall take special pains that I, who am *ex officio* under obligation to assist in removing empiricism, do not draw upon myself, though in a different sense, the same opprobrious epithet.

The flourishing arts and sciences, likewise an object of my care, is perhaps too dependent on circumstances, chiefly on those of external prosperity and ease, and is perhaps from its very nature also too free, or shall I say too capricious a matter, to allow me to promise myself that great good will result from my exertions in this direction, much less a golden age. Should I have the happiness of becoming acquainted with meritorious men who need encouragement, with opening intellects which need development, and should I be able in my relation to be serviceable to both, I shall esteem this a more real good than to give existence to brilliant institutions in our fatherland.

With such purposes and prospects, he proceeded on the busy and in many respects obstructed path of his new vocation. Foremost in his estimation was the improvement of the school system. It had long been with him a favorite idea. Son of a competent instructor, who was likewise author of a prize essay on school im-

provement, to which, in the year 1782, was awarded the gold medal by the Zealand Society, and who had regulated his own school in entire accordance with the principles advocated in this essay, with whom Van der Palm had seen what pertained to a well regulated school, he had certainly also, from his earliest youth, heard complaints respecting the defective laws of his country in behalf of this most important interest, and to him those defects had been exhibited. His arrangements with Lord van de Perre contemplated that he should be actively engaged in improving the Middelburg schools; with the Zealand nobleman also he must have frequently deliberated on this subject. During his political relation in Zealand, he deeply interested himself in this matter; and I find among his papers a draft from his own hand for the regulation of the Middelburg school system. Also in Leyden he had already been induced to take a seat with the existing school commission. Called now to make a general application of all the wisdom and experience acquired by him in this matter, the entire renovation of primary instruction was the fruit. Under the administration of Van der Palm, by his genius and vigor of mind, was laid the foundation of that school system which, though not yet perfected, has attracted, however, in so high a degree the admiration of foreign nations, and elicited the high and well known encomiums, first of Cuvier, and subsequently of Cousin. According to the principles and preparations of Van der Palm, under the pensionary Schimmelpenninck, the law of 1806 was prepared, with the regulations afterward prescribed and introduced; and these continued not only under the French regency, but have remained in force up to the present time. 'The improved school system,' says a competent writer, 'was the last gift of the Dutch Republic to the world.' The condition in which Van der Palm found the schools, when he entered on his duties, he has himself vividly portrayed in his address to the first assembly of school inspectors appointed by him, convened in 1801.

Address to School Inspectors in 1801.

In the instruction of the schools not only here and there is something to be rectified, but every thing, one thing more leprous than another, is to be restored and renewed. The instructors of youth, through want of adequate encouragement, by the extinction of all emulation, from defectiveness of training, and still more in consequence of embarrassment and poverty sunk into a state of deep humiliation, have no idea of the nature and importance of their vocation, and regard the man who would elevate them to their proper position as an odious innovator, who would sacrifice them to his capricious will, and deprive them of the rest that might otherwise remain to them during their worn-out lives. The mode of instruction prevalent in the schools is servile and mechanical, adapted not to excite in the breasts of the children a desire of learning, but to extinguish it; not to develop their mental powers, but to blunt them for the remainder of their lives; not to fill their memories with the knowledge of useful

things, but with confused sounds. This mode of instruction has, however, as its zealous supporters, the countless multitude of those who cling tenaciously to what is old, and regard as a crime the desire of being wiser than their fathers; the text-books of the schools, useless as to the purpose which they should subserve, uninteresting and prolix, have, however, by reason of their contents and origin, a venerable appearance in the eyes of many, who regard it as no less than sacrilege to discard these and substitute others in their place. Among the parents, we meet with extreme indifference as to the training of their offspring, in their minds the grossest prejudices, and in their families all the consequences of a neglected education; in church sessions a spirit of opposition, as quickly as the care of important matters, which it is impossible for them to manage, is withdrawn from their authority; in the clergy, dependence, timidity, or bigotry, all equally fatal to the reformation of the schools,—of the schools, whose locality alone not unfrequently presents an insuperable obstacle to their most necessary improvement. Add to this the effects of civil and religious factions, and the alienations which they engender; the almost general discontent, arising from the calamity of the times still more than from the essential defects of our form of government; and the state of the public treasury, which, exhausted by an amazingly expensive land force, and by the national debt, which has increased far beyond our ability, can offer no effectual assistance by which otherwise the greatest and most numerous grievances might perhaps be alleviated. With what prospect, might one well exclaim, with what prospect at all favorable can one undertake the work of school improvement, or comfort himself in the ungrateful office of inspector of schools? What Hercules will lead the stream to cleanse these stables of Augeas, and disinfect the polluted air of its pestilential breath?

The improvement of medical practice by means of better governmental regulations, was, according to his previous purpose, an object to which he devoted special attention. As commissary in this department, he appointed Dr. J. van Heekeren, a young but eminently competent and meritorious man, by whose coöperation the Agent himself quickly became familiar, in its entire range, with this department of public administration. To these exertions is due the regulation, contained in the ordinances of the government of the Batavian Republic of March 20th, 1804, which constitutes the unaltered foundation of all the regulations subsequently made up to the present time, and the excellence of which has been so evidently confirmed by experience.

The Agent was explicitly charged in his commission with the care of introducing a uniform spelling of the mother-tongue, the regulation of which was generally felt to be a necessity, and for which the Society for Public Utility had already made preparations. The Agent assumed the whole management of this matter; and the result of his efforts and consultations with certain other philologists was, in the department of grammar, the work of Dr. Weiland; and in that of orthography, the treatise of Professor Siegenbeek, prepared entirely under his own eye: a treatise which secured, in a very high degree, the approbation of the public.

The Agency of National Education terminated in December, 1801, in consequence of the constitution being again changed, which

was notified the 18th of October. In accordance with this, the government appointed a council of internal affairs,* consisting of three members, who acted alternately as president; Messrs. Van der Palm, De Kruif, and Lemans; and a secretary, Mr. C. J. Wenckebach, still living, who, as adviser to the council, has, to an advanced age, been useful to his country in the department of internal affairs. This council, after the agencies had been annulled, actually began its efforts; and Van der Palm, under a new title and in a somewhat modified relation, prosecuted yet four years his praiseworthy labors in behalf of his country. It was as member of the council of internal affairs, that he was enabled more fully to develop and execute his plans for the improvement of primary instruction, the introduction of a uniform spelling, and the proper regulation of medical practice; whilst he again showed that he was not embarrassed by the new difficulties to be encountered in his more extended sphere.

In 1805, this new constitution was superseded by that at the head of which was placed Schimmelpenninck, Van der Palm's university friend, and, as statesman, peculiarly the man after his heart. The council of internal affairs was dissolved in consequence of the appointment of a secretary of state for that department.

During his residence at the Hague, he served as a commissioner in the national library, and delivered several discourses; viz., on the national festival, or the withdrawal of the English and Russians from North Holland; first, before the general convention of school inspectors, and second, before the Society for Public Utility.

In 1805, the appearance of his translation and exposition of the prophet Isaiah was greeted with the general approbation of his university friends, as the sequel of his letter to the literary and ecclesiastical work of his earlier days. Henceforward Van der Palm did not engage in politics further than became him as a good citizen, feeling the deepest interest in the welfare of his country, and as a writer, to excite and maintain a good spirit among his fellow-citizens. As a loyal, quiet, and contented subject and citizen, he lived in the midst of his literary occupations, contributing to the good of his country from the abundant stores of his knowledge, cherishing no wish above or beyond the sphere in which he moved. He died September, 1840.

* The new constitution, accepted in the month of October, and proclaimed on the 17th, by its 33d article directed, that, to the government thereby appointed, besides a general secretary, should be added a secretary of state for foreign affairs, and three secretaries of state, as for marine, war on land, and internal affairs; or, at the option of the government, for each of the three last mentioned a council of not more than three members, and a council of finance of three members, with a treasury-general. The government chose, in place of the three mentioned secretaries of state, a council of three persons for each of the three departments.

SCHOOLS AND SCHOOL LIFE IN RHODE ISLAND.

PRIOR TO 1800.

INTRODUCTION.

THE earliest schools mentioned in the Town Records of Rhode Island are of the same character as the earlier schools in other English colonies — 'schools for the better sort,' endowed after the style of the English Grammar, or Free schools, by grant of land from the town, or benefactions of individuals, and the teacher generally a clergyman. Within two years after the settlement of Aquadneck (1638), Rev. Robert Lenthal, who had been settled in Weymouth, Massachusetts, but was admitted one of the freemen of Aquadneck (now Newport), in August, 1640, was in the same month 'called by a vote of the freemen to keep a public school for the learning of youth; and for his encouragement there was granted him and his heirs one hundred acres of land, and four more for a house lot.' It was also voted, 'that one hundred acres should be laid forth and appropriated for a school, for encouragement of the person sent to train up their youth in learning; and Mr. Robert Lenthal, while he continues to teach school, is to have the benefit thereof.' Mr. Lenthal did not labor long in his double capacity, as assistant of Rev. Dr. John Clarke in the ministry, and trainer up of youth in learning; for, in the second year after, he had gone to England. The land thus appropriated was 'laid out' in that portion of the island now incorporated as Middletown, and was exchanged for a tract which, in 1663, was divided into lots, 'to be sold or loaned, the rent to constitute a fund for the schooling and education of poor children.' From the language used in subsequent entries in the Town Records, it is evident that the school maintained in part out of this original grant was a Latin school, or Grammar school, in the old English sense of the term, and that this rent was applied to reduce the expense of poor scholars. The children of the rich were provided for in Rhode Island in private schools, or family teaching, and not a few were sent to England for their education.

Among the young men of Newport, educated abroad, was Henry Collins, born in 1699, who in 1730, formed a literary and philosophical society in Newport, out of which originated the Library Association which, in 1747, was incorporated as the Company of the Redwood Library—one of the oldest public libraries of the country, to which many scholars have acknowledged their obligations for their literary culture, and which still bears the name of its early benefactor.

The colored population of Newport, from the number of wealthy families, and from the commercial business of the place, in which, at that date, the slave trade entered as a profitable element, was exceptionally large; and a special school for negro children existed as early as 1765, in which reading, writing, and sewing was taught.

When Dr. Channing (William Ellery) was a school-boy (1780 to 1792) in Newport, young children of the social position of his father, a leading lawyer of the place, and of his mother's father, a prominent merchant, attended one of the numerous Dame schools. At the age of eight, he was advanced to the boarding and day school of Mr. Rogers. At the age of twelve, he was sent to New London to prepare for college, in the family of his uncle, the Rev. Henry Channing, who was settled there as pastor of the Congregational church. Of the Newport schools of that period, we have a vivid picture in the published *Reminiscences* of Rev. George G. Channing, (a brother of Dr. W. E. Channing), who was born in Newport May 6, 1789, and is still living (1877) in a green old age, in Milton, Mass.

The first settlement of Providence was made in or about 1636, and the person recognized in history as the leader and founder, speaks of himself, as having, during his visit to England in 1653-4, 'Taught two young children, a parliament man's sons, as we teach our children English, by words, phrases, and constant talk,—the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, and Dutch,'—and yet the first public action taken by the proprietors was in 1663, by ordering 'one hundred acres of upland and six acres of meadow to be laid out and reserved for the maintenance of a school.' The school itself, or schools were not subject to public ordinance, but were of the 'private or adventure class' for more than one hundred years. In 1685, Mr. Turpin, 'now a schoolmaster of said town,' petitioned the town to have the school land set out for his use and benefit, 'so long as he shall maintain the worthy art of learning.' His ability to be useful as town treasurer was improved even so late as 1743, but there is no evidence that his petition was favorably entertained. The first mention of a school-house erected or owned by the town was in 1752; and it was near a quarter of a century later, and after many strenuous efforts, that a system of public schools was established. According to the reminiscences of an aged citizen (Samuel Thurber), published by Judge Staples, in his *Annals of Providence*, schools were but little thought of previous to 1770, (when Dr. Manning removed to Providence with his Latin school, and the classes of Rhode Island college first opened in Warren in 1764.) 'In my neighborhood there were three small schools, taught by men, with a dozen scholars in each. Their fees were seven shillings and sixpence a quarter. Their books were the Bible, Spelling-book, and Primer. Beside these, there were two or three women's schools. President Manning did great things in the way of enlightening the people,'—as will be seen by his Memoir published in this Journal. And so did Rev. Enos Hitchcock, D.D.

RECOLLECTIONS OF NEWPORT SCHOOLS—1793-1808.

(By Rev. George G. Channing—b. 1783.)

Accompany me, if you will, to the primary school where I first commenced "the art of spelling and reading the English language with propriety."

The room occupied by the matron-teacher, Mrs. Sayre, and her daughter ("Miss Betsy," as she was called), situated near the corner of Mary and Clarke streets, was a low, square chamber, on the second floor, having no furniture, no desks, nor chairs, excepting a few for teachers or visitors. The children, boys and girls (the former dressed the same as girls), were furnished by their parents with seats made of round blocks of wood of various heights. These movable seats, at least thirty in number, would constitute as great a curiosity at this day of school accommodations and luxury, as would the old "ten-footer" district school-houses, were they set up for public gaze in one of our streets. Mrs. Sayre was a model teacher in her day. It was at the time of reading from Noah Webster's spelling and reading book, when an urchin, *alias* brat, sometimes softened into varlet, being pinned to the mistress's apron, was hammering or stuttering over a monosyllable, turning red and pale by turns as she jostled the poplar rod at her side,—it was just at that moment, when her eyes were bent on the sewing she was preparing for the girls, and on the garter-knitting for the boys, and she listening to and correcting the poor boy's mistakes,—it was just then that the block gyrations commenced, not exactly as on a pivot, but in sweeps, forming larger or smaller circles according to the whim of the block-mover,—it was just at that moment of astounding commotion, when the old lady, taking notice of the tumult, raised the wand, *viz.*, the poplar pole, and with distinct, nay fearful, articulation, cried out, in regular, syllabic order, "*Mi-rab-i-le-dic-tu*," which Latin word sounded in my right ear very much like "My rabble dick you." Of course, this, to us, meaningless word excited as much open-eyed and open-mouthed admiration as is produced by a grandiloquent orator. * * *

To return to Mrs. Sayre's primary school: I recollect very well the disagreeable sensations connected with the "dark closet," the prison of the disobedient. It was not resorted to, save in extreme cases. I remember what a fright was caused by one of the boys swallowing a marble (he is still alive), which led to a sudden dismissal of the school. At the close of the school on Friday afternoons, we were sent to a vacant room below stairs, where we recited the "Commandments," repeated the "Lord's Prayer," and received commendation or censure according to our good or bad conduct during the week. I remember most gratefully the happy influence of Mrs. Sayre's discipline and instruction. She was firm but gentle in manner and speech, governing by signs rather than by words. My preparation was excellent for the higher school I was soon to enter, especially in reading and spelling. The junior teacher (Miss Betsy) had under her care children of advanced standing. She was an excellent teacher, and was affectionately remembered for her assiduity in behalf of her scholars. During the recess twice a week, Mrs. Sayre taught colored children spelling and reading, gratis. This good lady and her daughter

were greatly respected and beloved. The latter married Joseph Rogers, Esq., of Philadelphia.

The first school-house of any note in the town was owned and managed by a gentleman of acknowledged ability for those days. Compared with buildings used for similar purposes now, it was a mere shanty, a "ten-footer." It was scant in length, breadth, and height, and poorly ventilated. The furniture, viz., the desks and benches, was of the most ordinary stamp. The former, used for the writing exercises, had leaden inkstands in the centre; and their surface was more or less disfigured with rude indentures, so as to render straight or curved strokes with the pen next to impossible; and the latter, the benches without backs, were so tall and shaky as to be very uncomfortable, especially to the shortest boys, whose legs had to be suspended, causing often extreme pain, and consequent disturbance, bringing on them undeserved punishment from the monitors, unless warded off by a bribe, in the shape of a top or a knife, or a handful of marbles. On the *rostrum* were two or three chairs for distinguished visitors, and a small desk for the master, on which *reposed*, not often, a punctured ferule, surmounted by an unpleasant-looking cowskin. So exceedingly disagreeable were the daily ministrations of these instruments of instruction, that every method was adopted for their destruction. But the master was more than a match for our organ of destructiveness. Such was school No. 1 in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

It certainly was not the prototype of the school at Rugby, where Dr. Arnold ruled successfully, without making any of the distinguishing marks which characterized my papilage. As the school grew, assistants were employed. Mr. Mary was an excellent teacher of the languages. Mr. Taylor (a most worthy citizen) taught the lower branches. The tree is known by its fruit; whilst, therefore, it must be granted that the greater number of the scholars were of the genus Booby, there were some of rare brightness of mind, whose intellectual culture did credit to those efficient and faithful teachers.

Our school-room had to be swept and dusted twice or thrice a week, and the classes were obliged to do this in turn. As this was a disagreeable task, those boys who had money (and these were generally of Southern parentage) could easily buy substitutes from among the poorer boys.

During my nonage, the Puritan spirit "still lived." It was an age of force. Punishment was deemed necessary. Exhibitions of authority constituted, day by day, a series of domestic *tableaux*. The discipline of the school was in accordance with the government of the home. It was arbitrary, with rare exceptions, in the extreme. Children were required to bow or kiss the hand, when entering or leaving either home or school. The school to which I was sent differed in no respect from inferior ones in the matter of corporal punishment. The ferule and cowskin were almost deified. Apologies increased, rather than abated, the swellings of the hand, and the wales upon the back. An appeal to parents was of no more avail than beating the air. This severe discipline was not interfered with by the clergy; for, in their day, *they* had to run the gauntlet; and as the men, and even the boys, of that age were notoriously addicted to swearing, drinking, gambling, and other vices, it was deemed necessary to subdue

these evils by blows. No faith existed then in behalf of moral suasion. It is delightful to remember that none of my name, as boys, at least, were guilty of uttering an oath.

The only classical school in Newport, strictly speaking, during my pupilage, was kept in New Church Lane, by Mr. John Frazer, a Scotchman. He was a good teacher, especially in Greek, Latin, and mathematics. * * *

Mr. Clarke Rodman (*a Friend*) had, in his own house in Mary street, quite a large school, devoted to the education of a class of boys and young men living at the South End, who were styled the "roughs." It was thought singular that a man belonging to the "Society of Friends," a non-resistant by profession, should have attracted to his school so many disorderly youths. But, though avowedly a non-resistant, he never suffered any act of disobedience to go unpunished. His manner of conducting the spelling was original. The word being given out, followed by a blow from a strap on his desk, the whole class, simultaneously, would bellow out the word,—say the word "multiplication,"—properly divided: His ear was so true, that he easily detected any misspelling. When this happened, he would demand the name of the scholar who had failed; if there was any hesitancy in giving the name, the whole class, instead of being dismissed,—spelling being the last exercise,—was detained, until, by repeated trials, accuracy was obtained. So many voices upon a single word, in so many keys, produced an amusing jingle, which invariably attracted to the spot all passers-by. A Mr. Knox, with remarkably long feet and an ungainly appearance, devoted most of his time to teaching very poor children their A B C, in a small building in the rear of Trinity Church.

Having given the reader a brief but accurate statement of the schools in Newport during my boyhood, I will give, in the next place, my recollections of some of the school-books then used. The advanced scholars in our school studied the Greek and Latin text-books of the day. The principal English books were Murray's Grammar, Noah Webster's Spelling-book, the Columbian Orator, Woodbridge's Dictionary, Daboll's, Pike's, and Walsh's Arithmetics, and Morse's small Geography. . . .

[Neither Mr. Channing nor Mr. Higginson make any mention of a rare spelling-book, of which we have a copy before us, printed in Newport in 1769, with the following title-page:

Instructions for Right Spelling, and Plain Directions for Reading and Writing True English. With several other Things, very useful and necessary, both for Young and Old, to read and learn. By G. Fox. Newport: Printed by S. Southwick, M,DCC,LXIX. [95 pages.]

Above we give the title of a Spelling and Reading-book, in which is a Catechism evidently composed to confirm the children of "true Christians called Quakers" in the right way, as follows:

Scholar.—Why are the true Christians called Quakers in this Age?

Master.—It is in Scorn and Derision that they are so called, to render them and the Truth odious to the People, that so they might not receive the Truth and be saved; yet Quaking and Trembling is no new Thing; for thou mayst read of Quakers in the Scriptures, as in Heb. 12. 21. Moses said, I exceedingly fear and quake. And it is said, Son of Man, eat thy Bread with Quaking, and drink thy Water with Trembling. And when Daniel saw a Vision, a great Quaking fell upon the Men that were with him: And Habakkuk his Belly trembled, and his Lips quivered, Hab. 3. 16.

Scholar.—Sure those that scoffingly call the true Christians Quakers, never read these scriptures; for they prove very plain, that there were Quakers in

the primitive Times : But why do the People called Quakers say thee and thou to a single Person ; is that according to the Scriptures ?

Master.—Yes, it is the proper Language to a single Person, and according to the Scripture ; God said *thee* and *thou* to Adam, and Adam said *thou* to God ; and People say *thee* and *thou* in their Prayers ; and it is the Pride in People's Hearts that cannot take that Language themselves which they give to God : And God said *thee* and *thou* to Moses, and Moses said *thee* and *thou* to God again : Jacob said *thee* and *thou* to Laban, and Laban said *thee* and *thou* to him again ; and Jacob and his Sons said *thee* and *thou* to each other, Gen. 43. to Chap. 49.

And Jephtha, who was a Judge in Israel, did *thee* and *thou* his Daughter, and she did *thee* and *thou* her Father the Judge again, Judg. 11. And when Daniel and the three Children were before the King, upon Examination, they said *thou* to the King, and the Chaldeans did *thou* the King, Dan. 3. And Paul did *Thou* the King Agrippa : And many other Examples there be in Scriptures, but these are sufficient : And *Thee* and *Thou* is singular Number, and to be spoken to one, *You* or *Ye* the plural Number, and to be spoken unto more than one.]

We are, finally, indebted to Mr. Channing for this tribute to one teacher of young ladies during this period:

Eloise Payne, the daughter of School-master Payne (a teacher of great celebrity in his day, in Boston, Mass.,) and sister of John Howard Payne (the renowned dramatist and poet), came to Newport about the year 1807-8, and opened one of the most noticeable schools in America; and, until her health failed, she exerted a great influence for good in the moral and intellectual culture of girls,—not only the residents of Newport, but also of many from New York and Boston, who boarded in Miss Payne's family. Perhaps no young lady-teacher ever enjoyed more deserved repute than Miss Payne. Her voice was delightfully sweet and winning. Her face was the index of unusual intellectual power. Her eye, lustrous and penetrating when she spoke, awakened confidence and love when she was silent. Her skill in penmanship was admirable. She attracted many, and held them spell-bound by her grace in conversation. Her religious faith yielded the fruit of holy living; so that, though her life was short, her death was deeply lamented. I have frequently been gratified by the expression of affectionate remembrance of this faithful teacher by the few pupils who still survive to call her blessed.

[Rev. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, in his History of the Public School System of Rhode Island (1876), adds the following notes to the above extracts:

Most of the schools mentioned by Mr. Channing appear to have been open to boys only. In 1794, however, the Newport Mercury announces that "Miss Vinal, lately from Boston," will open a school at the house of Mr. William Coggeshall, "and will be obliged to those ladies and gentlemen that will favor her with their custom." In 1797, James Wallace offers a "morning school for young ladies in reading, writing, and arithmetic," he also teaching navigation and book keeping as usual, doubtless to young men. In 1805, William Bridges offers to "teach young ladies and gentlemen. Private rooms for young ladies and board if required." In 1807, Mrs. LaSalle and daughter advertise a school, probably for girls, at their home; and the Misses Smith announce a Female Academy at Bristol. In 1808, Mrs. Elisa C. Brenton announces instruction for girls at Washington Academy, South Kingstown, her list of studies including "Epistolary style," as well as "Temple Work, Paper Work, Fringing and Tufting." And in 1811, Mr. J. Rodman offers to young ladies "the elegant art of writing," and also arithmetic.

One of the most characteristic of these school advertisements, especially in the order assigned to the studies, is the following in the *United States Chronicle*, of Providence:

Mrs. Hurley, from London, offers to instruct young ladies in all kinds of Needlework, Tambour, and Embroidery, with Drawing, Painting, and Music on the Piano Forte. Likewise, in Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, French and English, Grammar, Geography, and History—which will be explained by Rev. Mr. Hurley.]

JAMES MANNING, D.D., the first President of Rhode Island College (Brown University), was born in Elizabethtown, N. J., October 22, 1738, and died in Providence July 29, 1791. He graduated at Princeton in 1762, and became pastor of a Baptist church in Morristown in 1763, and before the close of the year removed to Warren, R. I., where he was settled over a Baptist church and established a Latin school which became the nucleus of the college of Rhode Island. The advanced pupils of his school were enrolled as college students when he became 'president and professor of languages and other branches of learning, with full power to act in these capacities at Warren or elsewhere.' With Mr. David Howell (afterward Judge of the U. S. District Court) assistant, the college was inaugurated 1765, and the first class was graduated at Warren in 1769. In 1770, the college was removed to Providence, and the president was settled as pastor of the first Baptist church. In Dec. 6, 1776, the college was disbanded, and regular duties were not resumed till May, 1778. In 1786, President Manning was appointed delegate to the Congress of the Confederation, and advocated by voice and pen the adoption by the State of the national constitution. In 1791, he entered heartily into the movement for the establishment of a system of public schools by the town—his last act was to draw up the following report:—

Report of the School Committee in 1791.

At a town meeting of the Freemen of the town of Providence, held by adjournment, at the State House, on Monday, the 1st day of August, 1791.

WHEREAS, the School Committee, who were, on the 6th and 13th days of June last, appointed and continued to make report respecting a petition pending before the meeting, for the erection of schools in this town, the expense whereof is to be paid out of the town treasury, presented the following report, to wit:

To the Freemen of the town of Providence, to be convened next by adjournment, the underwritten members of your School Committee, in pursuance of your resolution at your last meeting, report.

After the most deliberate and mature consideration of the subject, we are clearly of opinion that the measure proposed by the petitioners is obligable, for many reasons:

1st.—Useful knowledge generally diffused among the people is the surest means of securing the rights of man, of promoting the public prosperity, and perpetuating the liberties of a country.

2d.—As civil community is a kind of joint tenancy, in respect to the gifts and abilities of individual members thereof, it seems not improper that the disbursements necessary to qualify those individuals for usefulness should be made from common funds.

3d.—Our lives and properties, in a free State, are so much in the power of our fellow-citizens, and the reciprocal advantages of daily intercourse are so much dependent on the information and integrity of our neighbors, that no wise man can feel himself indifferent to the progress of useful learning, civilization, and the preservation of morals, in the community where he resides.

4th.—The most reasonable object of getting wealth, after our own wants are supplied, is to benefit those who need it; and it may, with great propriety, be demanded, in what way can those, whose wealth is redundant, benefit their neighbors more certainly and permanently, than by furnishing to their children the means of qualifying them to become good and useful citizens, and of acquiring an honest livelihood?

5th.—In schools established by public authority, and whose teachers are paid by the public, there will be reason to hope for a more faithful and impartial discharge of the duties of instruction, as well as of discipline among the

scholars, than can be expected when the masters are dependent on individuals for their support.

These, among other reasons, have led your Committee to investigate the means of accomplishing an object so desirable as the establishment of a competent number of schools in this town, to be supported at the town's expense. The Brick School-house and Whipple Hall are buildings conveniently situated for our present purpose; but, as the former is, in part, and the latter wholly, private property, it will become necessary that the individual owners should be compensated, and the entire property of those buildings vested in the town.

The large number of inhabitants on the west side of the river renders it indispensably necessary that a suitable school-house be erected on a lot to be provided for that purpose on that side of the river. It would also be proper that a fourth school-house should be provided on a convenient lot, to be procured near the lower end of the town.

When your Committee consider that, according to the late enumeration, there are in this town twelve hundred and fifty-six white males under sixteen years of age, they can not estimate the number of scholars lower than to require, at the Brick School-house, a principal Master and Assistants; at the School-house on the west side of the river, a principal Master and Assistants; and a principal Master and Assistants at each of the other school-houses; to be appointed by, and amenable to, a committee to be chosen by the Freeman, annually assembled according to law, to be called the Town School Committee, for the time being; by whom also the salaries of such teachers, from time to time, shall be contracted for and paid by orders by said Committee, drawn on the town treasury. The Assistants to be occasionally appointed, when need may require.

Your Committee are further of opinion, that all the aforesaid schools be subjected to such rules and regulations, from time to time, as may be devised and formed by the School Committee, for the time being, after the same shall have received the approbation of the Freeman of this town, in town meeting legally assembled.

And as the Society of Friends have a convenient school-room of their own, and choose to educate their children under the tuition of their own members, and the direction of committees of their own meeting, it is recommended that they receive, from time to time, of the money raised for schooling, according as the proportion which the number of scholars in their school shall bear to the whole number educated out of the town's funds, to be ascertained by their Committee to the Town's Committee, who are to give orders on the town treasury for the same, as in the case of other schools,—their schools being open to the Town's Committee for their inspection and advice in regard to the moral conduct and learning of the children, not interfering in respect to the address or manners of the Society, in relation to their religious opinions.

Finally, your Committee recommend, as new and further powers are hereby proposed to be granted to, and exercised by, the Town's future School Committee, which were not in contemplation at the time of their appointment, that they have liberty to resign their places, and that a School Committee be appointed for the Town of Providence, to remain in office till the next annual choice of Town Officers, and instructed to report the rules and regulations aforesaid to the next town meeting; that a committee be also appointed to contract, in behalf of the town, for suitable lots where to build the two new school-houses proposed to be erected, and to form plans and an estimate of the expense of such buildings, and to report the same to the next town meeting; That said Committee last mentioned, also inquire and report on what terms the proprietors of the Brick School-house and Whipple Hall will relinquish their claims to the town.

Providence, July, 1791

JAMES MANNING,
ENOS HITCHCOCK,
MOSES BROWN,
JOSEPH SNOW,
MOSES BADGER,
JABEZ BOWEN,

DAVID HOWELL,
BENJAMIN BOURN,
JOHN DORRANCE,
THEODORE FOSTER,
WELCOME ARNOLD.

The Report was accepted, but no efficient action followed until John Howland and the Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers engaged in the work.

JOHN HOWLAND AND PROVIDENCE SCHOOLS.

MEMOIR.*

JOHN HOWLAND, whose name is associated with the establishment of public schools in Providence, was born in Newport, R. I., in 1757—in the fifth generation from John Howland, who signed the compact in the Mayflower in the harbor of Cape Cod on the 6th of December, 1622. His mother was descended from James Barker, whose name stands second in the Charter of King Charles as one of the proprietors of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. With these antecedents, we can readily account for his antiquarian tastes and Puritan predilections, as well as for the sterling qualities of character which illustrated his whole career. His home, and school training, although of the most rudimentary sort, gave him the ability and habit of reading, a thoughtful observance of men, and things, and the power of expressing his thoughts in clear and vigorous English. At the age of thirteen, he was sent to Providence as an apprentice to a hair-dresser. At nineteen, he served two years in Col. Lippitt's regiment, and fought under Washington at Trenton. At the age of twenty-one, he set up business for himself, in which he was an expert; and his shop was the intelligence office and congress of public affairs for town, state, and nation for thirty years.

In 1803, he was elected town auditor, to which he was annually reelected till 1818, when he became town treasurer, and was continued from year to year till 1832, when the town of 4,000 inhabitants as he knew it in 1770 had become a city of 40,000.

In 1788, Mr. Howland adopted the views presented by Dr. Hitchcock, when he became a member of the Pennsylvania Society for the abolition of slavery, and ever after was a consistent and considerate advocate of 'the rights of the black man to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' Without taking the extreme ground of non-resistance, he believed in the settlement of difficulties between nations by arbitration; and in 1818, was one of the founders of the Rhode Island Peace Society.

* See *Life and Times of John Howland*, by Edwin M. Stone. p. 343. Providence, 1837.

While yet an apprentice, he became a member of the Providence Library (formed in 1754), was elected president, and continued to draw books until it was merged in the Athenæum in 1836. Always interested in preserving the traditions, and material of authentic history in original letters and written documents, he assisted in the formation of the Rhode Island Historical Society in 1822, and from 1833 to the day of his death, was elected and served as its president. He was a corresponding member of the Plymouth Pilgrim Society in 1820, the Society of Northern Antiquarians in 1835, and most of the State Historical Societies.

In 1789, he assisted in the formation of the Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers, whose proceedings are identified with every effort to advance the industrial, social, and educational interests of the town and State. Most of the leading measures of this association originated with John Howland, from its first reply to a circular of Alexander Hamilton, down to 1848, when the infirmities of age compelled a cessation of all work—at the age of ninety-one. Of this society he was secretary, vice-president, and president. It was the parent of numerous societies of the same name and object in other cities. In 1820, he drafted the constitution of the Rhode Island Society for the encouragement of domestic industry; and in the same year, delivered the opening address, by which the first exhibition of the manufactures, agriculture, and commerce of the State was inaugurated.

In 1819, on his suggestion, the Mechanics Association held a public meeting, which eventuated in the establishment of the Providence Institution for Savings, of which he was chosen treasurer, and was annually reelected till 1840, when at the age of eighty-three he retired, with a vote of thanks for his zeal, activity, and fidelity, from the Directors—who add 'that in his retirement from this public station at the advanced age of eighty-three, we trust he will continue to enjoy the comforts of social and domestic life, the esteem of his fellow-citizens, and the satisfaction of witnessing the prosperity and usefulness of those institutions which he has so largely contributed to establish in this community.'

Labors in behalf of Public Schools.

Few biographies present a more honorable chapter than that in which Mr. Stone records the history of John Howland's labors in his own language to secure the passage of the first school law of Rhode Island, and the establishment of Public schools in Providence. It leaves no doubt as to the authorship of these important measures. Mr. Howland died November 5, 1854.

Mr. Howland's narrative of his own work is as follows:—

In 1789, the Mechanics' Association was formed, and in this body began the agitation that led to the establishment of Public schools. When we came together in our association, we made the discovery of our deficiencies. There were papers to be drawn, and various kinds of writing to be done, that few of us were competent to execute. Then we began to talk. The question was asked, ought not our children to have better advantages of education than we have enjoyed? And the answer was yes. Then it was asked, how shall those advantages be secured? The reply was, we must have better schools. So when we had talked the matter over pretty thoroughly among ourselves, we began to agitate. As I was something of a talker, and had practiced writing more than most of my associates, a good deal of this work fell to my lot. And I was very willing to do it, because I felt and saw its importance. So I wrote a number of pieces for the newspaper, and tried to induce others to do the same. I prevailed, however, with only one, Grindall Reynolds. He felt as I did about the matter, and wrote a piece for the Gazette in favor of schools. We had, indeed, the good will of many educated men. There were Thomas P. Ives, Thomas L. Halsey, David L. Barnes, and others, who had been educated in the Public schools in Massachusetts, all of whom understood our wants and favored our movement. Governor Bowen and the Bowen family, were also friendly. So was Gov. William Jones. We met no opposition from the wealthy, but they having the advantages for their sons and daughters that wealth can always procure, did not feel as we poor mechanics did. They were not active. In this beginning of the movement, they seemed willing to follow, but were unwilling to lead the way. It is a curious fact, that throughout the whole work, it was the most unpopular with the common people, and met with the most opposition from the class it was designed to benefit. I suppose this was one reason why the most influential citizens did not take hold of it heartily in the beginning. They thought its success doubtful, and did not wish, in a public way, to commit themselves to an enterprise that would curtail their popularity and influence. This was not the case with all, but it was so with many.

The more we discussed the subject, the greater became its importance in our eyes. After a good deal of consultation and discussion, we got the Mechanics' Association to move in the matter. This was an important point gained, and an encouragement to persevere. A committee was chosen to take up the subject. Of this committee I was a member. They met at my house, and after due deliberation, it was resolved to address the General Assembly. I told them, that as neither of us were qualified to draw up a paper in a manner suited to go before that body, we had each better write a petition embodying our individual views, and bring it to our next meeting. Out of these mutual contributions we could prepare a petition that would do. This was agreed to, and the committee separated. When we next met, it was found that but two had been written according to previous recommendation. Those were by William Richmond and myself. Richmond then read his. It was in the usual *petition* style, ending, 'as in duty bound will ever pray.' I told the committee I did not like the doctrine of that paper. It was too humble in tone. I did not believe in *petitioning* legislators to do their duty. We ought, on the contrary, in addressing that body, to assume a tone of confidence that, with the case fairly stated, they would decide wisely and justly for the rising generation. I then took out my memorial and read it. It was not in the shape of an 'humble petition.' It expressed briefly our destitution, and the great importance of establishing free schools to supply it. It received the approbation of the committee, and was adopted.

This memorial was presented to the General Assembly in the name of our association. It was there warmly debated; and after pretty severe opposition, the Assembly referred the whole subject to a committee, with directions to report by bill. This bill, embodying a general school system, was drawn up by James Burrill, jr., Attorney General of Rhode Island. I was with him all the while, and he readily complied with my suggestions.

When the bill was reported, the Assembly was afraid to pass it, until the sense of the towns could be obtained. So it was printed, and sent out to the freemen for instructions. The great object now was to get the towns to vote

right. When the subject came before the town meeting in Providence, I moved that a committee be appointed to prepare instructions to our representatives, and report at the present meeting. This was carried, and William Richmond, Samuel W. Bridgham, afterward our first mayor, George R. Burrill, Wm. Larned, and myself, were constituted the committee. It was now late in the afternoon, and Bridgham said, 'Mr. Moderator, this is an important matter. It will require some time to draft instructions, and as it is now almost night, I think the subject had better be postponed until the next town meeting.' 'Never fear,' replied Richard Jackson, the moderator, 'I guess Howland has them already written in his pocket.' 'O,' rejoined Bridgham, 'I didn't think of that—then we can go on.' The committee accordingly retired to the office of George R. Burrill for consultation. The questions then came up, what shape shall the instructions take? Who shall write them? Various opinions were expressed, but I kept silent. Bridgham then turned to me and said, 'what do you think, Mr. Howland?' I had anticipated the course of events, and was prepared to answer the question. I had set up, the night before, till 11 o'clock to prepare a document I intended to submit to the town meeting. I therefore said to the committee, 'I have got my opinion in my pocket. If you wish to hear, I will read it.' 'Let us hear, by all means,' was the reply. So I took out my document, and read it. When I got through, Burrill said, 'well, that is just what we want. All we need do is to sign our names.' They accordingly signed it, without suggesting any alteration, and we returned and reported it to the meeting. The paper was adopted by the town, as its instructions to its representatives.

But though Providence was thus committed to the good work, the country towns generally were not so safe. In many, the movement was decidedly unpopular, and there was ground for apprehension that it might fail. One of the most influential men in the State councils was then a resident of Newport. I felt very anxious to secure the favorable expression of that town. I therefore wrote to the town clerk, urging him to get an article inserted in the warrant for the town meeting, to instruct their representatives to vote for the bill before the Assembly. And so fearful was I that this precaution would be neglected, that I made a special journey to Newport to secure the measure. Much to my gratification, Newport voted for the instructions, and valuable services were rendered by Mr. Geo. Champlin, the principal representative from that town. Essential aid was also rendered by a member from Smithfield.

At the autumn session, (1799,) the bill passed the House of Representatives, and was sent up to the Senate. That body was afraid to pass it, and did not dare reject it. So with other unfinished business, they laid it over until the next session. The Assembly met in February in this town. I resolved to persevere in my efforts to get the school bill passed. I saw the secretary, and at my suggestion, he placed the deferred bill among the papers first to be called up.

One day, in the early part of the session, I met Joel Metcalf, a man of strong good sense, who had interested himself in the matter of public schools. 'Come,' said I, 'you and I must go up to the Senate to-day and get them to call up the school bill.' 'Well,' he replied, 'I don't know as we can influence that honorable body.' 'We can try,' I responded. And so we went. We saw John Innis Clarke, a senator, and told him our errand. 'Well,' said he, 'the governor and senate are to dine with me to-day, and I will do what I can to secure favorable action.' We left, and went up to the senate chamber in the afternoon. As soon as I opened the door Clarke rose and came to me, and said, 'the school bill has just passed.' 'Was it opposed?' I inquired. 'No,' he replied. 'I called it up, and it was passed without a word in opposition.' Thus we achieved our great State triumph—not of long duration, indeed, as the act was repealed in 1803,—but long enough to secure a permanent blessing to Providence.

I shall not confine my narrative to the strict order of dates, as I have no minutes of the events I am relating by me. My object is to give a brief view of the part I took in this work. The town resolved to establish four schools, three on the east, and one on the west side of the river. I was on a committee to carry out the design. Having made a motion in town meeting, June 3, 1799, that a committee be appointed to purchase the shares held by the proprietors

of 'Whipple Hall,' and the brick school-house, standing near the State House, I was made chairman, and entered at once upon my duties. The other members of the committee were Richard Jackson, jr., and John Carlisle. Afternoon after afternoon, accompanied by Paul Allen, I traversed the north end in search of the proprietors. Sometimes we found one at home, and another in the street. In this way we picked up forty-five shares, at \$10 each—I making the contract, and Allen, as justice of the peace, legalizing it. Five of the old proprietors we never could find, nor could we ascertain who were their heirs. To this day, they have not been purchased. One of the proprietors, a sturdy, self-willed man, at first refused to sell. He 'wasn't going to educate other people's children.' But after being made to see that the system would go on, and his refusal would injure nobody but himself, (the town then owning over forty shares, and thus able to control the house,) he relented, and acceded to our terms. We next bought the brick school-house. This was more easily done, as the principal number of shares was in the hands of Moses Brown, and the town already owned the land on which the building stood. These shares were purchased at \$10.50 each. It was not so easy, however, to obtain the lot wanted for a school-house site at the south end. This land belonged to a gentleman who was unwilling to have a school of two hundred scholars so near his house and garden. I was not on the committee to make this purchase, but when I heard he had refused to sell, I went to see him. I asked the ground of his objections. He said if a school were established there, the neighborhood would be a perfect bedlam every time it was dismissed. Besides, his garden would be robbed of all its fruit. These were very natural fears. But I assured him they were groundless. Under our rules, the school would be dismissed by classes, and not permitted to loiter about the premises; and as to his garden, so strict a watch would be kept over the scholars, that his fruit would be safer than ever. I can not repeat all my arguments on the occasion. It is sufficient to say, that before I left him, he consented to sell.

Some time after, when the schools had gone fairly into operation, the town council, accompanied by the school committee, made their first visit to this school. When opposite his residence, I requested the company to pause till I went in and invited him to go with us. They did so. I went in, and said, 'I have been deputed by the honorable town council and the school committee, to invite you to accompany them in their first visit of examination to the Transit street school.' He appeared gratified with the attention, and readily complied with our invitation. I will not say there was not a little policy in this. At all events, it had a good effect. Our skeptical friend was delighted with all he saw and heard, and was ever after a firm supporter of the public schools.

Among the exercises of this occasion, was a poetic address made to the gentlemen of the honorable council and committee. It was written by Paul Allen, and spoken by a lad of nine years.*

* *Gentlemen of the Hon. Council and Committee:*

Heroes of ancient and modern days
Have challenged, and receiv'd, the palm of praise,
The favored poets will their deeds rehearse,
And blazon forth their destiny in verse.
A more exalted task your time employs,
To watch the morals of the rising boys—
To teach their wandering feet to tread the road
That leads direct to virtue's bright abode—
To check the sallies of impetuous youth,
And in their bosoms plant the seeds of truth.
No more shall avarice presume to blind
With her dark shades, the eyesight of the mind,
Nor shall presumptuous ignorance dare enslave
Those talents which the God of nature gave.
The tribute that from gratitude is due,
Our hearts rejoicing fondly pays to you;
Unostentatious virtue seeks the shade,
And by its own success is amply paid;
Thus the fair stream with silent steady force,
Through the long meadows winds its devious course,
And in its route, itself unseen the while,
Surveys the verdure spread and flow'rets smile,
Till all the meads in sweet luxuriance grow,
And tell the wonders of the stream below:

It was clear, that to carry out our system successfully, a larger sum of money than hitherto appropriated for schools must be secured. Here we experienced the strongest opposition, and were in greatest danger of defeat. I moved, in town meeting, for an appropriation of \$4,000. Some said it was too much, and others, hoping to defeat the motion, opposed it on the ground that the sum was insufficient. After listening some time to the discussion, I rose and said, that as there appeared to be a difference of opinion in the meeting, with a view to obviate the last objection, I would move the insertion of \$6,000 in the place of \$4,000, first proposed. This was seconded by one of the opponents, thinking thereby to give the motion its quietus. Much to his surprise, however, the motion was adopted. When the result was announced, great excitement prevailed. Two of the strongest opponents came up to me and said, 'you have taken us in—you have taken us in—we didn't intend to vote you so much money.' 'You have taken yourselves in, and I am glad of it,' I replied. This agitation of the school matter induced many of the mechanics to attend town meeting, and take an active part in town affairs, who never went before.

April 16, 1800, the town appointed James Burrill, jr., John Corlies, Richard Jackson, jr., John Carlisle, Joel Metcalf, William Richmond, and myself, a committee to devise and report a plan for carrying the school act into effect. This plan I drew up. It was reported to an adjourned town meeting, April 26th, and adopted.

The first school committee under the act of the General Assembly, was chosen in August, 1800. It consisted of President Maxcy, Rev. Dr. Gano, Rev. Dr. Hitchcock, David L. Barnes, Jabez Bowen, Amos M. Atwell, James Burrill, jr., William Jones, John Carlisle, and myself.—The town council, in conjunction with this body, appointed a sub-committee to draw up rules and regulations for the government of the schools. On this committee were President Maxcy, Rev. Dr. Hitchcock, and Rev. Dr. Gano. When nominated, Dr. Gano said the schools had his warmest wishes for success, but as he was not much acquainted with the matter, and as Mr. Howland had done so much, and understood the wants so well, he would decline in his favor. His wish was complied with, and I was placed on this important committee.

When the work of drawing up the rules came to be done, to my surprise, the burden of the labor was assigned to me. President Maxcy was pressed with the cares of the college, and could not conveniently attend to the duty. Dr. Hitchcock's health was declining, and though warmly devoted to the cause of education, was unable to give the subject the attention it deserved. So it was left for me to go on with it. This was rather a formidable undertaking, but as I had the approbation of the literary gentlemen, I boldly put my hand to the work. To aid me in the matter, I sent to Boston, and procured the rules established there, and also a list of the books used in school. After my rules and regulations were prepared, I submitted them to the committee and town council. They were accepted, and adopted October 16th, less than two months after my appointment.

Up to this time, I had never seen a grammar—a sorry confession for a school committee man, some may think—but observing that 'The Young Lady's Accidence' was used in the Boston schools, I sent to the principal bookseller in that town, and purchased one hundred copies for the use of ours. For whatever accuracy I have obtained in writing, I am indebted to observation and practice.

The introduction of grammar was quite an advance in the system of education, as it was not taught at all except in the better class of private schools. The same was true of geography, which had never been taught before. Geographies could not be bought in this town, so I sent to Boston and purchased as many as were wanted for our schools. Dr. Morse, of Charlestown, had published the first volume of his geography, and that was the work we adopted.

Thus, while you wish industrious to conceal,
Those virtues gratitude would fain reveal,
The morals of the rising youth shall tell
The names of those whose deeds deserve so well.
Why should my infant tongue those deeds relate?
Your future glory shall adorn the State,
When Patriots yet unknown shall tread the stage,
And shame the parties of the present age.

Many thought it an unnecessary study, and some in private objected to it because it would take off their attention from arithmetic. But it met with no public opposition.

To some, this recital may seem egotistical. But I have no such feeling. I was so constantly connected with the school movement, that I can not speak of it without speaking of myself. I take no improper pride in the part I acted. If better educated and more influential men had seen fit to take the lead, I should have been contented to follow. But I felt that somebody must do the work, and as others would not, I resolved that I would. I thank a kind Providence that I have been able, in my humble way, to be of service to my fellow men; and I wish to occupy no other place in their memories, or the page of history, than that which truth shall assign me.

For twenty years Mr. Howland, as a member of the school committee, discharged the duties of his office with scrupulous fidelity, and retired only when the demands upon his time as town treasurer, and treasurer of the Savings Institution, suggested the necessity of release from some of his public responsibilities. But though withdrawn from active participation in the management of the schools, he was ever observant of their progress. Standing, as they do, to use his own language, 'on the solid base of equal rights, and on the enlightened and liberal views of the citizens of Providence,' he found heartfelt satisfaction in every indication of their increasing prosperity. He was frequently addressed from abroad, asking for information in relation to them as their founder, which he promptly furnished.

Memorial and Petition of the Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers in 1799:

That the means of Education which are enjoyed in this State, are very inadequate to a purpose so highly important: That numbers of the rising generation, whom nature has liberally endowed, are suffered to grow up in ignorance, when a common education would qualify them to act their parts in life with advantage to the public, and reputation to themselves:—That in consequence of there being no legal provision for the establishment of Schools, and for the want of public attention and encouragement, this so essential a part of our social duty is left to the partial patronage of individuals, whose cares can not extend beyond the limits of their own families, while numbers in every part of the State, are deprived of a privilege which it is the common right of every child to enjoy: That when to that respect, which, as individuals we feel ourselves bound to render to the representatives of the people, we add our public declaration of gratitude for the privileges we enjoy as a corporate body, we at the same time solicit this Honorable Assembly to make legal provision for the establishment of Free Schools, sufficient to educate all the children in the several towns throughout the State. With great confidence, we bring this our earnest solicitation before this Honorable Assembly, from the interest we feel in the public welfare, and from the consideration that our Society is composed of members, not originally of any one particular town, but assembled mostly in our early years from almost every town in the State. That we feel, as individuals, the want of that education which we now ask to be bestowed on those who are to succeed us in life, and which is so essential in transacting its common concerns. That we feel a still greater degree of confidence, from the consideration that while we pray this Honorable Assembly to establish Free Schools, we are, at the same time, advocating the cause of the great majority of children throughout the State, and in particular of those who are poor and destitute—the son of the widow and the child of distress. Trusting that our occupations as Mechanics and Manufacturers ought not to prevent us from adding to these reasons

an argument which can not fail to operate with those, to whom are committed the guardianship of the public welfare, and that is, that liberty and security, under a Republican form of government, depend on a general diffusion of knowledge among the people.

In confiding this petition and the reasons which have dictated it to the wisdom of the Legislature, we assure ourselves that their decision will be such, as will reflect on this Honorable Assembly the praise and the gratitude, not only of the youth of the present generation, but of thousands, the date of whose existence is not yet commenced.

Instructions of the Town of Providence to their Representatives in 1799:

GENTLEMEN—Placing in you the fullest confidence, we have selected you to assist in the public councils of the State, not doubting your readiness to promote such measures as may tend to advance the general interest, as combined with the private happiness of the people. It never being our intention to bind our representatives by instructions, in the ordinary business of legislation, we should not have addressed you at this time, but from the deep interest we feel in the question submitted by the General Assembly to their constituents. On the question of Free Schools, gentlemen, all party distinctions are broken down: here there can be no clashing interests. On this subject one section of the State can not be opposed to another. Before this benevolent idea, every partial, narrow motive of local policy must disappear. As we are confident that the general object of the bill can meet with no opposition, the only question which can arise, will be on some of its particular provisions, as to the best mode of carrying its general principle into effect. On this point of the subject, we would recommend to you to support the adoption of the bill in its present form, as any inconvenience which may arise in particular districts, can, at any time, be removed after the law is in operation, when experience can point out to the legislature the expediency of a different arrangement; but this we confide to your discretion, on the positive injunction, that the general system is not affected.

Fully confident of the patriotism of our fellow-citizens throughout the State, that they are actuated by the same anxious solicitude for the public good, we doubt not but their representatives and ours will meet at the next session, bringing with them the rich deposit of the public sentiment, and, by a unanimous voice, establish Free Schools throughout the State; then will that glory, which attaches itself to the purest benevolence, and to the highest acts of public virtue, rest on their heads, and the members of the Rhode Island Legislature, having thus before the close of the eighteenth century, provided for the full enjoyment of a right which forms so essential an article in the great system of social order, will be mentioned with high expressions of gratitude and honor, through the ages and generations which are yet to succeed.

Mr. Howland's interest in the Common schools did not withdraw his attention from the higher educational institutions of the town. He was early noticed by Dr. Manning, the first president of Brown university, whose memoir he wrote for the Rhode Island Literary Repository in January, 1815. In 1835, the Board of Fellows conferred on Mr. Howland the honorary degree of Master of Arts for his services to the cause of learning through a long life. He died on the 5th of November, 1854, at the advanced age of ninety-seven—universally respected by the community for whose public institutions he had done more by his personal services, than the wealthiest could do by large pecuniary contributions. His latest public utterance was the following toast on the 4th of July, 1854:—

Rhode Island and her Schools—may she ever guard the integrity of her rights, and may her schools raise up patriots for her defense to the latest generations.

JONATHAN EDWARDS.

JONATHAN EDWARDS, Tutor in Yale College, President of Nassau Hall, and author of an Enquiry into the Freedom of the Will, was born in the East Parish of Windsor, now East Windsor, Conn., October 5, 1703—the fifth child of Rev. Timothy and Esther Stoddard Edwards.

His education, which was entirely domestic until he entered Yale College in September 1716, was marked by two peculiarities—the habit of close observation of the phenomena of nature, and of *studying with pen in hand*, not for the purpose of copying off the thoughts of others, but in the language of his biographer, Dr. Sereno Edwards Dwight, 'for the purpose of writing down and preserving the thoughts suggested to his own mind, from the course of study which he was pursuing. This practice he commenced in several branches of study very early; and he steadily pursued it in all his studies through life. His pen appears to have been, in a sense, always in his hand. From this practice, steadily persevered in, he derived the very great advantages of thinking continually during each period of study; of thinking accurately; of thinking connectedly; of thinking habitually at all times; of banishing from his mind every subject which was not worthy of continued and systematic thought; of pursuing each given subject of thought as far as he was able, at the happy moment when it opened spontaneously on his mind; of pursuing every such subject afterwards, in regular sequence, starting anew from the point where he had previously left off, when again it opened upon him, in some new and interesting light; of preserving his best thoughts, his best associations, his best images, and then arranging them under their proper heads, ready for subsequent use; of regularly strengthening the faculty of thinking and reasoning, by constant and powerful exercise; and, above all, of gradually molding himself into a thinking being—a being, who, instead of regarding thinking and reasoning as labor, could find no high enjoyment but in intense, systematic, and certain thought. In this view of the subject, when we remember how few students comparatively, from the want of this mental discipline, think at all; how few of those who think at

all, think habitually; how few of those who think habitually, think to purpose; and how few of those, who think to purpose, attain to the fulness of the measure of the stature, to which, as thinking beings, they might have attained; it will not, I think, be doubted, that the practice in question was the principal means of the ultimate development of his mental superiority.' This precious habit of reducing his observations and reflections to paper, is evidenced by a playful letter written before he was eleven years old, on the immateriality of the soul, and a formal dissertation, addressed, one year later and before he entered college, to a correspondent of his father, on the habits of the forest spider—a production which would be remarkable now in a youth of more years regularly trained in natural history.

At college he stood first in his class, giving special attention in his second year, though not yet fourteen years of age, to Locke on the Human Understanding, from which, he writes, 'he derived higher pleasure than the miser from some newly discovered treasure.' In his third year he writes to his father to get him Alstead's Geometry and Garendus' Astronomy, 'with which I would entreat you to get a pair of dividers, or mathematician's compasses, and a scale, which are absolutely necessary in order to learning mathematics; and also the Art of Thinking, which I am persuaded would be no less profitable than the other necessary to me.' With such studies and habits of study at this age, he justifies in himself the remark of Alexander Hamilton, recorded by Judge Benson in his copy of the *Freedom of the Will*, 'Nothing ever came from the human mind more in proof that man was a reasoning animal. It is unrelaxed logical statement throughout, from the first page to the last.' But Edwards was much higher than a reasoning animal. His was an humble and devout Christian soul, as evidenced in his meditations while residing in New York preaching to a congregation of Presbyterians, in 1723,—'The soul of a true Christian appeared like such a little white flower as we see in the Spring of the year; low and humble on the ground, opening its bosom to receive the pleasant beams of the sun's glory; rejoicing, as it were, in calm rapture, diffusing around a sweet fragrantcy; standing peacefully and lovingly, in the midst of other flowers round about; all in like manner opening their bosoms to drink in the light of the sun.'

From 1723 to 1726 he was tutor at Yale College; and in 1727 he was associated with his grandfather, Dr. Stoddard, as colleague of the church at Northampton, whom he succeeded as pastor in 1729. During his ministry at Northampton, he wrote his '*Treatise on Religious Affections*,' and '*Narrative of Surprising Conversions*,' and '*Qualifications for Communion*.' The latter was the immediate cause of a controversy which led to his most unrighteous dismissal in 1750, and in the year following, to his settlement over the church and congregation at Stockbridge, as well as missionary to the Indians in that vicinity.

It was in Stockbridge, in 1754, he composed, in four months and a half, in the midst of his duties as pastor, missionary, and teacher, his '*Essay on the Freedom of the Will*,' which for logical acuteness and subtlety, according to Dugald Stewart, 'places its author second to no metaphysician bred in the universities of Europe,' and for a century was regarded as the most original contribution made by America to the vast treasure-house of English literature. 'Having produced him,' says Hazlitt, 'the Americans need not despair of their metaphysicians. We do not scruple to say that he is one of the acutest, most powerful, and of all reasoners the most conscientious and sincere. His clearness and candor are alike admirable.'

In 1757 Edwards was elected to the presidency of Nassau Hall, the College of New Jersey at Princeton, and in January, 1758, was installed in that office; but before he had opportunity to demonstrate his solid and accurate learning, and vast and acute genius, he died in the fifty-fifth year of his age, a victim of some precautionary course to escape the small-pox then prevailing in the vicinity.

President Edwards' letter to the Trustees of Princeton College illustrates his habits of study, and the vastness of his literary plans.

My method of study, from my first beginning the work of the ministry, has been very much by writing; applying myself, in this way, to improve every important hint; pursuing the clue to my utmost, when anything in reading, meditation, or conversation, has been suggested to my mind that seemed to promise light in any weighty point; thus penning what appeared to me my best thoughts, on innumerable subjects, for my own benefit. The longer I prosecuted my studies in this method, the more habitual it became, and the more pleasant and profitable I found it. The farther I travelled in this way, the more and wider the field opened, which has occasioned my laying out many things in my mind to do in this manner, if God should spare my life, which my heart hath been much upon; particularly many things against most of the prevailing errors of the present day, which I cannot with any patience see maintained (to the utter subverting of the Gospel of Christ) with so high a hand, and so long continued a triumph, with so little control, when it appears so evident to me that there is truly no foundation for any of this glorying and insult. I have already published something on one of the main points in dispute between the Arminians and the Calvinists, and have it in view, God willing (as I have already signified to the public), in like manner to consider all the other controverted points, and have done much towards a preparation for it.

His plan contemplated a series of essays similar to his '*Freedom of the Will*,' a history of the '*Work of Redemption*,' a body of divinity in an entire new method being thrown into the form of history, and a still larger work on the '*Harmony of the Old and New Testaments*,' in three parts. His view of his activity as chief officer of the college was:

If I should see light to determine me to accept the place offered me, I should be willing to take upon me the work of a president, so far as it consists in the general inspection of the whole society; and to be subservient to the school, as to their order and methods of study and instruction, assisting myself in the immediate instruction in the arts and sciences (as discretion should direct, and occasion serve, and the state of things require), especially of the senior class; and, added to all, should be willing to do the whole work of a professor of divinity in public and private lectures, proposing questions to be answered, and some to be discussed in writing and free conversation, in meetings of graduates and others, appointed, in proper seasons, for these ends.

JONATHAN EDWARDS.

3. October 5, 1708—4. March 22, 1733.

This eminent divine and metaphysician, after his graduation at Yale College in September, 1720, before the completion of his seventeenth year, spent nearly two years at New Haven preparing himself for the work of the ministry, and from August, 1722, preached with great acceptance in New York for eight months, when he returned to his father's house in Windsor, in April, 1723. During this period he formed a series of resolutions to the number of seventy to regulate his own heart and life. These resolutions were plainly intended solely for his own eye and guidance, and were published for the first time by his biographer, Rev. Sereno Edwards Dwight, D.D., in the collected edition of his works in 1829. From this biography we reproduce them, omitting the formal *Resolved* which precedes in the original the substance of each resolution. The first twenty-one were written at once, with the same pen; as were the next ten at a subsequent sitting—and up to thirty-four were written before Dec. 18, 1723. The particular time and occasion of making the rest are mentioned in his Diary. The last was written in August, 1723.

RESOLUTIONS.

Being sensible that I am unable to do anything without God's help, I do humbly entreat Him by His grace to enable me to keep these Resolutions, so far as they are agreeable to His will, for Christ's sake.

Remember to Read Over these Resolutions Once a Week.

1. *Resolved*, That I will do whatsoever I think to be most to the glory of God and my own good, profit and pleasure, in the whole of my duration; without any consideration of the time, whether now, or never so many myriads of ages hence. *Resolved* to do whatever I think to be my duty, and most for the good and advantage of mankind in general. *Resolved*, so to do, whatever difficulties I meet with, how many soever, and how great soever.
2. To be continually endeavoring to find out some new contrivance, and invention, to promote the fore-mentioned things.
3. If ever I shall fall and grow dull, so as to neglect to keep any part of these Resolutions, to repent of all I can remember when I come to myself again.
4. Never to do any manner of thing, whether in soul or body, less or more, but what tends to the glory of God, nor be, nor suffer it, if I can possibly avoid it.
5. Never to lose one moment of time, but to improve it in the most profitable way I possibly can.
6. To live with all my might, while I do live.
7. Never to do anything which I should be afraid to do if it were the last hour of my life.
8. To act in all respects, both speaking and doing, as if nobody had been so vile as I, and as if I had committed the same sins, or had the same infirmities or failings as others; and that I will let the knowledge of their failings promote nothing but shame in myself, and prove only an occasion of my confessing my own sins and misery to God. *Vid. July 30.*
9. To think much on all occasions of my own dying, and of the common circumstances which attend death.
10. When I feel pain, to think of the pains of Martyrdom and of Hell.
11. When I think of any Theorem in divinity to be solved, immediately to do what I can towards solving it, if circumstances do not hinder.
12. If I take delight in it as a gratification of pride, or vanity, or on any such account, immediately to throw it by.
13. To be endeavoring to find out fit objects of charity and liberality.
14. Never do anything out of revenge.

15. Never to suffer the least motions of anger towards irrational beings.
16. Never to speak evil of any one, so that it shall tend to his dishonor, more or less, upon no account except for some real good.
17. That I will live so as I shall wish I had done when I come to die.
18. To live so at all times as I think is best in my most devout frames, and when I have the clearest notions of the things of the Gospel and another world.
19. Never to do anything which I should be afraid to do if I expected it would not be above an hour before I should hear the last trump.
20. To maintain the strictest temperance in eating and drinking.
21. Never to do anything which, if I should see in another, I should count a just occasion to despise him for, or to think any way the more meanly of him.
22. To endeavor to obtain for myself as much happiness in the other world as I possibly can, with all the power, might, vigor, and vehemence, yea violence, I am capable of, or can bring myself to exert in any way that can be thought of.
23. Frequently to take some deliberate action which seems most unlikely to be done for the glory of God, and trace it back to the original intention, designs and ends of it; and if I find it not to be for God's glory to repute it as a breach of the fourth Resolution.
24. Whenever I do any consciously evil action, to trace it back till I come to the original cause; and then both carefully endeavor to do so no more, and to fight and pray with all my might against the original of it.
25. To examine carefully and constantly what that one thing in me is which causes me in the least to doubt of the love of God; and to direct all my forces against it.
26. To cast away such things as I find do abate my assurance.
27. Never wilfully to omit anything except the omission be for the glory of God; and frequently to examine my omissions.
28. To study the Scriptures so steadily, constantly and frequently, as that I may find and plainly perceive myself to grow in the knowledge of the same.
29. Never to count that a prayer, nor to let that pass as a prayer, nor that as a petition of a prayer, which is so made, that I cannot hope that God will answer it; nor that as a confession which I cannot hope God will accept.
30. To strive, every week, to be brought higher in religion, and to a higher exercise of grace than I was the week before.
31. Never to say anything at all against anybody, but when it is perfectly agreeable to the highest degree of Christian honor, and of love to mankind, agreeable to the lowest humility, and sense of my own faults and failings, and agreeable to the Golden Rule; often, when I have said anything against any one, to bring it to, and try it strictly by the test of this Resolution.
32. To be strictly and firmly faithful to my trust, that that, in Prov. xx, 6, *A faithful man, who can find?* may not be partly fulfilled in me.
33. To do always what I can towards making, maintaining and preserving peace, when it can be done without an overbalancing detriment in other respects. Dec. 26, 1722.
34. In narrations never to speak anything but the pure and simple verity.
35. Whenever I so much question whether I have done my duty as that my quiet and calm is thereby disturbed, to set it down, and also how the question was resolved. Dec. 18, 1722.
36. Never to speak evil of any, except I have some particular good call to it. Dec. 19, 1722.
37. To enquire every night, as I am going to bed, Wherein I have been negligent; what sin I have committed; and wherein I have denied myself;—also, at the end of every week, month and year. Dec. 22 and 26, 1722.
38. Never to utter anything that is sportive, or matter of laughter, on a Lord's day. *Sabbath evening, Dec. 23, 1722.*
39. Never to do anything of which I so much question the lawfulness, as that I intend, at the same time, to consider and examine afterwards, whether it be lawful or not; unless I so much question the lawfulness of the omission.
40. To enquire every night before I go to bed whether I have acted in the best way I possibly could, with respect to eating and drinking. Jan. 7, 1723.
41. To ask myself at the end of every day, week, month and year, wherein I could possibly in any respect have done better. Jan. 11, 1723.
42. Frequently to renew the dedication of myself to God which was made at my baptism, which I solemnly renewed when I was received into the communion of the church, and which I have solemnly re-made this 19th day of January, 1723.
43. Never, henceforward, till I die, to act as if I were any way my own,

but entirely and altogether God's; agreeably to what is to be found in Saturday, Jan. 12th. Jan. 12th, 1723.

44. That no other end but religion shall have any influence at all on any of my actions; and that no action shall be, in the least circumstance, any otherwise than the religious and will carry it. Jan. 12, 1723.

45. Never to allow any pleasure or grief, joy or sorrow, nor any affection at all, nor any degree of affection, nor any circumstance relating to it, but what helps Religion. Jan. 12 and 13, 1723.

46. Never to allow the least measure of any fretting or uneasiness at my father or mother. To suffer no effects of it so much as in the least alteration of speech, or motion of my eye; and to be especially careful of it with respect to any of our family.

47. To endeavor to my utmost to deny whatever is not most agreeable to a good and universally sweet and benevolent, quiet, peaceable, contented and easy, compassionate and generous, humble and meek, submissive and obliging, diligent and industrious, charitable and even, patient, moderate, forgiving and sincere, temper; and to do at all times what such a temper would lead me to; and to examine strictly at the end of every week whether I have so done. Sabbath morning, May 3, 1723.

48. Constantly with the utmost niceness and diligence, and the strictest scrutiny, to be looking into the state of my soul, that I may know whether I have truly an interest in Christ or not; that when I come to die, I may not have any negligence respecting this to repent of. May 26, 1723.

49. That this never shall be, if I can help it.

50. That I will act so as I think I shall judge would have been best, and most prudent, when I come into the future world. July 5, 1723.

51. That I will act so in every respect as I think I shall wish I had done, if I should at last be damned. July 8, 1723.

52. I frequently hear persons in old age say how they would live, if they were to live their lives over again. That I will live just so as I can think I shall wish I had done supposing I live to old age. July 8, 1723.

53. To improve every opportunity when I am in the best and happiest frame of mind to cast and venture my soul on the Lord Jesus Christ, to trust and confide in him, and consecrate myself wholly to him; that from this I may have assurance of my safety, knowing that I confide in my Redeemer. July 8, 1723.

54. Whenever I hear anything spoken in commendation of any person, if I think it would be praiseworthy in me, that I will endeavor to imitate it. July 8, 1723.

55. To endeavor to my utmost so to act as I can think I should do if I had already seen the happiness of Heaven, and Hell torments. July 8, 1723.

56. Never to give over, nor in the least to slacken, my fight with my corruptions, however unsuccessful I may be.

57. When I fear misfortunes and adversity, to examine whether I have done my duty, and resolve to do it, and let the event be just as Providence orders it. I will, as far as I can, be concerned about nothing but my duty and my sin. June 9, and July 13, 1723.

58. Not only to refrain from an air of dislike, fretfulness, and anger in conversation, but to exhibit an air of love, cheerfulness and benignity. May 27, and July 13, 1723.

59. When I am most conscious of provocations to ill-nature and anger that I will strive most to feel and act good-naturedly; yea, at such times, to manifest good nature, though I think that in other respects it would be disadvantageous, and so as would be imprudent at other times. May 12, July 11, and July 13.

60. Whenever my feelings begin to appear in the least out of order, when I am conscious of the least uneasiness within, or the least irregularity without, I will then subject myself to the strictest examination. July 4 and 13, 1723.

61. That I will not give way to that listlessness which I find unbends and relaxes my mind from being fully and fixedly set on religion, whatever excuse I may have for it—that what my listlessness inclines me to do is best to be done, &c. May 21, and July 13, 1723.

62. Never to do anything but my duty, and then according to Eph. vi. 6-8, to do it willingly and cheerfully, as unto the Lord and not to man; knowing that whatever good thing any man doth the same shall he receive of the Lord. June 25, and July 13, 1723.

63. On the supposition that there never was to be but one individual in the world at any one time who was properly a complete Christian, in all respects of a right stamp, having Christianity always shining in its true lustre, and appearing excellent and lovely from whatever part and under whatever charac-

ter viewed: To act just as I would do if I strove with all my might to be that one, who should live in my time. Jan. 14, and July 13, 1733.

64. When I find those "*groanings which cannot be uttered*," of which the Apostle speaks, and those "*breakings of soul for the longing it hath*," of which the Psalmist speaks, Psalm, cxix. 20, That I will promote them to the utmost of my power, and that I will not be weary of earnestly endeavoring to vent my desires, nor of the repetitions of such earnestness. July 23, and August 10, 1733.

65. Very much to exercise myself in this all my life long, viz. With the greatest openness of which I am capable to declare my ways to God, and lay open my soul to him, all my sins, temptations, difficulties, sorrows, fears, hopes, desires, and everything, and every circumstance, according to Dr. Manton's Sermon on the 119th Psalm. July 23, and Aug. 10, 1733.

66. That I will endeavor always to keep a benign aspect, and air of acting and speaking in all places, and in all companies, except it should so happen that duty requires otherwise.

67. After afflictions to enquire, What I am the better for them; What good I have got by them; and, What I might have got by them.

68. To confess frankly to myself all that which I find in myself, either infirmity or sin; and, if it be what concerns religion, also to confess the whole case to God, and implore needed help. July 23, and Aug. 10, 1733.

69. Always to do that which I shall wish I had done when I see others do it. Aug. 11, 1733.

70. Let there be something of benevolence in all that I speak. Aug. 17, 1733.

His biographer remarks: "Those who have read the preceding Resolutions will not need to be apprised that they discover in the writer a knowledge of his own heart, of the human character, and of the secret springs of human action, as well as a purity, conscientiousness and evangelical integrity, very rarely found in an individual. His obvious intention and rule was, to refer every voluntary action, and every course of conduct, habitually and immediately to the eye of Omniscience; to live as always surrounded by His presence; and to value nothing in comparison with His approbation, and, what of course accompanied it, that of his own conscience. At this early period he had begun to remember that he was immortal, that he was soon to enter on a stage of existence and action incomparably more expanded and dignified than the present, and that nothing here had any ultimate importance, except as it had a bearing on his own welfare and that of others in that nobler state of being. These Resolutions are, perhaps, to persons of every age, but especially to the young, the best uninspired summary of Christian duty, the best directory to high attainments in evangelical virtue, which the mind of man has hitherto been able to form. They are, also, in the highest degree interesting, as disclosing the writer's own character; and no one will wonder that the youth, who, in his nineteenth year, could, in the presence of God, deliberately and solemnly form the first Resolution:—'*Resolved, That I will do whatsoever I think to be most to God's glory and my own good, profit and pleasure, ON THE WHOLE; without any consideration of the time, whether now, or never so many myriads of ages hence; to do whatever I think to be my duty, and most for the good and advantage of mankind in general—whatever difficulties I meet with, how many and how great soever;*'—should have attained to an elevation and energy of virtue rarely witnessed in this fallen world."

STEAL NOT THE TIME AND PROPERTY OF OTHERS.

There are many ways in which persons may unjustly usurp their neighbor's property, by withholding what is his due; but I shall particularize only two:

1. Their unfaithfulness in not fulfilling engagements. Ordinarily, when men promise anything to their neighbor, or enter into engagements, by undertaking any business with which their neighbor intrusts them, their engagements invest that neighbor with a right to that which is engaged; so that if they withhold it, they usurp that which belongs to their neighbor. So it is when men break their promises, because they find them to be inconvenient, and they

can not fulfill them without difficulty and trouble; or merely because they have altered their minds since they promised. They think they have not consulted their own interests in the promise which they have made, and that if they had considered the matter as much before they promised, as they have since, they should not have promised. Therefore they take the liberty to set their own promises aside. Besides, sometimes persons violate this command, by neglecting to fulfill their engagements, through a careless, negligent spirit.

They violate this command, in withholding what belongs to their neighbor, when they are not faithful in any business which they have undertaken to do for their neighbor. If their neighbor has hired them to labor for him for a certain time, and they be not careful well to husband the time; if they be hired to day's labor, and be not careful to improve the day, as they have reason to think he who hired them justly expected of them; or if they be hired to accomplish such a piece of work, and be not careful to do it well, but do it slightly, do it not as if it were for themselves, or as they would have others do for them, when they in like manner intrust them with any business of theirs; or if they be intrusted with any particular affair, which they undertake, but use not that care, contrivance, and diligence, to manage it so as will be to the advantage of him who intrusts them, and as they would manage it, or would insist that it should be managed, if the affair were their own; in all these cases they unjustly withhold what belongs to their neighbor.

2. Another way in which men unjustly withhold what is their neighbor's, is in neglecting to pay their debts. Sometimes this happens, because they run so far into debt that they can not reasonably hope to be able to pay their debts; and this they do, either through pride and affectation of living above their circumstances; or through a grasping, covetous disposition, or some other corrupt principle. Sometimes they neglect to pay their debts from carelessness of spirit about it, little concerning themselves whether they are paid or not, taking no care to go to their creditors, or to send to him; and if they see him from time to time, they say and do nothing about their debts, because it would put them to some inconvenience. The reason why they do it not, is not because they can not do it, but because they can not do it so conveniently as they desire; and so they rather choose to put their creditor to inconvenience by being without what properly belongs to him, than to put themselves to inconvenience by being without what doth not belong to them, and what they have no right to detain. In any of these cases, they unjustly usurp the property of their neighbor.

Sometimes persons have that by them with which they could pay their debts if they would; but they want to lay out their money for something else, to buy gay clothing for their children, or to advance their estates, or for some such end. They have other designs in hand, which must fail, if they pay their debts. When men thus withhold what is due, they unjustly usurp what is not their own. Sometimes they neglect to pay their debts, and their excuse for it is, that their creditor doth not need it; that he hath a plentiful estate, and can well bear to lie out of his money. But if the creditor be ever so rich, that gives no right to the debtor to withhold from him that which belongs to him. If it be due, it ought to be paid; for that is the very notion of its being due. It is no more lawful to withhold from a man what is his due, without his consent, because he is rich and able to do without it, than it is lawful to steal from a man because he is rich and able to bear the loss.—*Edwards' Sermons.*

SIR WALTER RALEIGH, 1584-1618.*

INSTRUCTIONS TO HIS SON AND TO POSTERITY.

I. *Choice of Friends.*

There is nothing more becoming any wise man than to make choice of friends; for by them thou shalt be judged what thou art. Let them therefore be wise and virtuous, and none of them who follow after thee for gain; but make choice of thy betters than thy inferiors, shunning always such as are poor and needy; for if thou givest twenty gifts, and refuse to do the like but once, all that thou hast done will be lost, and such men will become thy mortal enemies. . . . If thy friends be of better quality than thyself, thou mayest be sure of two things: the first, that they will be more careful to keep thy counsel, because they have more to lose than thou hast; the second, they will esteem thee for thyself, and not for that which thou dost possess; but if thou be subject to any great vanity or ill (from which I hope God will bless thee), then therein trust no man; for any man's folly ought to be his greatest secret. . . . Let thy love be to the best, as long as they do well; but take heed that thou love God, thy country, thy prince, and thine own estate before all others; for the fancies of men change, and he that loves to-day, hateth to-morrow; but let reason be thy schoolmistress.

II. *Choice of a Wife.*

The next and greatest care ought to be in the choice of a wife, and the only danger therein is beauty, by which all men, in all ages, wise and foolish, have been betrayed. And though I know it vain to use reasons or arguments to dissuade thee from being captivated therewith, there being few or none that ever resisted that witchery, yet I can not omit to warn thee, as of other things, which may be thy ruin and destruction. For the present time, it is true, that man prefers his fantasy in that appetite before all other worldly desires, leaving the care of honor, credit, and safety, in respect thereof: but remember, that if thou marry for beauty, thou bindest thyself all thy life for that which perchance

* Walter Raleigh was born in Hayes, in Devonshire, in 1582, and was for a short time at Oriel College, Oxford, but left it to join a military expedition to France in aid of the Huguenots, and a few years later (1756) to serve in the Low Countries with the Dutch against the Spaniards. In the year following he sailed with Sir Humphrey Gilbert to found a colony in North America; and in 1580 served with a captain's commission in Ireland, where, in the absence of Lord Ormond, he was associated with the government of Munster. On his return to England he became a favorite at Court by his gallantry to the Queen. In 1583, he sailed again with his half-brother Gilbert in an expedition to Newfoundland, and in 1584, under letters-patent to take possession of newly discovered land; he occupied Wiganascoo, which he called Virginia, in honor of the Virgin Queen. In the same year he was returned to Parliament for Devonshire; knighted, and appointed Seneschal for Cornwall, and Lord Warden of the Stannaries. But his ruling passion was maritime discovery and colonization. Another expedition was fitted out for Virginia, and a few years later to Panama, and Guiana—and to give variety to his employments, he helped destroy the Spanish Armada, restore Don Antonio to the throne of Portugal, led an attack on Cadix, with occasional service in the House of Commons. In the network of foreign and domestic politics, he became entangled, and was condemned, for he could hardly be said to be tried, for high treason so called, and confined for several years in the Tower. Here his activity spent itself in scientific speculation and the composition of the *History of the World*. By solicitations of friends and bribing of court favorites, the grand old man was released to make another voyage of discovery, which, ending disastrously, only precipitated another trial and his death on the scaffold in 1618.

will neither last nor please thee one year; and when thou hast it, it will be to thee of no price at all, for the degree dieth when it is attained, and the affection perisheth when it is satisfied. Remember, when thou wert a sucking child, that then thou didst love thy nurse, and that thou wert fond of her; after a while thou didst love thy dry-nurse, and didst forget the other; after that, thou didst also despise her; so will it be with thee in thy liking in elder years; and, therefore, though thou canst not forbear to love, yet forbear to link, and after a while thou shalt find an alteration in thyself, and see another far more pleasing than the first, second, or third love; yet I wish thee, above all the rest, have a care thou dost not marry an uncomely woman for any respect; for comeliness in children is riches, if nothing else be left them. And if thou have care for thy races of horses and other boasts, value the shape and comeliness of thy children before alliances or riches: have care, therefore, of both together, for if thou have a fair wife and a poor one, if thine own estate be not great, assure thyself that love abideth not with want, for she is the companion of plenty and honor: for I never yet knew a poor woman, exceeding fair, that was not made dishonest by one or other in the end. This Bathsheba taught her son Solomon: *Flavor is deceitful, and beauty is vanity*: she saith further, *That a wise woman overseeth the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness.*

Have, therefore, ever more care that thou be beloved of thy wife, rather than thyself besotted on her, and thou shalt judge of her love by these two observations: first, if thou perceive she have a care of thy estate and exercise herself therein; the other, if she study to please thee, and be sweet unto thee in conversation, without thy instruction, for love needs no teaching nor precept. On the other side, be not sour or stern to thy wife, for cruelty engendereth no other thing than hatred: let her have equal part of thy estate whilst thou livest, if thou find her sparing and honest; but what thou givest after thy death, remember that thou givest it to a stranger, and most times to an enemy; for he that shall marry thy wife will despise thee, thy memory, and thine, and shall possess the quiet of thy labors, the fruit which thou has planted, enjoy thy love, and spend with joy and ease what thou hast spared, and gotten with care and travel. Yet always remember, that thou leave not thy wife to be a shame unto thee after thou art dead, but that she may live according to thy estate; especially if thou hast few children, and them provided for. But howsoever it be, or whatsoever thou find, leave thy wife no more than of necessity thou must, but only during her widowhood; for if she love again, let her not enjoy her second love in the same bed wherein she loved thee, nor fly to future pleasures with those feathers which death hath pulled from thy wings; but leave thy estate to thy house and children, in which thou livest upon earth whilst it lasteth.

III. Beware of Flatterers.

Take care that thou be not made a fool by flatterers, for even the wisest men are abused by these. Know, therefore, that flatterers are the worst kind of traitors; for they will strengthen thy imperfections, encourage thee in all evils, correct thee in nothing, but so shadow and paint all thy vices and follies as thou shalt never, by their will, discern evil from good, or vice from virtue. And because all men are apt to flatter themselves, to entertain the additions of other men's praises is most perilous. It is said by Isaiah: '*My people, they that praise thee, seduce thee, and disorder the paths of thy feet.*'

IV. *Private Quarrels to be avoided.*

Be careful to avoid public disputations at feasts, or at tables among choleric or quarrelsome persons. Jest not openly at them that are simple, but remember much thou art bound to God, who hath made thee wiser. Defame not any woman publicly though thou know her to be evil; for those that are faulty can not endure to be taxed, but will seek to be avenged of thee, and those that are not guilty can not endure unjust reproach. '*He that keepeth his mouth keepeth his life.*' Euripides truly affirmeth, 'Every unbridled tongue in the end shall find itself unfortunate.' Take heed also that thou be not found a liar; for a liar is of a base, unworthy, and cowardly spirit.

V. *Care of thy Estate.*

Amongst all other things of the world, take care of thy estate, which thou shalt ever preserve, if thou observe three things; first, that thou know what thou hast, what every thing is worth that thou hast, and to see that thou art not wasted by thy servants and officers. The second is, that thou never spend any thing before thou have it; for borrowing is the canker and death of every man's estate. The third is, that thou suffer not thyself to be wounded for other men's faults, and scourged for other men's offenses; which is, the surety for another, for thereby millions of men have been beggared and destroyed, paying the reckoning of other men's riot, and the charge of other men's folly and prodigality; if thou smart, smart for thine own sins, and above all things, be not made an ass to carry the burdens of other men: if any friend desire thee to be his surety, give him a part of what thou hast to spare: if he press thee farther, he is not thy friend at all, for friendship rather chooseth harm to itself than offereth it: if thou be bound for a stranger, thou art a fool; if for a merchant, thou puttest thy estate to learn to swim: if for a churchman, he hath no inheritance: if for a lawyer, he will find an invasion by a syllable or word to abuse thee: if for a poor man, thou must pay it thyself: if for a rich man, it need not: therefore from suretyship, as from a man-slayer, or enchanter, bless thyself; for the best profit and return will be this, that if thou force him, for whom thou art bound, to pay it himself, he will become thy enemy; if thou use to pay it thyself thou wilt be a beggar; and believe thy father in this, and print it in thy thought, that what virtue soever thou hast, be it never so manifold, if thou be poor withal, thou and thy qualities shall be despised.

Lend not to him that is mightier than thyself, for if thou lendest him, count it but lost; be not surety above thy power, for if thou be surety, think to pay it.'

VI. *Servants.*

Let thy servants be such as thou mayest command, and entertain none about thee but such as thou grant wages to; for those that will serve thee without thy hire will cost thee treble as much as they that know thy fare. If thou trust any servant with thy purse, be sure thou take his account before thou sleep.

VII. *Dress, &c.*

Exceed not in the humor of rage and bravery (show), for these will soon wear out of fashion; but money in thy purse will ever be in fashion, and no man is esteemed for gay garments, but by fools and women.

VIII. *Riches and Poverty.*

Take heed that thou seek not riches poorly, nor attain them by evil means. Destroy no man for his wealth, nor take any thing from the poor, for the cry and complaint of the poor will pierce the Heavens.

IX. *Moderate use of Wine.*

Take especial care that thou delight not in wine, for there never was any man that came to honor or preferment that loved it; for it transformeth a man into a beast, decayeth health, poisoneth the breath, destroyeth natural heat, brings a man's stomach to an artificial heat, deformeth the face, rotteth the teeth, and maketh a man contemptible, soon old, and despised of all wise and worthy men: hated in thy servants, in thyself, and companions: for it is a bewitching and infectious vice; and remember my words, that it were better for a man to be subject to any vice than to it; for all other vanities and sins are recovered, but a drunkard will never shake off the delight of beastliness: the longer it possesseth a man, the more he will delight in it; and the elder he groweth, the more he shall be subject to it: it dulleth the spirits and destroyeth the body, as ivy doth the old tree, or as the worm that engendereth in the kernel of the nut. Take heed, therefore, that such a cureless canker pass not thy youth, nor such a beastly infection thy old age; for then shall thy life be but as the life of a beast, and after thy death thou shalt only leave a shameful infamy to thy posterity, who shall study to forget that such a one was their father.

Anacharsis saith, 'the first draught serveth for health, the second for pleasure, the third for shame, the fourth for madness.' But in youth there is not so much as one draught permitted, for it putteth fire to fire, and wasteth the natural heat. Therefore, except thou desire to hasten thine end, take this for a general rule: that thou never add any artificial heat to thy body by wine or spice, until thou find that time hath decayed thy natural heat; and the sooner thou beginneth to help nature, the sooner she will forsake thee, and trust altogether to art.

'Who have misfortune, (saith Solomon,) who have sorrow and grief, who have trouble without fighting, stripes without cause, and faintness of eyes? Even they that sit at wine, and strain themselves to empty cups.' *Pliny* saith, 'Wine maketh the hand quivering, the eye watery, the night unquiet, lewd dreams, a stinking breath in the morning, and an utter forgetfulness of all things.'

Whosoever loveth wine shall not be trusted of any man, for he can not keep a secret. Wine maketh man not only a beast, but a madman; and if thou love it, thy own wife, thy children, and thy friends, will despise thee. In drink men care not what they say, what offense they give; they forget comeliness, commit disorders, and, to conclude, offend all virtuous and honest company, and God most of all, to whom we daily pray for health and life free from pain; 'and yet, by drunkenness and gluttony we draw on,' saith *Hesiod*, 'a swift, hasty, untimely, cruel, and an infamous old age.'

X. *Let God be thy Protector.*

Serve God; let him be the author of all thy actions; commend all thy endeavors to him that must either wither or prosper them; please him with prayer. So God dwell thus in all thy ways, and fill thy heart with his grace.

DR. FRANKLIN TO HIS DAUGHTER SARAH—1766.

MY DEAR CHILD, the natural prudence and goodness of heart God has blest you with, make it less necessary for me to be particular in giving you advice. I shall therefore only say, that the more attentively dutiful and tender you are towards your good mamma, the more you will recommend yourself to me. But why should I mention *me*, when you have so much higher a promise in the commandments, that such conduct will recommend you to the favor of God. You know I have many enemies, all indeed on the public account, (for I can not recollect that I have in a private capacity given just cause of offense to any one whatever), yet they are enemies, and very bitter ones; and you must expect their enmity will extend in some degree to you, so that your slightest indiscretions will be magnified into crimes, in order the more sensibly to wound and afflict me. It is therefore the more necessary for you to be extremely circumspect in all your behavior, that no advantage may be given to their malevolence.

Go constantly to church, whoever preaches. The act of devotion in the Common Prayer Book is your principal business there, and if properly attended to, will do more towards amending the heart than sermons generally can do. For they were composed by men of much greater piety and wisdom, than our common composers of sermons can pretend to be; and therefore I wish you would never miss the prayer days; yet I do not mean you should despise sermons, even of the preachers you dislike, for the discourse is often much better than the man, as sweet and clear waters come through very dirty earth. I am the more particular on this head, as you seemed to express a little before I came away some inclination to leave our church, which I would not have you do.

For the rest, I would only recommend to you in my absence, to acquire those useful accomplishments, arithmetic and book-keeping. This you might do with ease, if you would resolve not to see company on the hours you set apart for those studies.

DR. FRANKLIN TO HIS SISTER—1753.

In a cloth book called 'None but Christ,' [sent by Uncle Josiah to his daughter Jane], he wrote an acrostic on her name, which for namesake's sake, as well as the good advice it contains, I transcribe:

Illuminated from on high,

And shining brightly in your sphere,

No'er faint, but keep a steady eye,

Expecting endless pleasures there.

Flee vice as you'd a serpent flee;

Raise faith and hope three stories higher,

And let Christ's endless love to thee
 Ne'er cease to make thy love aspire.
 Kindness of heart by words express,
 Let your obedience be sincere,
 In prayer and praise your God address,
 Nor cease, till he can cease to hear.'

After professing truly that I had a great esteem and veneration for the pious author, permit me a little to play the commentator and critic on these lines. The meaning of *three stories higher* seems somewhat obscure. You are to understand, then, that *faith*, *hope*, and *charity* have been called the three steps of Jacob's ladder, reaching from earth to heaven; our author calls them *stories*, likening religion to a building, and these are the three stories of the Christian edifice. Thus improvement in religion is called *building up* and *edification*. *Faith* is then the ground floor, *hope* is up one pair of stairs. My dear beloved Jenny, don't delight so much to dwell in those lower rooms, but get as fast as you can into the garret, for in truth the best room in the house is *charity*. For my part, I wish the house was turned upside down; it is so difficult (when one is fat) to go up stairs; and not only so, but I imagine *hope* and *faith* may be more firmly built upon *charity*, than *charity* upon *faith* and *hope*. I think it the better reading to say—

'Raise faith and hope one story higher.'

Correct it boldly, and I'll support the alteration; for, when you are up two stories already, if you raise your building three stories higher you will make five in all, which is two more than there should be, you expose your upper rooms more to the winds and storms; and, besides, I am afraid the foundation will hardly bear them, unless indeed you build with such light stuff as straw and stubble, and that, you know, won't stand fire. Again, in

'Kindness of heart by words express,'

strike out *words*, and put in *deeds*. The world is too full of compliments already. They are the rank growth of every soil, and choke the good plants of benevolence and beneficence; nor do I pretend to be the first in this comparison of words and actions to plants; you may remember an ancient poet, whose works we have all studied and copied at school long ago—

'A man of words and not of deeds
 Is like a garden full of weeds.'

It is pity that good works, among some sorts of people, are so little valued, and good words admired in their stead; I mean seemingly pious discourses, instead of humane benevolent actions. Those they almost put out of countenance, by calling morality *rotten morality*, righteousness *ragged righteousness*, and even filthy rags.

WILLIAM WIRT*—EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS TO HIS DAUGHTERS.

Benevolence in Trifles.

I want to tell you a secret. The way to make yourself pleasing to others is to show that you care for them. The whole world is like the miller of Mansfield, 'who cared for nobody—no, not he—because nobody cared for him:'—and the whole world will serve you so, if you give them the same cause. Let every one, therefore, see that you do care for them, by showing them, what Sterne so happily calls, 'the small, sweet courtesies of life,' those courtesies in which there is no parade; whose voice is too still to tease, and which manifest themselves by tender and affectionate looks, and little, kind acts of attention—giving others the preference in every little enjoyment at the table, in the field, walking, sitting, or standing. This is the spirit that gives to your time of life and to your sex its sweetest charm. It constitutes the sum total of all the witchcraft of woman. Let the world see that your first care is for yourself, and you will spread the solitude of the Upas tree around you, and in the same way—by the emanation of a poison which kills all the kindly juices of affection in its neighborhood. Such a girl may be admired for her understanding and accomplishments, but she will never be beloved. The seeds of love can never grow but under the warm and genial influence of kind feeling and affectionate manners. Vivacity goes a great way in young persons. It calls attention to her who displays it; and, if it then be found associated with a generous sensibility, its execution is irresistible. On the contrary, if it be found in alliance with a cold haughty, selfish heart, it produces no farther effect, except an adverse one.

[Mr. Wirt, in a touching memoir of this daughter, to whom this letter was addressed, embodies an ideal of a character in which benevolence in trifles had become incorporated into the daily life.]

'Young as she was, she seemed to be the seal and connecting bond of the whole family. Her voice, her smile, her animated, graceful movements, her countless little acts and expressions of kindness and love, those "small, sweet courtesies of life," which she was so continually rendering to all around her, and with such exquisite grace of manner, had made her necessary to the individual happiness of every member of the household. When she was lost to us,

* William Wirt, springing from an humble origin, and with only moderate opportunities of school learning, achieved for himself a high place in the profession of law as an eloquent advocate, a conscientious adviser in all questions, and high authority in the highest departments of constitutional construction, and, at the same time, occupied a place in society which ordinarily only the largest fortune or inherited position can command.

it was as if the key-stone of the arch had been removed. There was a healthfulness in the glow of her fresh and young affections, which animated the rigid nerves of age, and a pleasantness and beauty in the play of her innocent thoughts and feelings, which could smooth the brow of care, and light up a smile even in the face of sorrow. To me she was not only the companion of my studies, but the sweetener of my toils. The painter, it is said, relieved his aching eyes by looking on a curtain of green. My mind, in its hour of deepest fatigue, required no other refreshment than one glance at my beloved child, as she sat beside me.

Common Sense.

Common sense is a much rarer quality than genius. For one *diamond of common sense* that you can show me, I will show you twenty merchantable diamonds of genius. If you will reflect a moment on the number of faculties which must necessarily enter into the composition of common sense, you will not be surprised at the fact. For common sense is not, as superficial thinkers are apt to suppose, a mere negative faculty—it is a *positive faculty*, and one of the highest power. It is this faculty that instructs us when to speak, when to be silent, when to act, when to be still;—and, moreover, it teaches us *what to speak, what to suppress, what to do, and what to forbear*. Now, pause a moment to reflect on the number of faculties which must be combined to constitute this common sense; a rapid and profound foresight to calculate the consequences of what is to be said or done, a rapid circumspection and extensive comprehension, so as to be sure of taking in all the circumstances which belong to the case, and missing no figure in this arithmetic of the mind, and an accuracy of decision which must be as quick as lightning, so as not to let the occasion slip. See what a knowledge of life, either by experience or intuition, and what a happy constitutional poise between the passions and the reason, or what a powerful self-command, all enter into the composition of that little, demure, quiet, unadmired, and almost despised thing called common sense. It pretends to no brilliancy, for it possesses none; it has no ostentation, for it has nothing to show that the world admires. The powerful and constant action of the intellect, which makes its nature, is unobserved even by the proprietor; for every thing is done with intuitive ease, with a sort of unconscious felicity. See, then, the quick and piercing sagacity, the prophetic penetration, the wide comprehension and the prompt and accurate judgment which combine to constitute common sense, which is as inestimably valuable as the solar light, and as little thought of.

SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION IN ANCIENT GREECE.

I. HOME EDUCATION.*

In a comprehensive survey of the education of a people, notice must be taken of the earliest nurture of children, their first occupations, their toys and pastimes, their nurses and attendants, and all the surroundings of home, as well as the more formal instructions of the school and teacher. Throughout Greece, education always held a prominent place in the plans and speculations of statesmen and philosophers—as the matrix in which the state was fashioned. From the germ of individual existence till death closed the modifications which various agencies, formal and informal, could make in the human being—the work of education was going on, and to a much larger extent, and to much more minute particulars, than is now generally done in modern society, these various agencies have received attention, with special reference to their educational results.

The health of parents, the diet, exercise, rest, and frame of mind of the mother before the birth of the child, were deemed proper subjects of regulation; and religion was invoked to throw a peculiar sanctity over the birth of a human being. Various systems of infant nurture prevailed—and infanticide, to aid the law of natural selection in preserving only the hardy and well formed for the future citizen, was not only recognized by custom, but authorized by law.

Birth-Feast†—*Name*—*Nursery*.

On the fifth day after a child was born into the family, the ceremony called *Amphidromia*, in which the nurse, with the infant in her arms, made the circle of the hearth, accompanied by all the females of the house—the street door being hung with symbols, in case of a boy, consisted in an olive crown; and of a lock of wool, alluding to her future occupations, when it was a girl. Athenæus, apropos of cabbage, which was eaten on this occasion, as well as by ladies 'in the straw,' as conducing to create milk, quotes a comic description of the *Amphidromia* from a drama of Ehippos, which proves they were well acquainted with the arts of joviality:

How is it
No wreathed garland decks the festive door,
No savory odor creeps into the nostrils
Since 'tis a birth-feast! Custom, sooth, requires
Slices of rich cheese from the Chersonese,
Toasted and hissing; cabbage, too, in oil,
Fried brown and crisp, with smothered breast of lamb.

* For the original authorities, see St. John's *Manners and Customs of Ancient Greece*. I. 107 286; and Becker's *Charities*, p. 215-246.

† This and the following extracts are taken from St. John's *Manners and Customs*, &c.

Chaffinches, turtle-doves, and good fat thrushes
Should now be feathered; rows of merry guests
Pick clean the bones of cuttle-fish together,
Gnaw the delicious feet of polypi,
And drink large draughts of scarcely mingled wine.

But it was on the seventh day that the child generally received its name, amid the festivities of another banquet; though sometimes this was deferred till the tenth. The reason is supplied by Aristotle. They delayed the naming thus long, he says, because most children that perish in extreme infancy die before the seventh day, which being passed, they considered their lives more secure. The eighth day was chosen by other persons for bestowing the name, and, this considered the natal day, was solemnized annually as the anniversary of its birth, on which occasion it was customary for the friends of the family to assemble together, and present gifts to the child, consisting sometimes of the polypi and cuttle-fish to be eaten at the feast. However, the tenth day appears to have been very commonly observed. Thus Euripides:

My, who delighting in a mother's claim
Mid tenth-day feasts, bestowed the ancestral name?

Aristophanes, too, on the occasion of naming his Bird-city, which a hungry poet pretends to have long ago celebrated, introduces Peisithætos saying:

What! have I not but now the sacrifice
Of the tenth day completed, and bestowed
A name as on a child?

The right of imposing the name belonged, as hinted above, to the father, who likewise appears to have possessed the power afterward to alter it if he thought proper. They were compelled to follow no exact precedent; but the general rule resembled one apparently observed by nature, which, neglecting the likeness in the first generation, sometimes reproduces it with extraordinary fidelity in the second. Thus, the grandson inheriting often the features, inherited also very generally the name of his grandfather, and precisely the same rule applied to women; the granddaughter nearly always receiving her grandmother's name. Thus, Andocides, son of Lægoras, bore the name of his grandfather; the father and son of Miltiades were named Clinos; the father and son of Hippônico, Cleinias.

In Plato's Republic, the nurses were to live apart in a distinct quarter of the city, and suckle indiscriminately all the children that were to be preserved; no mother being permitted to know her own child.

Every one must have observed, as well as Plato, that children are no sooner born than they exhibit unequivocal signs of passion and anger, in the moderating and directing of which consists the chiefest difficulty of education. Most men, through the defect of nature or early discipline, live long before they acquire this mastery, which many never attain at all. Generally, however, where it is possessed, much may certainly be attributed to that training which begins at the birth, so that of all the instruments employed in the forming of character, the nurse is probably the most important.

But their cares extended beyond the person. They aimed at forming the manners, regulating the temper, laying the foundation of virtuous habits, at sowing, in short, the seeds, which in after life, might ripen into a manly, frank, and generous character. In the matter of food, in the regulating of which, as Locke confesses, there is much difficulty, the Spartan nurses acted up to the suggestions of the sternest philosophy, accustoming the children under their charge, to be content with whatever was put before them, and to endure occasional privations without murmuring. Over the fear of ghosts, too, they triumphed. Empusa and

the Mormolukeion; and all those other hideous aspects which childhood associates with the idea of darkness, yielded to the discipline of the Spartan nurse. Her charge would remain alone of in the dark, without terror, and the same stern system, which overcame the first offspring of superstition, likewise subdued the moral defects of peevishness, forwardness, and the habit of whining and mewling, which, when indulged in, render children a nuisance to all around them. No wonder, therefore, these Doric disciplinarians were every where in request. At Athens it became fashionable among the opulent to employ them, and Cleinias, as is well known, placed under the care of one of these *aito-pedagogues* that Alcibiades, whose ambitious character, to be curbed by no restraints of discipline or philosophy, proved the ruin of his country and the scourge of Greece.

Their cradles were of various forms, some of which, like our own, required rocking, while others were suspended like sailors' hammocks from the ceiling, and swung gently to and fro when they desired to pacify the child or lull it to sleep: as Tithonos is represented in the mythology to have been suspended in his old age. Other cradles there were in the shape of little portable baskets wherein they were carried from one part of the harem to another. It is probable, too, that as in the East the children of the opulent were rocked in their cradles wrapped in coverlets of Milesian wool.

All the world over the singing of the nurse has been proverbial. Music breathes its sweetest notes around our cradles. The voice of woman soothes our infancy and our age, and in Greece, where every class of the community had its song, the nurse naturally vindicated one to herself. This sweetest of all melodies—

Endeavour of joy and youth

was technically denominated *Katabakaleia*, of which scraps and fragments only, like those of the village song which lingered in the memory of Rousseau, have come down to us.

The word baby, which we bestow familiarly on an infant, was, with little variation, in use many thousand years ago among the Syrians, in whose nursery dialect *babia* had the same signification. *Tatia*, too, *pappu* and *amma* were the first words lisped by the children of Hellas. And from various hints dropped by ancient authors, it seems clear that the same wild stories and superstitions that still flourish there haunted the nursery of old. The child was taught to dread *Empusa* or *Onoskella* or *Onoskolori*, the monster with one human foot and one of brass, which dwelt among the shades of night, and glided through dusky chambers and dismal passages to devour 'naughty children.'

Toys—Sports—Pastimes.

Amongst the Hellenes, the earliest toy consisted, as in most other countries, of the rattle, said to be the invention of the philosopher Archytas. To this succeeded balls of many colors, with little chariots, sometimes purchased at Athens in the fair held during the feast of *Zelus*. The common price of a plaything of this kind would appear to be an obolus. The children themselves, as without any authority might with certainty be inferred, employed their time in erecting walls with sand, in constructing little houses, in building and carving ships, in cutting carts or chariots out of leather, in fashioning pomegranate rinds into the shape of frogs, and in forming with wax a thousand diminutive images, which pursued afterward during school hours subjected them occasionally to severe chastisement.

Another amusement which the children of Hellas shared with their elders was that afforded by puppets, which were probably an invention of the remotest antiquity. Numerous women appear to have earned their livelihood by carrying round from village to village these ludicrous and frolicsome images, which were usually about a cubit in height, and may be regarded as the legitimate ancestors of Punch and Judy. By touching a single string, concealed from the spectators, the operator could put her mute performers in action, cause them to move every limb in succession, spread forth the hands, shrug the shoulders, turn round the neck, roll the eyes, and appear to look at the audience. After this, by other contrivances within the images, they could be made to go through many humorous evolutions, resembling the movements of the dance. These exhibitors, frequently of the male sex, were known by the name of *Neurospastæ*. This art passed, together with other Grecian inventions, into Italy, where it was already familiar to the public in the days of Horace, who, in speaking of princes governed by favorites, compares them to puppets in the hands of the showman.

The hoop, too, so familiar to our own school-boys, formed one of the playthings of Hellenic children. It was sometimes made of bronze, about three feet in diameter, and adorned with little spherical bells and movable rings, which jingled as it rolled. The instrument employed to urge

the rolling circle's speed,

as Gray expresses it, in his reminiscences of the Eton playground, was crooked at the point, and called a *plectron*.

Another less innocent amusement was spinning goldchafers, which appears to have afforded the Greek urchins the same delight as tormenting cockchafers does their successors of the north. This species of beetle, making its appearance when the apple-trees were in bloom, was therefore called *Melolonthæ*, or apple-blossom. Having caught it, and tied a linen thread about its feet, it was let loose, and the fun was to see it move in spiral lines through the air as it was twisted by the thread.

The *Muinda* was our 'Blindman's-buff,' 'Blind Hob,' 'Hobble 'em-blind,' and 'Hood-man-blind,' in which, as with us, a boy moved about with his eyes bandaged, spreading forth his hands and crying 'Beware!' If he caught any of those who were skipping around him, the captive was compelled to enact the blind-man in his stead. Another form of the game was for the seers to hide, and the blind-man to grope round till he found them; the whole probably being a rude representation of Polyphemos in his cave searching for the Greeks who had blinded him. A third form was, for the bystanders to strike or touch the blindfolded boy until he could declare who had touched him, when the person indicated took his place. To this the Roman soldiers alluded when they blindfolded our Saviour and smote him, and cried, 'Prophecy who struck thee.' In the *Kollabismos*, the *Capifolêt* of the French, one person covered his eyes with his own hands, the other then gave him a gentle blow, and the point was, for the blindfolded man to guess with which hand he had been stricken. The *Brazen Fly* was a variety of *Blindman's-buff*, in which a boy, having his eyes bound with a fillet, went groping round, calling out, 'I am seeking the Brazen Fly.' His companions replied, 'You may seek, but you will not find it'—at the same time striking him with cords made of the inner bark of the papyrus; and thus they proceeded till one of them was taken. *Apodidraskinda* ('hide and seek,' or 'whoop and holla!') was played much as it is now. One boy

shut his eyes, or they were kept closed for him by one of his suspicious companions, while the others went to hide. He then sallied forth in search of the party who lay concealed, while each of them endeavored to gain the post of the seeker; and the first who did this turned him out and took his place.

Another game was the Ephedrimos, in which a stone called the Dioros was set up at a certain distance, and aimed at with bowls or stones. The one who missed took the successful player upon his back, and was compelled to carry him about blindfolded, until he went straight from the standing-point to the Dioros.

The variety called Encotyle,—the 'Pick-back,' or 'Pick-a-back,' of English boys, consisted in one lad's placing his hands behind his back, and receiving therein the knees of his conqueror, who, putting his fingers over the bearer's eyes, drove him about at his pleasure. This game was also called the Kubesinda and Hippas, though, according to the conjecture of Dr. Hyde, the latter name signified rather our game of 'Leap-frog,'—the 'mazidha' of the Persians, in which a number of boys stooped down with the hands resting on the knees, in a row, the last going over the backs of all the others, and then standing first.

In the game called Chytrinda, in English 'Hot-cockles,' 'Selling of pears,' or 'How many plumbs for a penny,' one boy sat on the ground, and was called the chytra or pot, while his companions, forming themselves into a ring, ran round, plucking, pinching, or striking him as they went. If he who enacted the chytra succeeded in seizing upon one of the buffeters, the captive took his place. Possibly it was during this play that a mischievous foundling, contrary to rule, poking, as he ran round, the boy in the center with his foot, provoked from the latter the sarcastic inquiry, 'What! dost thou kick thy mother in the belly?' alluding to the circumstance of the former having been exposed in a chytra. Another form of the Chytrinda required the lad in the center to move about with a pot on his head, where he held it with his left hand, while the others struck him, and cried out, 'Who has the pot?' To which he replied, 'I Midas,' endeavoring all the while to reach some one with his foot,—the first whom he thus touched being compelled to carry round the pot in his stead.

The Kynitinda was so called from the verb *kyto* to kiss, as appears from Crates in his 'Games,' a play in which the poet contrived to introduce an account of this and nearly all the other juvenile pastimes. The form of the sport being little known, the learned have sometimes confounded it with a kind of salute called the chytra in antiquity, and the 'Florentine Kiss' in modern Italy, in which the person kissing took the other by the ears. Giraldi says he remembers, when a boy, that his father and other friends, when kissing him, used sometimes to take hold of both his ears, which they called giving a 'Florentine kiss.' He afterward was surprised to find that this was a most ancient practice, commemorated both by the Greek and Latin authors. It obtained its name, as he conjectures, from the earthen vessel called chytra, which had two handles, usually laid hold of by persons drinking out of it, as is still the practice with similar utensils in Spain.

The Epostrakimos was what English boys call 'Ducks and Drakes,' and sometimes, among our ancestors at least, 'A duck and a drake and a white penny cake,' and was played with oyster-shells. Standing on the shore of the sea at the Piræus, for example, they flung the shells edgeways over the water so that they should strike it and bound upward again and again from its surface. The boy whose shell made most leaps before sinking, won the game. Minucius Felix gives a very pretty description of this juvenile sport. 'Behold,' he says,

'boys playing in frolicsome rivalry with shells on the sea-shore. The game consists in picking up from the beach a shell rendered light by the constant action of the waves, and standing on an even place, and inclining the body, holding the shell flat between the fingers, and throwing it with the greatest possible force, so that it may raise the surface of the sea or skim along while it moves with gentle flow, or glances over the tops of the waves as they leap up in its track. That boy is esteemed the victor whose shell performs the longest journey or makes the most leaps before sinking.'

The Akinetinda was a contention between boys, in which some of them endeavored to maintain his position unmoved. Good sport must have been produced by the next game called *Schenophilinda*, or 'Hiding the Rope.' In this a number of boys sat down in a circle, one of whom had a rope concealed about his person, which he endeavored to drop secretly beside one of his companions. If he succeeded, the unlucky wight was started like a hare round the circle, his enemy following and laying about his shoulders. But on the other hand, if he against whom the plot was laid detected it, he obtained possession of the rope and enjoyed the satisfaction of flogging the plotter over the same course.

The *Basilinda* was a game in which one obtained by lot the rank of a king, and the vanquished, whether one or many, became subject to him, to do whatever he should order. It passed down to the Christians, and was more especially practiced during the feast of the Epiphany. It is commonly known under the name of *Forsika*, and was formerly called 'One penny,' 'One penny come after me,' 'Questions and commands,' 'The choosing of king and queen on Twelfth night.' In the last mentioned sense it is still prevalent in France, where it is customary for bakers to make a present to the families they serve, of a large cake in the form of a ring, in which a small kidney bean has been concealed. The cake is cut up, the pieces are distributed to the company, and the person who gets the bean is king of the feast. This game entered in Greece likewise into the amusements of grown people, both men and women, as well as of children, and an anecdote, connected with it, is told of Phryne, who happened one day to be at a mixed party where it was played. By chance it fell to her lot to play the queen; upon which, observing that her female companions were rouged and lilled to the eyes, she maliciously ordered a basin and towel to be brought in, and that every woman should wash her face. Conscious of her own native beauty, she began the operation, and only appeared the fresher and more lovely. But alas for the others! When the anchusa, pimmution, and phukos had been removed by the water, their freckled and coarse skins exposed them to general laughter.

The *Ostrakinda* was a game purely juvenile. A knot of boys, having drawn a line on the ground, separated into two parties. A small earthenware disk or *ostrakon*, one side black with pitch, the other white, was then produced, and each party chose a side, white or black. The disk was then pitched along the line, and the party whose side came up was accounted victorious, and prepared to pursue while the others turned round and fled. The boy first caught obtained the name of the ass, and was compelled to sit down, the game apparently preceeding till all were thus caught and placed *hors de combat*. He who threw the *ostrakon* cried 'night or day,' the black side being termed *night*, and the opposite *day*. It was called the 'Twirling the *ostrakon*.' Plato alludes to it in the *Phaedrus*.

The *Dielkustinda*, 'French and English,' was played chiefly in the palestra, and occasionally elsewhere. It consisted simply in two parties of boys laying hold of each other by the hand, and pulling till one by one the stronger had drawn over the weaker to their side of the ground.

The *Phryginda* was a game in which, holding a number of smooth and delicate fragments of pottery between the fingers of the left hand, they struck them in succession with the right so as apparently to produce a kind of music.

There was another game called *Kyndalimos*, played with short batons, and requiring considerable strength and quickness of eye. A stick having been fixed upright in a loose moist soil, the business was to dislodge it by throwing at it other batons from a distance: whence the proverb, 'Nail is driven out by nail, and baton by baton.' A person who played at this game was called by some of the Doric poets *Kyndalopactes*. A similar game is played in England, in which the prize is placed upon the top of the upright stick. The player wins when the prize falls without the hole whence the upright has been dislodged.

The game of *Ascolianios* branched off into several varieties, and afforded the Athenian rustics no small degree of sport. The first and most simple form consisted in hopping on one foot, sometimes in pairs, to see which in this way could go furthest. On other occasions the hopper undertook to overtake certain of his companions who were allowed the use of both legs. If he could touch one of them he came off conqueror. This variety of the game appears to have been the *Empusae ludus* of the Romans. 'Scotch hoppers,' or 'Fox to thy hole,' in which boys, hopping on one leg, beat one another with gloves or pieces of leather tied at the end of strings, or knotted handkerchiefs, as in the *diable botteux* of the French. At other times victory depended on the number of hops, all hopping together and counting their springs,—the highest of course winning. But the most amusing variety of the game was that practiced during the Dionysiac festival of the *Askolia*. Skins filled with wine or inflated with air, and extremely well oiled, were placed upon the ground, and on these the shoeless rustics leaped with one leg and endeavored to maintain a footing, which they seldom could on account of their slipperiness. However, he who succeeded carried off the skin of wine as his prize.

Playing at ball was common, and received various names. *Episkyros*, *Phaininda*, *Aporraxis*, and *Ouranis*. The first of these games was also known by the names of the *Ephebike* and the *Epikoinos*. It was played thus: a number of young men, assembling together in a place covered with sand or dust, drew across it a straight line, which they called *Skyros*, and at equal distances, on either side, another line. Then placing the ball on the *Skyros*, they divided into two equal parties, and retreated each to their lines, from which they immediately afterward rushed forward to seize the ball. The person who picked it up, then cast it toward the extreme line of the opposite party, whose business it was to intercept and throw it back, and they won who by force or cunning compelled their opponents to overstep the boundary line.

The *Phaininda* is a game in which the player, appearing as though he would throw a ball at one person, he immediately sent it at another, thus deluding the expectation of the former. It appears at first to have been played with the small ball called *Harpaston*, though the game with the large soft one may afterward, perhaps, have also been called *Phaininda*. The variety named *Aporraxis* consisted in throwing the ball with some force against the ground and repelling

it constantly as it rebounded; he who did this most frequently winning. In the game called Ourania, the player, bending back his body, flung up the ball with all his might into the air; on which there arose a contention among his companions who should first catch it in its descent, as Homer appears to intimate in his description of the Phœacian sport. They likewise played at ball in the modern fashion against a wall, in which the person who kept it up longest, won, and was called king; the one who lost, obtained the name of ass, and was constrained by the laws of the game to perform any task set him by the king.

A game generally played in the gymnasia was the Skaperda. In this a post was set up with a hole near the top and a rope passed through it. Two young men then seized each one end of the rope, and turning their back to the post, exerted their utmost strength to draw their antagonist up the beam. He who raised his opponent highest, won. Sometimes they tried their strength by binding themselves together, back to back, and pulling different ways.

Another game, not entirely confined to children, was the Chalkismos, which consisted in twisting round rapidly on a board or table a piece of money, and placing the point of the finger so dexterously on its upper edge as to put a stop to its motion without permitting it to fall.

In the game of astragals, the Persians, as is implied in the name given above, often use six bones, while the Greeks employed only four, which were thrown either on a table or on the floor. According to Lucian, the huckle bones were sometimes those of the African gazelle.

The several sides of the astragal or huckle bone had their character expressed by numbers, and obtained separate names, which determined the value of the throw. Thus, the side showing the Monas was called the Dog, the opposite side Chias, and the throw Chios. In cockall as in dice there are neither twos nor fives. The highest number, six, was called the Coan; the Dog or one was called the Chian or dog-chance; to which the old proverb alluded *Kúer nêr xîos*, six to one. To have the Dog turn up was to lose, hence, perhaps, the phrase, 'going to the dogs,' that is, playing a losing game. The throw of eight was denominated Stesichoros, because the poet's tomb at Himera consisted of a perfect octagon. Among the forty who succeeded to the thirty at Athens, Euripides was one, and hence, if the throw of the astragals amounted to forty points, they bestowed upon it the name of Euripides.

To play at Odd or Even was common; so that we find Plato describing a knot of boys engaged in this game in a corner of the undressing room of the gymnasium. There was a kind of divination by astragals, the bones being hidden under the hand, and the one party guessing whether they were odd or even. The same game was occasionally played with beans, walnuts, or almonds, or even with money, if we may credit Aristophanes, who describes certain serving-men playing at Odd or Even with golden staters. There was a game called Eis Omillan, in which they drew a circle on the ground, and, standing at a little distance, pitched the astragals at it; to win consisting in making them remain within the ring. Another form of the Eis Omillan was to place a trained quail within a circle, on a table for example, out of which the point was to drive it by tapping it with the middle finger. If it reared at the blow, and retreated beyond the line, its master lost his wager. The play called Tropia was also generally performed with astragals, which were pitched into a small hole, formed to receive such things when skillfully thrown.

II.—ELEMENTARY INSTRUCTION.*

Age of School Attendance.

At seven years old, boys were removed from the harem and sent under the care of a governor to a public school, which, from the story of Bedreddin Hassan, we find to have been formerly the practice among the Arabs, even for the sons of distinguished men and Wezeers. 'When seven years had passed over him, his grandfather (Shemseddeen, Wezeer of the Sultan of Egypt,) committed him to a schoolmaster, whom he charged to educate him with great care.'

Mischievous no doubt the boys of Hellas were, as boys will every where be, and many pranks would they play in spite of the crabbed old slaves set over them by their parents; on which account, probably, it is that Plato considers boys, of all wild beasts, the most audacious, plotting, fierce, and intractable. But the urchins now found that it was one thing to nestle under mamma's wing at home, and another to delve under the direction of a didaskalos, and at school-hours, after the bitter roots of knowledge. For the school-boys of Greece tasted very little of the sweets of bed after dawn. 'They rose with the light,' says Lucian, 'and with pure water washed away the remains of sleep, which still lingered on their eyelids.' Having breakfasted on bread and fruit, to which, through the allurements of their pedagogues, they sometimes added wine, they sallied forth to the didaskaleion, or schoolmaster's lair, as the comic poets jocularly termed it, summer and winter, whether the morning smelt of balm, or was deformed by sleet or snow, drifting like meal from a sieve down the rocks of the Acropolis.

Aristophanes has left us a picture, dashed off with his usual grotesque vigor, of a troop of Attic lads marching on a winter's morning to school:

Now will I sketch the ancient plan of training,
When justice was in vogue and wisdom flourished.
First, modesty restrained the youthful voice
So that no brawl was heard. In order ranged,
The boys from all the neighborhood appeared,
Marching to school, naked, though down the sky
Tumbled the flaky snow like flour from sieve.
Arrived, and seated wide apart, the master
First taught them how to chant Athens' praise,
Pallas unconquered, stormer of cities! or
Shout far recording ' in the self-same notes
Their fathers learned. And if through mere conceit
Some innovation hunter strained his throat
With Scurril lays mining and quavering,
Like any Siphnian or Chian sop—
As is too much the fashion since that Phrynis
Brought o'er Ionian airs—quickly the scourge
Rained on his shoulders blows like hail as one
Flotting the Muse's downfall. In the Palastra
Custom required them decently to sit,
Decent to rise, smoothing the sandy floor
Lest any traces of their form should linger
Unsightly on the dust. When in the bath
Grave was their manner, their behavior chaste.
At table, too, no stimulating dishes,
Snatched from their elders, such as fish or ania,
Passley or radishes or thrushes, soured
The slumbering passions.

Aristotle, enumerating Archytas' rattle among the principal toys of children, denominates education the rattle of boys. In order, too, that its effect might be the more sure and permanent, no holidays or vacations appear to have been allowed, while irregularity or lateness of attendance was severely punished.

* Abridged from St. John's *Manners and Customs of Ancient Greece*. I. 104-105.

Lucian, speaking of the attendants of youths in the better times of the republic, describes them as an honorable company who followed their young masters to the schools, not with combs and looking-glasses like the attendants of ladies, but with the venerable instruments of wisdom in their hands, many-leaved tablets or books recording the glorious deeds of their ancestors, or if proceeding to the music-master bearing, instead of these, the melodious lyre.

Diogenes as a Teacher.

In fact, the fortunes of war often in those days reduced men of virtue and ability to the condition of slaves, when they would naturally be chosen as the governors of youth. Thus we find Diogenes the Cynic purchased by a rich Corinthian, who intrusted to him the education of his sons. The account which antiquity has left us of his sale, reception by his master, and manner of teaching, being extremely brief, we shall here give it entire. Hermippus, who wrote a small treatise called the Sale of Diogenes, observes that when the philosopher was exposed in the slave-market and interrogated respecting his qualifications, he replied that 'he could command men;' and then addressing himself to the herald, bade him inquire whether there was any one present who wanted a master. Being forbidden to sit down, he said: 'This matters nothing, for fish are bought in whatever way they may lie.' He remarked also, that he wondered that when people were buying a pot or a dish they examined it on all sides, whereas when they purchased a man they were contented with simply looking at him. Afterward, when he had become the slave of Xenides, he informed his owner that he expected the same obedience paid to him as men yield to a pilot or a physician.

It is further related by Eubulus, who likewise wrote a treatise on this incident, that Diogenes conducted with the utmost care the education of the children under his charge. In addition to the ordinary studies, he taught them to ride, to draw the bow, to use the sling, and to throw the javelin. In the palaestra, moreover, where, contrary to the Athenian practice he remained to watch over the boys, Diogenes would not permit the master of the gymnasium to exercise them after the manner of the athletes; but in those parts only of gymnastics, which had a tendency to animate them and strengthen their constitutions. They learned also by heart, under his direction, numerous sentences from the poets and historians, as well as from his own writings. It was his practice likewise very greatly to abridge his explanations in order that they might the more easily be committed to memory. At home he habituated them to wait on themselves, to be content with frugal fare, and drink water, from which it may be inferred that others drank wine. He accustomed them to cut their hair close, not to be fastidious in dress, and to walk abroad with him bare foot and without a chiton, silent and with downcast eyes. He also went out with them to hunt. On their part they took great care of him, and pleaded his cause with their parents. He therefore grew old in the family, and they performed for him the rites of sepulture. Now what Diogenes was in the house of Xenides, numerous pedagogues were doubtless found to be in other parts of Greece.

Coordinate Authority of Parents and Teachers.

Socrates, interrogating the youth respecting the course of his studies, inquires archly whether, when in the harem, he was not, as a matter of course, permitted to play with his mother's wool basket, and loom, and spatha, and shuttle?

'If I touched them,' replied Iysis, laughing, 'I should soon feel the weight of the shuttle upon my fingers.'

'But,' proceeds the philosopher, 'if your mother or father require any thing to be read or written for them, they, probably, prefer your services to those of any other person?'

'No doubt.'

'And in this case, as you have been instructed in reading and spelling, they allow you to proceed according to your own knowledge. So likewise, when you play to them on the lyre, they suffer you, as you please, to relax or tighten the chords, to touch them with the fingers, or strike them with the plectrum,—do they not?'

'Certainly.'

From this it would appear that the authority of the parents was equal; though generally at Athens, as Plato elsewhere complains, greater reverence was paid to the commands of the mother even than to those of the father.

Public Supervision—Sophronists.

Public schools were by law forbidden to be opened before sunrise, and were closed at sunset; nor during the day could any other men be introduced besides the teachers, though it appears from some of Plato's dialogues that this enactment was not very strictly observed. To prevent habits of brawling, boys were forbidden to assemble in crowds in the streets on their way to school. Nor were these laws deemed sufficient; but still further to protect their morals, ten annual magistrates called Sophronists, one from each tribe, were elected by show of hands, whose sole business it was to watch over the manners of youth. This magistracy dated as far back as the age of Solon, and continued in force to the latest times. The Gymnasiarch, another magistrate, was intrusted with the superintendence of the gymnasium, which, like the public games and festivals, appeared to require peculiar care.

School-houses.

It has sometimes been imagined that in Greece separate edifices were not erected as with us expressly for school-houses, but that both the didaskalos and the philosopher taught their pupils in fields, gardens, or shady groves. But this was not the common practice, though many schoolmasters appear to have had no other place wherein to assemble their pupils than the portico of a temple* or some sheltered corner in the street, where in spite of the din of business and the throng of passengers, the worship of learning was publicly performed. Here, too, the music-masters frequently gave their lessons, whether in singing or on the lyre, which practice explains the anecdote of the musician, who, hearing the crowd applaud one of his scholars, gave him a box on the ear, observing, 'Had you played well, these blockheads would not have praised you.'

For the children of the noble and the opulent spacious structures were raised, and furnished with tables, desks,—for that peculiar species of grammar-school which resembled the plate cupboard, can have been nothing but a desk,—forms,

* In the Anticbitta di Ercolano (t. III. p. 212.) we find a representation of one of these schools during the infliction of corporal chastisement. Numerous boys are seated on forms reading, while a delinquent is hoisted on the back of another in the true Etonian style. One of the carnicifera holds his legs, while another applies the birch to his naked back. Occasionally in Greece, we find that free boys were flogged with a bark in lieu of a birch.

and whatsoever else their studies required. Mention is made of a school at Chios which contained one hundred and twenty boys, all of whom save one were killed by the falling in of the roof.

School Apparatus and Equipment.

In the interior of the school there was commonly an oratory adorned with statues of the Muses, where, probably in a kind of font, was kept a supply of pure water for the boys. Pretending often, when they were not, to be thirsty, they would steal in knots to this oratory, and there amuse themselves by splashing the water over each other; on which account the legislator ordained that strict watch should be kept over it. Every morning the forms were spunged, the school-room was cleanly swept, the ink ground ready for use, and all things were put in order for the business of the day.

The apparatus of an ancient school was somewhat complicated: There were mathematical instruments, globes, maps, and charts of the heavens, together with boards whereon to trace geometrical figures, tablets, large and small, of box-wood, fir, or ivory, triangular in form, some folding with two, and others with many leaves; books too and paper, skins of parchment, wax for covering the tablets, which, if we may believe Aristophanes, people sometimes ate when they were hungry.

To the above were added rulers, reed-pens, pen-cases, penknives, pencils, and last, though not least, the rod which kept them to the steady use of all these things.

School Fees—Homer's Teacher.

Schools were private speculations, and each master was regulated in his charges by the reputation he had acquired and the fortunes of his pupils. Some appear to have been extremely moderate in their demands. There was, for example, a schoolmaster named Hippomachos, upon entering whose establishment boys were required to pay down a mina, after which they might remain as long and benefit by his instructions as much as they pleased. Didaskaloi were not, however, held in sufficient respect, though as their scholars were sometimes very numerous, as many for example as a hundred and twenty, it must often have happened that they became wealthy. From the life of Homer, attributed to Herodotus, we glean some few particulars respecting the condition of a schoolmaster in remoter ages. Phemios, it is there related, kept a school at Smyrna, where he taught boys their letters and all those other parts of education then comprehended under the term of music. His slave Chritheia, the mother of the poet, spun and wove the wool which Phemios received in payment from his scholars. She likewise introduced into his house great elegance and frugality, which so pleased the schoolmaster that it induced him to marry her. Under this man, according to the tradition received in Greece, Homer studied, and made so great a proficiency in knowledge that he was soon enabled to commence instructor himself. He therefore proceeded to Chios, and opened a school where he initiated the youth in the beauties of epic poetry, and, performing his duties with great wisdom, obtained many admirers among the Chians, became wealthy, and took a wife, by whom he had two sons.

Subjects of Instruction.

The earliest task to be performed at school was to gain a knowledge of the Greek characters, large and small, to spell next, next to read. Herodes the

Sophist experienced much vexation from the stupidity exhibited in achieving this enterprise by his son Atticus, whose memory was so sluggish that he could not even recollect the Christ-cross-row. To overcome this extraordinary dullness, he educated along with him twenty-four little slaves of his own age, upon whom he bestowed the names of the letters, so that young Atticus might be compelled to learn his alphabet as he played with his companions, now calling out for Omicron now for Psi. In teaching the art of writing, their practice nearly resembled our own; the master traced with what we must call a pencil (*ygastis*), a number of characters on a tablet, and the pupil following with the pen the guidance of the faint lines before him, accustomed his fingers to perform the requisite movements with adroitness. These things were necessarily the first step in the first class of studies, which were denominated *music*, and comprehended every thing connected with the development of the mind; and they were carried to a certain extent before the second division called *gymnastics* was commenced. They reversed the plan commonly adopted among ourselves, for with them poetry preceded prose, a practice which, coöperating with their susceptible temperament, impressed upon the national mind that imaginative character for which it was preëminently distinguished. And the poets in whose works they were first initiated were of all the most poetical, the authors of lyrical and dithyrambic pieces, selections from whose verses they committed to memory, thus acquiring early a rich store of sentences and imagery ready to be adduced in argument or illustration, to furnish familiar allusions or to be woven into the texture of their style.

Arithmetic.

Among the other branches of knowledge most necessary to be studied, and to which they applied themselves nearly from the outset, was arithmetic, without some inkling of which, a man, in Plato's opinion, could scarcely be a citizen at all. For, as he observes, there is no art or science which does not stand in some need of it, especially the art of war, where many combinations depend entirely on numbers. And yet Agamemnon, in some of the old tragic poets, was represented by Palamedes as wholly ignorant of calculation, so that possibly, as Socrates jocularly observes, he could not reckon his own feet. The importance attached to this branch of education, no where more apparent than in the dialogues of Plato, furnishes one proof that the Athenians were preëminently men of business, who, in all their admiration for the good and beautiful, never lost sight of those things which promote the comfort of life, and enable a man effectually to perform his ordinary duties. With the same views were geometry and astronomy pursued. For, in the Republic, Glaucon, who may be supposed to represent the popular opinion, confesses at once, upon the mention of geometry, that, as it is applicable to the business of war, it would be most useful. He could discover the superiority of the geometrician over the ignorant man in pitching a camp, in the taking of places, in contracting or expanding the ranks of an army, and all those other military movements practiced in battles, marches, or sieges. To Plato, however, this was its least recommendation. He conceived that, in the search after goodness and truth, the study of this science was especially beneficial to the mind, both because it deals in positive verities, and thus begets a love of them, and likewise superinduces the habit of seeking them through lengthened investigation, and of being satisfied with nothing less.

Astronomy.

In the study of astronomy itself, a coarse and obvious utility was almost of necessity the first thing aimed at, and even in the age of Socrates, when philosophical wants were keenly felt in addition to those of the animal and civil life, there were evidently teachers who considered it necessary to justify such pursuits, by showing their bearing on the system of loss and profit. For when Socrates comes, in his ideal scheme of education, to touch on this science, Glaucon, the practical man, at once recognizes its usefulness, not only in husbandry and navigation, but in affairs military.

Music.

Music was employed in the education of the Greeks to effect several purposes. First, to soothe and mollify the fierceness of the national character, and prepare the way for the lessons of the poets, which delivered amid the sounding of melodious strings, when the soul was rapt and elevated by harmony, by the excitement of numbers; by the magic of the sweetest associations, took a firm hold upon the mind, and generally retained it during life. Secondly, it enabled the citizens gracefully to perform their part in the amusements of social life, every person being in his turn called upon at entertainments to sing or play upon the lyre. Thirdly, it was necessary to enable them to join in the sacred choruses, rendered frequent by the piety of the state, and for the due performance in old age of many offices of religion, the sacerdotal character belonging more or less to all the citizens of Athens. Fourthly, as much of the learning of a Greek was martial, and designed to fit him for defending his country, he required some knowledge of music that on the field of battle his voice might harmoniously mingle with those of his countrymen, in chanting those stirring, impetuous, and terrible melodies, called *peana*, which preceded the first shock of fight.

Damon, the great Athenian musician, used to observe, that wherever the mind is susceptible of powerful emotions there will be the song and the dance; and that wherever men are free and honorable, their amusements will be liberal and decorous, where men are otherwise the contrary. Caphesias, the flute-player, observing one of his pupils striving to produce loud sounds, said: 'Boy, that is not always good which is great; but that is great which is good.'

The teachers of music were divided into two classes: the *Cithariste*, who simply played on the instrument, and the *Citharode*, who accompanied themselves on the *cithara* with a song. Of these, the humble and poorer taught, as we have already observed, in the corners of the streets; while the abler and more fortunate opened schools of music, or gave their lessons in the private dwellings of the great. The *Cithara*, however, was not anciently in use at Athens, if we may credit the tradition which attributes to Phrynis its introduction from Ionia.

Drawing.

In the later ages of the commonwealth, drawing likewise, and the elements of art entered into the list of studies pursued by youths, partly with the view of diffusing a correct taste, and the ability to appreciate and enjoy the noble productions of the pencil and chisel, and partly, perhaps, from the mere love of novelty, and the desire which man always feels to enlarge the circle of his acquirements. Aristotle, indeed, suggests a much humbler motive, observing that a knowledge of drawing would enable men to appreciate more accurately the productions of the useful arts.

III. PHYSICAL EDUCATION.

It was a law of Solon, that every Athenian should be able to read and to swim; and the whole spirit of Attic legislation, leaving the poor to the exercise of industrious and hardy occupations, tended to create among the opulent and noble a taste for field sports, horsemanship, and every martial and manly exercise. The difficulty, of course, was to render them subordinate to mental cultivation, and to blend both so cunningly together as to produce a beautiful and harmonious system of discipline, well fitted to ripen and bring to greatest perfection every power and faculty of body and mind.

The practices of the gymnasium may be traced backward to the remotest antiquity, and probably commenced among the warriors of the heroic ages, in the peaceful intervals occurring between expeditions, from the desire to amuse their leisure by mimic representations of more serious contests. At first, no doubt, the exercises, frequently performed in honor of the gods, were few and rude; but by the age of Homer, they had assumed an artificial and regular form, and comprehended nearly all such divisions of the art as prevailed in later times. Other views than those with which they were instituted, caused them to be kept up. When reflection awoke, it was perceived that in these amicable contests men acquired not only force and agility, a martial bearing, the confidence of strength, beauty, and lightness of form; but, along with them, that easy cheerfulness into which robust health naturally blossoms. In fact, so far were the legislators of Greece from designing by gymnastics to create, as Montesquieu supposes, a nation of mere athletes and combatants, that they expressly repudiate the idea, affirming that lightness, agility, a compactly knit frame, health, but chiefly a well poised and vigorous mind, were the object of this part of education. In order the better to attain this point, Plato in his republic ordains that boys be completed in their intellectual studies, which in his ideal state they were to be at the age of sixteen, before they entered the gymnasium, the exercises of which were to be the companions of simple music.

Gymnastics.

Already in the Homeric age, gymnastics, though not as yet so named, constituted the principal object of education, and many branches of the art had even then been carried to a high degree of perfection. The passion for it descended unimpaired to the Spartans, whose polity, framed solely for the preservation of national independence and the acquisition of glory in war, inspired little fondness for mental pursuits, but left the youth chiefly to the influence of the gymnasia, which gradually created in them a temper of mind compounded of insensibility and ferocity, not unlike that of the North American Indians. This, however, they above all things prized; though, as has been justly observed, their exercises could in no sense be considered among the aids to intellectual cultivation.

At Athens they came later into vogue, though common in the age of Solon. When, however, this ardent and enthusiastic people commenced the study of gymnastics, admiring as they did strength and vigor of frame, when united with manly beauty, their plastic genius soon converted it into an art worthy to be enumerated among the studies of youth. In very early ages they imitated the Spartan custom of admitting even boys into the gymnasia. But this was soon abandoned, it being found more profitable first to instruct them in several

of the branches of study above described, and a class of men called *predotribes* or *gymnasts* arose, who taught the gymnastic art privately, in subordination to their other studies, and were regarded as indispensable in the progress of education. These masters gave their instructions in the *palestræ*, which generally formed a part of the *gymnasia*, though not always joined with those edifices, and to be carefully distinguished from them. It is not known with certainty at what age boys commenced their gymnastic exercises, though it appears probable that it was not until their grammatical and musical studies were completed, that is somewhere, perhaps, as Plato counsels, about the age of sixteen. For it was not judged advisable to engage them in too many studies at once, since in bodies not yet endowed with all their strength, over exertion was considered injurious.

The Gymnasia.

The *gymnasia* were spacious edifices, surrounded by gardens and a sacred grove. The first entrance was by a square court, two *stadia* in circumference, encompassed with porticoes and buildings. On three of its sides were large halls, provided with seats, in which philosophers, rhetoricians, and sophists assembled their disciples. On the fourth were rooms for bathing and other practices of the *gymnasium*. The portico facing the south was double, to prevent the winter rains, driven by the winds, from penetrating into the interior. From this court you passed into an inclosure, likewise square, shaded in the middle by plane-trees. A range of colonnades extended round three of the sides. That which fronted the north had a double row of columns, to shelter those who walked there in summer from the sun. The opposite piazza was called *Xystos*, in the middle of which, and through its whole length, they contrived a sort of pathway, about twelve feet wide and nearly two deep, where sheltered from the weather, and separated from the spectators ranged along the sides, the young scholars exercised themselves in wrestling. Beyond the *Xystos* was a stadium for foot-races.

The principal parts of the *gymnasium* were,—1st, the porticoes, furnished with seats and side buildings, where the youths met to converse. 2. The *Ephebeion*, that part of the edifice where the youth alone exercised. 3. The *Apodyterion*, or undressing-room. 4. The *Konisterion*, or small court, in which was kept the *happe*, or yellow kind of sand sprinkled by the wrestlers over their bodies after being anointed with the *ceroma*, or oil tempered with wax. An important part of the baggage of Alexander in his Indian expedition consisted of this fine sand for the *gymnasium*. 5. The *Palestra*, when considered as part of the *gymnasium*, was simply the place set apart for wrestling: the whole of its area was covered with a deep stratum of mud. 6. The *Sphæristerion*,—that part of the *gymnasium* in which they played at ball. 7. *Aleipterion* or *Elaiothesion*, that part of the *palestra* where the wrestlers anointed themselves with oil. 8. The area: the great court, and certain spaces in the porticoes, were used for running, leaping, or pitching the quoit. 9. The *Xystoi* have been described above. 10. The *Xysta* were open walks in which, during fine weather, the youths exercised themselves in running or any other suitable recreation. 11. The *Balanæia* or baths, where, in numerous basins, was water of various degrees of temperature, in which the young men bathed before anointing themselves, or after their exercises. 12. Behind the *Xystos*, and running parallel with it, lay the stadium, which, as its name implies, was usually the eighth part of a mile in length. It

resembled the section of a cylinder, rounded at the ends. From the area below, where the runners performed their exercises, the sides, whether of green turf or marble, sloped upward to a considerable height, and were covered with seats, rising behind each other to the top for the accommodation of spectators.

Successive Exercises.

The first step in gymnastics was to accustom the youth to endure, naked, the fiercest rays of the sun and the cold of winter, to which they were exposed during their initiatory exercises. This is illustrated in a very lively manner by Lucian, where he introduces the Scythian Anacharsis anxious to escape from the scorching rays of noon to the shade of the plane-trees; while Solon, who had been educated according to the Hellenic system, stands without inconvenience bareheaded in the sun. The step next in order was wrestling, always regarded as the principal among gymnastic contests, both from its superior utility and the great art and skill which the proper practice of it required. To the acquisition of excellence in this exercise, the palestra and the instructions of the *pedotribæ* were almost entirely devoted; while nearly every other branch of gymnastics was performed in the gymnasium. These, according to Lucian, were divided into two classes, one of which required for their performance a soft or muddy area, the other one of sand, or an arena properly so called. In all these exercises, the youth were naked, and had their bodies anointed with oil.

Runners.

The first or most simple exercise was the *Dromos* or Course, performed, as has been above observed, in the area of the stadium, which, in order to present the greater difficulty to the racers, was deeply covered with soft and yielding sand. Still further to enhance the labor, the youth sometimes ran in armor, which admirably prepared them for the vicissitudes of war, for pursuit after victory, or the rapid movements of retreat. The high value which the Greeks set upon swiftness may be learned from the poems of Homer, where likewise are found the most graphic and brilliant descriptions of the several exercises. Some of these we shall here introduce from Pope's version, which in this part is peculiarly sustained and nervous. Speaking of the race between Oilean Ajax, Odysseus, and Antilochos, he says:—

Ranged in a line the ready racers stand,
Pelides points the barrier with his hand.
All start at once, Oileus led the race;
The next Ulysses, measuring pace with pace,
Behind him diligently close he sped,
As closely following as the mazy thread
The spindle follows, and displays the charms
Of the fair spinster's breast and moving arms.
Graceful in motion, thus his foe he plies,
And treads each footstep ere the dust can rise;
The glowing breath upon his shoulder plays,
Th' admiring Greeks loud acclamations raise,
To him they give their wishes, heart, and eyes,
And send their souls before him as he flies.
Now three times turned, in prospect of the goal,
The panting chief to Pallas lifts his soul;
Amist, O Goddess, (thus in thought he prayed,)
And present at his thought descends the maid;
Buoys'd by her heavenly force he seems to swim,
And feels a pinion lifting every limb.

Leaping.

Next in the natural order, proceeding from the simplest to the most artificial exercises, was leaping, in which the youth among the Greeks delighted to excel. In the performance of this exercise, they usually sprang from an artificial eleva-

tion (*Baré*), and descended upon the soft mold, which, when plowed up with their heels, was termed *taxappla*. The better to poise their bodies and enable them to bound to a greater distance, they carried in their hands metallic weights, denominated *halteres*, in the form of a semi disk, having on their inner faces handles like the thong of a shield, through which the fingers were passed. Extraordinary feats are related of these ancient leapers. Chionis the Spartan, and Phaylos the Crotonian, being related to have cleared at one bound the space of fifty-two, or according to others, fifty-five feet.

Disk—Bow—Javelin.

The disk in later times varied greatly both in shape, size, and materials. Generally it would seem to have been a cycloid, swelling in the middle and growing thin toward the edges. Sometimes it was perforated in the center and hurled forward by a thong, and on other occasions would appear to have approached the spherical form, when it was denominated *solos*.

Other of these exercises were shooting with the bow at wisps of straw stuck upon a pole, and darting the javelin, sometimes with the naked hand and sometimes with a thong wound about the center of the weapon. In the stadium at Olympia, the area within which the pentathli leaped, pitched the quoit, and hurled the javelin, appears to have been marked out by two parallel trenches.

Wrestling.

Wrestling consisted of two kinds, the first, called Orthopale, was that style, still commonly in use, in which the antagonists, throwing their arms about each other's body, endeavored to bring him to the ground. In the other, called Anaclinopale, the wrestler, who distrusted his own strength but had confidence in his courage and powers of endurance, voluntarily flung himself upon the ground, bringing his adversary along with him, and then by pinching, scratching, biting, and every other species of annoyance, sought to compel him to yield.

An example of wrestling in both its forms occurs in Homer, where Ajax Telamon and Odysseus contend in the funeral games for the prize:

Amid the ring each nervous rival stands,
Embracing rigid, with implicit hands;
Close locked above, their heads and arms are mixt;
Below their planted feet at distance fixt.
Like two strong rafters which the builder forms
Proof to the wintry winds and howling storms;
Their tops connected, but at wider space
Fixed on the center stands their solid base.
Now to the grasp each manly body bends,
The humid sweat from every pore descends,
Their bones resound with blows, sides, shoulders, thighs
Swell to each gripe, and bloody tumors rise.
Nor could Ulysses, for his art renowned,
O'erturn the strength of Ajax on the ground;
Nor could the strength of Ajax overbrow
The watchful caution of his artful foe.
While the long strife even time the lookers-on,
Thus to Ulysses spoke great Telamon:
Or let me lift thee, Chief, or lift thou me,
Prove we our strength and Jove the rest decree.
He said; and straining heaved him off the ground
With matchless strength; that time Ulysses found
The strength he craved, and where the nerves combine
His ankle struck: the giant fell supine.
Ulysses following on his bosom lies,
Shouts of applause run rattling through the skies.
Ajax to lift Ulysses next essays;
He barely stirred him but he could not raise.
His knee locked fast the foe's attempt defied,
And grappling close they tumbled side by side,
Defied with honorable dust they roll,
Still breathing strife and un subdued of soul.

IV. ECONOMICS, OR DOMESTIC TRAINING OF WOMEN.

In the *Economics* of Xenophon, Socrates is introduced in conversation with Critobulus, on the Science of Good Husbandry, which in this treatise covers the good ordering of a house, and all that relates to it, by the head of a family.

Soc.—But I suppose I should first tell you, good Critobulus, of a discourse I once had with a man who might truly be called good and honest; for it will assist in what you desire.

Crit.—I shall be glad to hear that discourse, which may inform me how to gain the worthy name of a truly good and honest man.

Soc.—When I first saw him, I found him sitting in a portico of one of the temples alone; and as I concluded he was then at leisure, I placed myself by him, and addressed myself to him in the following manner:—

‘Good Ischomachus, I much wonder to see you thus unemployed, whose industry leads you ever to be stirring for the good of some one or other.’—‘Nor should you now have found me here, good Socrates,’ said Ischomachus, ‘if I had not appointed some strangers to meet me at this place.’—‘And if you had not been here,’ said Socrates, ‘where would you have been? or, I pray you, how would you have employed yourself? for I wish to learn what it is that you do to gain the character from all people of a good and honest man: the good complexion of your features seems to denote that you do not always confine yourself at home.’ At this, Ischomachus, smiling, seemed to express a satisfaction in what I had said, and replied: ‘I know not that people give me the character of a good and honest man, for when I am obliged to pay money either for taxes, subsidies, or on other occasions, the people call me plainly Ischomachus: and for what you say concerning my not being much at home, you conjecture right, for my wife is capable of ordering such things as belong to the house.’—‘But pray tell me,’ said Socrates, ‘did you instruct your wife how to manage your house, or was it her father and mother that gave her sufficient instructions to order a house before she came to you?’—‘My wife,’ answered Ischomachus, ‘was but fifteen years old when I married her; and till then she had been so negligently brought up, that she hardly knew any thing of worldly affairs.’—‘I suppose,’ said Socrates, ‘she could spin, and card, or set her servants to work.’—‘As for such things, good Socrates,’ replied Ischomachus, ‘she had her share of knowledge.’—‘And did you teach her all the rest,’ said Socrates, ‘which relates to the management of a house?’—‘I did,’ replied Ischomachus, ‘but not before I had implored the assistance of the gods, to show me what instructions were necessary for her; and that she might have a heart to learn and practice those instructions to the advantage and profit of us both.’—‘But, good Ischomachus, tell me,’ said Socrates, ‘did your wife join with you in your petition to the gods?’—‘Yes,’ replied Ischomachus, ‘and I looked upon that to be no bad omen of her disposition to receive such instructions as I should give her.’—‘I pray you, good Ischomachus, tell me,’ said Socrates, ‘what was the first thing you began to show her? for to hear that, will be a greater pleasure to me, than if you were to describe the most triumphant feast that had ever been celebrated.’—‘To begin then, good Socrates, when we were well enough acquainted, and were so familiar that we began to converse freely with one another, I asked her for what reason she thought I had taken her to be my wife, that it was not purely to make her a

partner of my bed, for that she knew I had women enough already at my command; but the reason why her father and mother had consented she should be mine, was because we concluded her a proper person to be a partner in my house and children: for this end I informed her it was, that I chose her before all other women; and with the same regard her father and mother chose me for her husband: and if we should be so much favored by the gods that she should bring me children, it would be our business jointly to consult about their education, and how to bring them up in the virtues becoming mankind; for then we may expect them to be profitable to us, to defend us, and comfort us in our old age. I further added, that our house was now common to us both, as well as our estates; for all that I had I delivered into her care, and the same she did likewise on her part to me; and likewise that all these goods were to be employed to the advantage of us both, without upbraiding one or the other, which of the two had brought the greatest fortune; but let our study be, who shall contribute most to the improvement of the fortunes we have brought together; and accordingly wear the honor they may gain by their good management.

‘To this, good Socrates, my wife replied, “How can I help you in this? or wherein can the little power I have do you any good? for my mother told me, both my fortune, as well as yours, was wholly at your command, and that it must be my chief care to live virtuously and soberly.”—“This is true, good wife,” answered Ischomachus, “but it is the part of a sober husband and virtuous wife to join in their care, not only to preserve the fortune they are possessed of, but to contribute equally to improve it.”—“And what do you see in me,” said the wife of Ischomachus, “that you believe me capable of assisting in the improvement of your fortune?”—“Use your endeavor, good wife,” said Ischomachus, “to do those things which are acceptable to the gods, and are appointed by the law for you to do.”—“And what things are those, dear husband?” said the wife of Ischomachus. “They are things,” replied he, “which are of no small concern, unless you think that the bee which remains always in the hive is unemployed: it is her part to oversee the bees that work in the hive, while the others are abroad to gather wax and honey; and it is, in my opinion, a great favor of the gods to give us such lively examples, by such little creatures, of our duty to assist one another in the good ordering of things; for, by the example of the bees, a husband and wife may see the necessity of being concerned together toward the promoting and advancing of their stock: and this union between the man and woman is no less necessary to prevent the decay and loss of mankind, by producing children which may help to comfort and nourish their parents in their old age. It is ordained also for some creatures to live in houses, while it is as necessary for others to be abroad in the fields: wherefore it is convenient for those who have houses and would furnish them with necessary provisions, to provide men to work in their fields, either for tilling the ground, sowing of grain, planting of trees, or grazing of cattle; nor is it less necessary, when the harvest is brought in, to take care in the laying our corn and fruits up properly, and disposing of them discreetly. Little children must be brought up in the house, bread must be made in the house, and all kinds of meats must be dressed in the house; likewise spinning, carding, and weaving, are all works to be done within doors; so that both the things abroad, and those within the house, require the utmost care and diligence; and it appears plainly, by many natural instances, that the woman was born to look after such things as are to

be done within the house: for a man naturally is strong of body, and capable of enduring the fatigue of heat and cold, of traveling and undergoing the harsher exercise; so that it seems as if nature had appointed him to look after the affairs without doors: the woman being also to nurse and bring up children, she is naturally of a more soft and tender nature than the man; and it seems likewise that nature has given the woman a greater share of jealousy and fear than to the man, that she may be more careful and watchful over those things which are intrusted to her care; and it seems likely, that the man is naturally made more hardy and bold than the woman, because his business is abroad in all seasons, and that he may defend himself against all assaults and accidents. But because both the man and the woman are to be together for both their advantages, the man to gather his substance from abroad, and the woman to manage and improve it at home, they are indifferently endowed with memory and diligence. It is natural also to both to refrain from such things as may do them harm; and likewise they are naturally given to improve in every thing they study, by practice and experience; but as they are not equally perfect in all things, they have the more occasion of one another's assistance: for when the man and woman are thus united, what the one has occasion for is supplied by the other: therefore, good wife, seeing this is what the gods have ordained for us, let us endeavor, to the utmost of our powers, to behave ourselves in our several stations to the improvement of our fortune; and the law, which brought us together, exhorts us to the same purpose. And also, as it is natural, when we are thus settled, to expect children, the law exhorts us to live together in unity, and to be partakers of one another's benefits: so nature, and the law which is directed by it, ordains that each severally should regard the business that is appointed for them. From whence it appears, that it is more convenient for a woman to be at home and mind her domestic affairs, than to gad abroad; and it is as shameful for a man to be at home idling, when his business requires him to be abroad: if any man acts in a different capacity from that he is born to, he breaks through the decrees of nature, and will certainly meet his punishment, either because he neglects the business which is appointed for him, or because he invades the property of another. I think that the mistress bee is an excellent example for the wife."—"And what is the business of the mistress bee," said the wife of Ischomachus, "that I may follow the example of that which you so much recommend to me, for it seems you have not yet fully explained it?"—"The mistress bee," replied Ischomachus, "keeps always in the hive, taking care that all the bees, which are in the hive with her, are duly employed in their several occupations; and those whose business lies abroad, she sends out to their several works. These bees, when they bring home their burden, she receives, and appoints them to lay up their harvest, till there is occasion to use it, and in a proper season dispenses it among those of her colony, according to their several offices. The bees who stay at home, she employs in disposing and ordering the combs, with a neatness and regularity becoming the nicest observation and greatest prudence. She takes care likewise of the young bees, that they are well nourished, and educated to the business that belongs to them; and when they are come to such perfection that they are able to go abroad and work for their living, she sends them forth under the direction of a proper leader."—"And is this my business, dear Ischomachus?" said his wife—"This example, good wife," replied Ischomachus, "is what I give you as a lesson worthy

your practice: your case requires your presence at home, to send abroad the servants whose business lies abroad, and to direct those whose business is in the house. You must receive the goods that are brought into the house, and distribute such a part of them as you think necessary for the use of the family, and see that the rest be laid up till there be occasion for it; and especially avoid the extravagance of using that in a month which is appointed for twelve months' service. When the wool is brought home, observe that it be carded and spun for weaving into cloth; and particularly take care that the corn, which is brought in, be not laid up in such a manner that it grow musty and unfit for use. But, above all, that which will gain you the greatest love and affection from your servants, is to help them when they are visited with sickness, and that to the utmost of your power." Upon which his wife readily answered, 'That is surely an act of charity, and becoming every mistress of good nature; for, I suppose, we can not oblige people more than to help them when they are sick: this will surely engage the love of our servants to us, and make them doubly diligent upon every occasion.'—This answer, Socrates, said Ischomachus, 'was to me an argument of a good and honest wife; and I replied to her, "That by reason of the good care and tenderness of the mistress bee, all the rest of the hive are so affectionate to her, that whenever she is disposed to go abroad, the whole colony belonging to her, accompany, and attend upon her."—To this the wife replied: "Dear Ischomachus, tell me sincerely, is not the business of the mistress bee, you tell me of, rather what you ought to do, than myself; or have you not a share in it? For my keeping at home and directing my servants, will be of little account, unless you send home such provisions as are necessary to employ us."—"And my providence," answered Ischomachus, "would be of little use unless there is one at home who is ready to receive and take care of those goods that I send in. Have you not observed," said Ischomachus, "what pity people show to those who are punished by pouring water into sieves till they are full? The occasion of pity is, because those people labor in vain."—"I esteem these people," said the wife of Ischomachus, "to be truly miserable, who have no benefit from their labors."—"Suppose, dear wife," replied Ischomachus, "you take into your service one who can neither card nor spin, and you teach her to do those works, will it not be an honor to you? Or if you take a servant which is negligent, or does not understand how to do her business, or has been subject to pilfering, and you make her diligent, and instruct her in the manners of a good servant, and teach her honesty, will not you rejoice in your success? and will you not be pleased with your action? So again, when you see your servants sober and discreet, you should encourage them and show them favor; but as for those who are incorrigible and will not follow your directions, or prove larcenaries you must punish them. Consider how laudable it will be for you to excel others in the well-ordering your house; be therefore diligent, virtuous, and modest, and give your necessary attendance on me, your children, and your house, and your name shall be honorably esteemed, even after your death; for it is not the beauty of your face and shape, but your virtue and goodness, which will bring you honor and esteem, which will last for ever."—'After this manner, good Socrates,' cried Ischomachus, 'I first discoursed with my wife concerning her duty and care of my house.'

THE COLLEGE SYSTEM AT ATHENS.

BY W. W. CAPES, M.A.

THE EPHEBI.

SOME scholars may be inclined to call in question the term which has been chosen for the heading of this chapter; may doubt if there was any thing at Athens which could answer to the college life of modern times. Indeed, it must be owned that formal history is nearly silent on the subject; that ancient writers take little notice of it; and such evidences as we have are drawn almost entirely from a series of inscriptions on the marble tablets, which were covered with the ruins and the dust of ages, till one after another came to light in recent days, to add fresh pages to the story of the past.

Happily, they are both numerous and lengthy, and may be already pieced together in an order which extends for centuries. They are known to Epigraphic students as the records which deal with the so-called *Ephebi*; with the youths, that is, just passing into manhood, for whom a special discipline was provided by the State, to fit them for the responsibilities of active life. It was a National system with a many-sided training; the teachers were members of the Civil Service; the registers were public documents, and, as such, belonged to the Archives of the State. The earlier inscriptions of the series date from the period of Macedonian ascendancy, but in much earlier times there had been forms of public drill prescribed for the Ephebi. It had been an ancient usage that the youths who had just entered on their nineteenth year should appear, in the presence of their kinsfolk and their neighbors, to have their names put on the Civic Roll, to be armed in public with a shield and spear, and to be then escorted to a temple where the solemn oath was taken of loyal service to their country and their gods. 'I swear,' so ran the words, 'not to bring disgrace upon these arms, nor to desert my comrade in the fight. I will do battle for the common weal, for the religion of my fathers. I will obey those who bear rule, and the laws which are in force, and all that the sovereign people shall decree.' The young champions so pledged were bound awhile to special forms of military duty; they were drafted into companies of National guards, and patrolled the country districts, or were posted in outlying forts in defensive service on the frontier, till their two years of probation had expired.

* *University Life in Ancient Athens.* By W. W. Capes, M.A., Reader in Ancient History in Oxford University. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

Such were the forms which lasted on through the old days of independence, when every citizen must be a soldier, and the first claim which Athens made was that her children should defend her. But in the later days of Macedonian rule, when she enjoyed only a faint show of freedom, she no longer demanded as a right the personal service of her sons, and soon changed, in the case of the Ephebi, the essential character of her educational routine.

1. The name did not henceforth include the whole rising manhood of the State. All who feared the loss of time or want of means, all who thought the drill too irksome, could stand aside when they reached the fitting age, and not enroll themselves in what was now a corps of Volunteers. The poorer classes, as we may suppose, dropped out, and betook themselves at once to active life; only the well to do aspired to such a finish to a liberal training.

2. It served no longer as a test of purity of birth or civic rights. We find from a decree, which, if genuine, dates even from the days of Pericles, that the young men of Cos were allowed by special favor to share the discipline of the Athenian Ephebi. Soon afterward others were admitted on all sides. The aliens who had gained a competence as merchants or as bankers found their sons welcomed in the ranks of the oldest families of Athens; strangers flocked thither from different countries, not only from the isles of Greece, and from the coasts of the Ægean, but as Hellenic culture made its way through the Far East, students even of Semitic race were glad to enroll their names upon the college registers, where we may still see them with the marks of their several nationalities affixed.

3. The young men were no longer, like soldiers upon actual service, beginning already the real work of life, and on that account, perhaps, the term was shortened from two years to one; but the old associations lasted on for ages, even in realistic Athens, which in early politics at least had made so clean a sweep. The outward forms were still preserved, the soldier's drill was still enforced, and, though many another feature had been added, the whole institution bore upon its face the look rather of a military college than of a training-school for a scholar or a statesman.

The college year began somewhat later than the opening of the civil year, and it was usual for all the students to matriculate together; that is, to enter formally their names upon the registers, which were copied afterward upon the marble tablets, of which large fragments have survived. That done, they were expected to take part, with their officers and tutors, in a religious ceremonial held in the Guildhall of the city, which even in its name reminds us of our stated services at the opening of Term.

For the Athenian government laid special stress upon religious influence in education; they insisted that the young men should be trained to reverence the guardian powers of the State. The documents before

us emphasize the hope that they would grow to orderly and pious manhood; and, with all their large tolerance of Non-conformist systems, the rulers had no scruple in prescribing the religion of the State. The creeds of Paganism were too wide and too elastic to cause anxiety to any tender conscience, and the votaries of Syrian gods could join without misgiving in the ritual of Hellenic worship. Even to the last days of the heathen world, Athens was the stronghold of religious feeling. Old associations lingered round its venerable walls, and linked themselves to great historic names, as in our modern Oxford, till those even owned the glamour of the ancient city, whose reason had rebelled against its outworn dogmas. We may read, therefore, of a long round of special times, like the holy seasons and the saints' days of our modern calendars, which were all of interest to the young men at college, not as holidays from earnest work, but as days of ceremonial observance. At some they walked in military guise, like Hungarian students at the Stephansfest, marching through the streets of Pesth with their swords buckled to their sides; at some they moved in slow procession with their lighted torches, like an academic club of Germany; at other times they joined in a thanksgiving service or State prayers for a victory won centuries before, like that of Marathon, engaging in mimic contests to revive the excitement of the past; while, in honor of the triumphs won upon the sea at Salamis, they raced over the waters, and made processions with their boats, as in later ages on the Isis or the Cam. In most of these, as on other State occasions, they wore the same official dress which distinguished them from all besides. 'To put the gown on,' or, as we should say, 'to be a gownsmen,' was the phrase which stood for being a member of the college; and the gown, too, was of black, as commonly among ourselves.

But Philostratus tells us, by the way, that a change was made from black to white at the prompting of Herodes Atticus, the munificent and learned subject of the Antonines, who was for many years the presiding genius of the University of Athens. The fragment of an inscription lately found curiously confirms and supplements the writer's statement. Herodes, it would seem, did not only introduce the more auspicious color, but defrayed himself the expenses of the charge, and is represented in the contemporary document as saying, 'While I am living you shall never want white robes.' Some may possibly remember the attempt made nearly twenty years ago to introduce a seemlier form of gown for use among the Commoners of Oxford; but no Herodes Oxoniensis volunteered to meet the objection of expense, and so make the change easier for slender purses.

The members of the college are spoken of as 'friends' and 'messmates;' and it is probable that some form of conventual life prevailed among them, without which the drill and supervision, which are constantly implied in the inscriptions, could scarcely have been enforced by the officials. But we know nothing of any public buildings for their use save the *gymnasia*, which in all Greek towns were the centers of educa-

tional routine, and of which there were several well known at Athens. Drawing, as they did, their name from the bodily exercises for which they had been first provided, and serving in this respect for men as well as boys, they were used also for the culture of the mind. Public lecturers of every kind resorted to them, philosophy sought to gain a hearing in their halls, and rival systems even took their names from buildings such as these, where they catered for the intellect, while trainers a few yards off were drilling the body in the laws of healthy work. One such, especially, the Diogeneum, served as a center of stirring college life. The president, who had the charge of it, is one of the officials often mentioned. Here probably they had a college library, as also certainly in another called the Ptolemaum. In such gymnasia a variety of trainers were employed to call out the physical powers in the full energy of of balanced life. Here the youths qualified themselves as marksmen in the use of the javelin and the bow, and a separate instructor was appointed in each case. Here, too, they were practiced in the drill which was to fit them for their grand parades, at which the public would look on, and the Chief Minister of State preside. Athletic sports of every kind found in such scenes a natural home. They were encouraged, almost prescribed in this case, by the government, which showed a lively interest in what was done. Here, too, the students fell into their ranks as volunteers, and marched out to form an escort for some distinguished stranger who fathored Athens with a visit. Or they formed themselves into a guard of honor, and kept order in the sittings of the National Assemblies, listening meantime to the course of the debates, and gaining betimes an insight into the business of public life, and a personal acquaintance with the prominent statesmen of the day. But they had their livelier spectacles at times. They went to the theater to see the play together, and there they had, we read, their proper places kept for them in a sort of undergraduates' gallery.

They had their lectures also to attend, in their own gymnasia, or in other buildings of the kind; for they were not allowed to slight the chances of intellectual progress in the eager love of races, sports, and volunteering. Some sort of certificate of attendance at the courses was seemingly required.

But in this respect, at least, the college did not try to monopolize the education of its students. It had, indeed, its own tutors or instructors, but they were kept for humbler drill; it did not even for a long time keep an organist or choir-master of its own; it sent its students out for teaching in philosophy and rhetoric and grammar, or, in a word, for all the larger and more liberal studies. Nor did it favor any special set of tenets to the exclusion of the rest. It encouraged impartially all the schools of higher thought. One document which we possess speaks approvingly of the young men's attendance in the lecture hall of a professor who expounded seemingly the Stoic system, but it goes on to note that they were present also at the courses given by Platonists and Aris-

totelians alike. The context even would imply that they went together in a body, attended by their Head, and listened to the lectures of all the professors; or, as the inscriptions more than once record, of *all the philosophers* who taught their theories in public. The college had no fear, it seems, of critical inquiry and free thought, though it may, perhaps, have overtasked the receptive powers of its students. One only of the great historic systems was ignored, perhaps as likely to be pushed too far by inexperienced minds to some extreme of dangerous license, or rank impatience of control. No mention is ever made of the theories of Epicurus, which were judged, probably, unfit for the youths who were still '*in statu pupillari*.' The appetite for knowledge thus excited could be ill satisfied with a few months of lectures; but, though the discipline so far described lasted only for a year, there was nothing to prevent them from carrying on their interest in high thought. As students unattached, they might linger for years round the same lecture halls, busy themselves with the same unsolved problems, and in their turn hold conferences on great occasions, or aspire to fill some public Chair of Morals or Philology.

The term, indeed, was far too short for such a multifarious training, which was at once gymnastic, martial, intellectual, and moral; but many even in those days were reluctant, it would seem, to postpone the active work of life in the interests of higher culture.

As it is, the names of the old families figure most upon the registers; for there were other forms of outlay, besides the expenditure of valuable time, to deter the less opulent of the middle classes. We read nothing indeed of college dues, or of the sums paid for battels by the students; and more than once the authorities are praised in the inscriptions for lowering, if not remitting altogether, certain charges. It is possible that the expense was partly met by a grant of public money, or by some form of endowment; and the mention that recurs of the sacrifices in the memory of past benefactors seems to point to this conclusion, while it reminds us of the Bidding Prayer in which we hear the names of the pious founders of old time. But of the accounts, which were to be audited each year in public by some officials of the State, it is most likely that the payments of the young men themselves formed an important item.

Nor did their expenses end with those for board or for tuition. Each must pay his quota to provide a hundred volumes yearly for the college library, which was stored, as we have seen, in a gymnasium. Their piety must be attested by liberal offerings to the Mother of the Gods and Dionysus, and sometimes, too, to other powers. Nor was it left to them to give at their free will; but a decree is quoted which defined the amount to be expended, somewhat as a few years back at Oxford the chapel offertory was charged in college battels. Each generation left behind it year by year the pieces of gold and silver plate which, duly emblazoned doubtless with their names, were stored up—not in the college buttery, but in the treasury of some temple. Four costly goblets of the

kind, we read in one inscription, were presented by the students of a single year.

The Rectors, too, who did their duty, must receive some sort of testimonial, and have their bronze or marble statues presented to them by their grateful pupils, as men accept their pictures nowadays. It became at last a customary thing, to be mentioned in the record of each year; and therefore the honor was but trifling, though the cost was real, and the omission was a slight.

Then, again, there was the cost of their uniforms and arms, which must be of the gayest on parade, when they were playing at the soldier's trade. The wealthier among the members, we are told, were encouraged by the authorities to show their public feeling in promoting common interests, and so, doubtless, spent their money freely to give *éclat* to their games or their processions. The office of Gymnasiarch especially is recorded as the privilege of men of means who fostered the athletic sports; and, if not in that respect, at least in others, may remind us of the captain of a modern cricket club, or of a college eight.

Something, too, there is which reads as if there had been scoones or fines imposed by the members of each other, in support of social rules or codes of honor; but these were looked on with disfavor from above, as likely to cause jars in the harmony of friendly intercourse; and one rector, at least, put them down.

At length the year drew to its close, and with it the restraints of discipline; but one ordeal still remained to try them. There is no new thing under the sun, and we find that there were examinations, even in old times, at Athens. Plutarch tells us, by the way, that the mayor on one occasion came to the gymnasium to examine the Ephebi 'who studied literature and geometry, rhetoric and music.' The ceremony ended with a public dinner, to which all the college tutors were invited, as well as lecturers and men of learning; but the guests, we read, were not so orderly in their behavior as might have been expected. At the end of Term, the town council was expected to attend, and hear the posers do their work; or, as we should say in modern language, the student sat for examination in the Senate-house. There was, probably, no paper work required, but only an oral apposition; it may be even that the phrase chiefly refers to some manual exercises or parade, more than to tests of intellectual progress. For we do not hear of any class lists; or, rather, those we have, and they are full enough, contain the names only of the prizemen in the races and athletic sports, and do not deal with the cultivation of the mind.

In any case, they do not seem to have hurt themselves with their hard reading: the records insist upon the perfect health enjoyed by all the youths, as fully as if we had the extracts of a sanitary report. They were models, too, of good behavior, those pattern students of old time, if we may trust the complimentary language of the marbles. They went to lectures steadily, and listened quietly to what was told them, and never

rioted about the streets, or fell out in their cups like vulgar fellows in a drunken brawl, nor failed to do what their authorities enjoined, but 'were quite faultless all the long year through.'

We may naturally ask who were the guardians of a discipline so perfect as to seem more fitly lodged in some cloister of Utopia.

The Head of the college held the title of *Cosmates*, or of rector, and was assisted or replaced at times by a subrector; for so custom, though not law, required, since one at least declined to have a formal deputy, and preferred the assistance of his son. There were also various instructors, too low in rank to be like tutors, though for convenience we may call them by that name. The Rector, appointed only for a year by popular election, was no merely honorary head, but took an important part in the real work of education. He was sometimes clothed with priestly functions; was, as we should say, in Holy Orders; and never failed, so we are often told, to be present at religious service. He went to lectures even with the men, attending sometimes all the public courses with exemplary diligence. But that was not enough. He must go to drill with them at their volunteering; must visit, at their head, the watch-towers and outposts on the frontier, where the Ephebi had been posted in old days; he must look on at their gymnastic seats, and see that they were kept in proper training and were very careful to avoid all coarse and indecorous language; and he must even take some part, as starter, or as judge perhaps, in their boat-races.

He must be a man of substance to play his part becomingly, for there were expenses which he could not well avoid. He often bore the cost himself of the religious services of his own college, paying for the victims for the sacrifice. He subscribed toward the silver plate which was the customary offering, and in other ways lightened the burdens on the students. When the outer wall of their gymnasium fell into ruins, the Rector of the day rebuilt it at his own expense; and though he thankfully accepted from his pupils the complimentary present of his statue, yet he did not forget to pay for it himself.

Some, however, of the work of supervision devolved upon the Sophronistæ, or the proctors, who were charged specially with the moral guidance of the youths, and to whose constant watchfulness the orderly behavior often spoken of was largely due. The tutors, or instructors, were specialized, as we have seen, to definite work; each was told off to deal with a single set of muscles, or some physical aptitude or grace, and therefore they scarcely rose above the rank of trainers, or of fencing or dancing-masters. At first appointed by each rector only for a year, they gradually obtained a longer hold upon their places, till they gained a sort of vested right, and held their offices for life.

The Rector had his accounts at last to pass before official auditors appointed by the State. That done with credit, he might return to private life after one year of responsible routine; but he was seldom allowed to lay down office without some mark of honor, if he had done his duty

faithfully, and not been too unpopular among his pupils. Some one in the general assembly was sure to propose a vote of thanks, couched in the most complimentary terms, to the rector and all the officials of the year.

The motion was carried without fail, and embodied formally in a decree. So flattering a proof of merit was not allowed to remain buried in the dusty archives. It was reproduced in more enduring form in stone, and posted, probably where all might read it, in the gymnasium of the college, whose walls were made to serve as a gazette of academic news. The custom was observed from year to year, till the marble slabs spread over a large area of masonry; and as in course of time, by the ravages of war, or the processes of slow decay, the buildings crumbled into ruins, the storied fragments were strewn upon the ground and covered over, till history lost sight of them for ages. But, gradually, one after another reappeared; and, as the ardor of antiquarian research revived at Athens in our own days, a lengthy series was at length pieced together and arranged, extending, though not of course in an unbroken order, from the Macedonian period to the third century of our era. We may gain a clearer insight into the social manners of the times, if we take the trouble to read over one of the decrees as a characteristic member of the series in question. The document is dated from the 8th of the month Boedromion; and the year, as indicated by the Archon's name, belongs probably to the beginning of the first century before our era.

Aphrodisius, the son of Aphrodisius the Azenian, moved:

That whereas the Ephebi of last year sacrificed duly at their matriculation in the Guildhall, by the sacred fire of the City, in the presence of their Rector and the Priests of the People and the Pontiffs, according to the laws and decrees, and conducted the procession in honor of Artemis the Huntress, . . . and took part in others of like kind, and ran in the customary torch-races, and escorted the statue of Pallas to Phalerum, and helped to bring it back again, and light it on its way in perfect order, and carried Dionysus also from his shrine into the theater in like fashion, and brought a bull worthy of the God at the Dionysiac festival, . . . and took part in all due offerings to our Gods and our Benefactors, as the laws and the decrees ordain; and have been regular in their attendance all the year at the gymnasia, and punctually obeyed their Rector, thinking it of paramount importance to observe discipline, and to study diligently what the People has prescribed; whereas there has been no ground for complaint, but they have kept all the rules made by their Rector and their Tutors, and have attended without fail the lectures of Zenodotus in the Ptolemaeum and the Lyceum, as also those of all the other Professors of Philosophy in the Lyceum and Academy; and have mounted guard in good order at the popular assemblies, and have gone out to meet our Roman friends and benefactors on their visits; . . . and have given 70 drachmas, as the law provides, to the proper functionaries to provide the goblet for the Mother of the Gods, and offered another also in the temple at Eleusis; and have marched out under arms to the Athenian frontiers, and made themselves acquainted with the country and the roads, . . . and have gone out to Marathon and offered their garlands, and said prayers at the shrine of the heroes who died fighting for their country's freedom; . . . and have gone on shipboard to the feast of Alantæa, and held boat-races and processions there, and earned the praises of the Salaminians, and the present of a golden crown because of their good discipline and orderly behavior; and whereas they have lived in friendly harmony all the year without a jar, as their Rector wished, and have passed their Examinations in the Senate-house as the law

requires; and being full of honorable ambition and desire to help their Rector in his public spirited endeavors to promote the public good as well as their own credit, they have taken in hand one of the old catapults that was out of gear, and, repairing it at their own expense, have learned once more how to use the engine, the practice of which had been disused for years; and in all other matters have conducted themselves with all propriety, and have provided all that was required for the religious services of their own gymnasia—to show the wish of the Senate and the People to honor them for their merits and obedience to the laws and to their Rector, in their first year of adult life, the Senate is agreed to instruct the Presidents of the next assembly following to lay before the People for approval the Resolution of the Senate to pass an honorary vote in praise of the Ephebi of last year, and to present them with a golden crown for their constant piety and discipline and public spirit, and to compliment their Tutors, their trainer Timon, and the fencing-master Satyrus, and the marksman Nicander, and the bowman Asclepiades, and Calchedon the instructor in the catapults, and the attendants, and to award a crown of leaves to each; and to have the decree engraved by the Secretary for the time being on two pillars of stone, to be placed one in the Market-place, and the second wherever may seem best.

Again, a few days afterward, in a regular assembly in the theater, one of the presidents put to the vote the following resolution of the Senate and the people:—

Whereas, the people always has a hearty interest in the training and discipline of the Ephebi, hoping that the rising generation may grow up to be men able to take good care of their fatherland, and has passed laws to require them to gain a knowledge of the country, of the guard-posts and of the frontiers, and to train themselves as soldiers in the use of arms, thanks to which discipline the City has been decked with many glories and imposing trophies; and whereas on this account the People has always chosen a Rector of unblemished character, and accordingly last year Dionysius, the son of Socrates, the Phylasian, had the care of the Ephebi intrusted to him by the People, and duly sacrificed with them at their matriculation, . . . and has trained them worthily, keeping them constantly engaged at the gymnasia, and making them all efficient in their drill, and insisting on decorum, that they should not fail throughout the year in obedience to the Generals, the Tutors, and himself; and whereas he has watched over their habits of order and of self-control, taking them with him to the professors' lectures, and being present always at their courses of instruction, . . . and whereas he has also roused their public spirit by teaching them to be good marksmen with the catapult, and accompanied them in their rounds to the guard posts and the frontiers . . . and has arranged the boat-races in the processions at Munychia . . . and also the foot-races in the gymnasia, and the escorts of honor for our Roman friends and allies . . . and reviewed them on parade at the Thesela and Epitaphia . . . and has been vigilant in all cases to maintain their pride, being constant in attendance on them through the year, and has watched over their studies, and ruled them with impartial justice, keeping them in sound health and friendly intercourse, treating them with a father's care—in return for all of which, the Ephebi have presented him with a golden crown and a bronze statue, to show their sense of his character and loving care; and whereas he has passed his accounts as the law requires, the Senate and the People, wishing to show due honor to such Rectors as serve with merit and impartiality, resolve to praise Dionysius, late Rector of the Ephebi of last year, and to present him with a golden crown, and have proclamation made thereof in the great festival of Dionysus, as also at the athletic contests of the Panathenaic and Eleusinian feasts.

In conclusion, we may briefly note:

1. The system of education thus described was under the control of the government throughout.

'The laws and the decrees' were constantly appealed to in the records, not as guaranteeing corporate status, or securing rights of property, but

as organizing and defining all the essentials of the institution. They insisted that a religious influence should be exerted, prescribing even the ritual established by the State; they claimed the right to interfere with the details, to correct and to reward the chief officials. It was a truly national system under government inspection, though largely supplemented by voluntary action.

2. It may surprise us that our information comes almost entirely from the inscriptions, and that ancient writers are all nearly silent on the subject. The later Athenian comedy, indeed, if that were left to us, would probably refer to it in illustration of the social manners of the times. But there was little to attract the literary circles in arrangements so mechanical and formal; there was too much of outward pageantry, and too little of real character evolved. The professorial teaching was a mere exorcism of the system. The Rectors passed so rapidly across the stage that none could stamp any marked impress of his genius on it; and originality must have been cramped by the straight-waistcoat of rigid forms.

3. Strangely enough, our information does not end even with all the complimentary phrases, of which a sample has been given in the foregoing decree. There is specified sometimes the exact number of the members of the college; and more or less lengthy fragments are still left of the muster-rolls, in which the proper names and the nationalities of each are stated. The native born and aliens are distinguished in the different lists; the varying proportions serve to mark the times when this special type of education rose and fell in popular esteem elsewhere. In the second century of our era, when more than one hundred strangers sometimes matriculated in the same year, only two or three Roman names occur, while the great towns of Asia Minor and the isles of the Ægean are constantly appearing. The Roman character was still too unimaginative and commonplace to prize the varied attractiveness of life at Athens. But the Syrian populations flocked to her, the men of Ascalon and Berytus above all, disguising partially their native names in a Greek dress. It is of special interest to note that at the very time when a new religious influence was spreading from the East, there is so much evidence of fusion between the Greek and the Semitic culture. In the last the Jews played probably no important part; they abounded in all the marts of trade and crowded cities; and, as in the Middle Ages at the schools of Cordova and Bagdad, they may have served to some extent as dragomans between the East and the West. But only a small proportion of such foreign students entered as Ephebi, for the out-college system seemingly was most in favor, and of the multitudes who flocked to Athens, and staid there for long years, by far the most were unattached, choosing their own course of reading and their private tutors, without any check of examinations or degrees. It is time to turn to the character and methods of their studies, and to deal with the larger and the most important sections of our subject.

SCIENCE AND ART INSTRUCTION IN IRELAND.

INSTRUCTION IN SCIENCE AND ART in Ireland is provided in numerous central and provincial institutions, aided by charges on the Consolidated Fund, by direct Parliamentary grants, or out of appropriations made to the Science and Art Department, viz.:—Professorships of natural philosophy, chemistry, botany, geology, and mineralogy, in the Royal Dublin Society, since 1854 transferred to other institutions; School of engineering in Trinity College, instituted in 1840; Chairs of mathematics, physics, chemistry, and natural sciences, and Departments of engineering and practical science in the Queen's Colleges in Belfast, Cork, and Galway, established in 1849; Model agricultural schools, and the Albert Agricultural Institute at Glasnevin, under the Commissioners of National Education; the Schools of Art, and Schools of Navigation, and Classes of Science, under the Government Science and Art Department; the Royal College of Science for Ireland, the Royal Dublin Society, and other central and provincial schools. The College possesses a valuable Museum.

ROYAL COLLEGE OF SCIENCE FOR IRELAND.

THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF SCIENCE, in Dublin, instituted or rather reorganized in 1867, is now in successful operation, with not a large number of students (32 in 1869) in the regular course, and 5,773 in its special and miscellaneous courses delivered in connection, but with an adequate teaching force and a well-defined plan of instruction, as will be seen from the following

PROGRAMME FOR THE SESSION 1869-70.

The Royal College of Science supplies, as far as practicable, a complete course of instruction in science applicable to the industrial arts, especially those which may be classed broadly under the heads of mining, agriculture, engineering, and manufactures, and is intended to aid in the instruction of teachers for the local schools of science.

Subjects of Instruction.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Applied Mathematics. | 8. Geology and Palaeontology. |
| 2. Descriptive Geometry, and Mechanical Drawing. | 9. Mineralogy. |
| 3. Mechanism. | 10. Agricultural Science. |
| 4. Physics. | 11. Mining. |
| 5. Chemistry, Theoretical and Practical. | 12. Applied Chemistry, including Metallurgy. |
| 6. Botany. | 13. Machinery. |
| 7. Zoology. | 14. Surveying. |

Under Applied Mathematics is taken the application of Mathematics to those sciences generally included under the head of Mechanics, viz., Statics, Dynamics, Hydrostatics, and Hydrodynamics, as well as to some other branches of Physics.

Under Mechanism is treated only the relations of motion, or the study of machines merely as contrivances for changing one kind of motion into another, apart from any considerations of force.

Under Machinery is treated the application of Mechanics and Mechanism to machines used in the industrial arts.

Chemistry includes both lectures and laboratory practice.

The course of instruction extends over three years, each year being divided into two terms. In the first two years the instruction is general. In the last year it is specialized under the heads of Mining, Agriculture, Engineering, and Manufactures. The scheme of instruction is the following:—

First Year.

1st Term.

Applied Mathematics.
Physics.
Descriptive Geometry.
Geometrical Drawing.

2d Term.

Applied Mathematics.
Physics.
Botany.
Descriptive Geometry.
Geometrical Drawing.

Second Year.

Applied Mathematics.
Chemistry (Theoretical).
Chemistry (Practical).
Mechanical Drawing.

Applied Mathematics.
Chemistry (Theoretical).
Chemistry (Practical).
Zoology.
Mechanical Drawing.

Students entering for the associateship are expected to be acquainted with the first two books of Euclid and the elementary rules of Algebra. Some familiarity with the use of the ordinary drawing instruments is very desirable.

In their first and second years they are required to attend all the courses in the subjects appointed for these years. In their third year they are required to attend all those belonging to any one division, as follows:

Third Year.

Division A.—Mining.

Geology, with demonstrations in Palaeontology. Mechanism and Machinery.
Mineralogy and Mining. Assaying and Metallurgy. Land Surveying.

Students in this Division are required to attend the lectures of the Professor of Geology, with demonstrations in Palaeontology; also those of the Professors of Mining and Mineralogy, of Mechanism, and of Land Surveying. The laboratory instruction will comprise a course of Assaying and Metallurgy.

Division B.—Agriculture.

Geology. Mechanism and Machinery.
Agricultural Science. Analysis of Soils and Manures.
Land Surveying.

Students in this Division are required to attend the courses in Geology and Palaeontology; also the course of the Professor of Agriculture. They likewise receive instruction in Mechanism and Machinery and in Land Surveying, and also laboratory instruction in the Analysis of Soils and Manures.

Division C.—Engineering.

Mechanism and Machinery. Mechanical Drawing, Engineering, and Surveying.
Geology and Palaeontology.

In this Division the students are required to attend the courses of the Professor of Applied Mathematics, and those of the Professor of Descriptive Geometry in Mechanical Drawing, Engineering, and Land Surveying, also that of the Professor of Geology, with demonstrations in Palaeontology.

Division D.—Manufactures.

Applied Mechanics, and Physics.
Applied Chemistry, and Technical Analysis.

Students in this Division are required to attend the lectures of the Professor of Applied Mathematics and of the Professor of Applied Chemistry, and to go through a further course of Practical Chemistry.

The Demonstrator in Palaeontology gives instruction, during the second term of the session, to students of the third year. These demonstrations are also open to any student who attends, or has during the preceding session attended, the lectures either of the Professor of Geology, Zoology, or Botany.

A diploma of associateship of the College will be given to students who pass in all the subjects of the first two years, and of any one division of the third year. Students may also enter for the separate courses, and receive certificates after examination. A certificate of attendance in the chemical laboratory is not given for any course less than three months.

The course of instruction in this College is recognized by the Secretary of State for India as qualifying for appointments in the Engineering Department.

There are four Royal Scholarships of 50*l.* yearly each, with free education,

tenable for two years; two will become vacant each year. They will be given to students who shall have been a year in the College.

There are also nine Royal Exhibitions attached to the College of 50*l.* each, tenable for three years.

These Scholarships and Exhibitions are tenable only on the condition that the holders shall attend all the lectures of their respective years. This condition is strictly enforced by the Department. They must also pass the examinations at the end of the session.

Students at the conclusion of their first academic year are examined in the subjects of that year. Prizes are awarded for superior answering in each branch. The award of the Royal Scholarships is made on the result of this examination, to those students, not Royal Exhibitioners, who on the whole have answered best, if sufficiently deserving to be recommended for them.

At the conclusion of the second and third year, similar examinations are held and prizes awarded.

A medal is awarded at the conclusion of the second year to that student who, on the total results of both years, shall have most distinguished himself, if sufficient merit be shown.

To candidates for the associateship whose knowledge of pure mathematics is not sufficiently advanced, the Professor of Applied Mathematics gives such instruction as is necessary. These lectures may be attended by other students. Prizes will be awarded for proficiency at the end of the first and second years.

During the session, short courses of evening lectures of a more popular character will be delivered, the particulars respecting which will be duly announced.

The Chemical and Metallurgical Laboratories, under the direction of Professor Galloway, are open every week day during the session (except Saturday, and the usual holidays) from 10 A. M. to 4 P. M.

The library contains carefully-selected works, and is open to the students, and also to the public under certain restrictions.

The Museum is open to the public on week days from 11 A. M. to 4 P. M.

The session commences on the first Monday in October in each year, and lasts until the 21st June following, with a vacation of ten days at Christmas, and of a week at Easter.

The first term commences on the first Monday in October, and the second term on the first Monday in February.

The examinations are held at the close of the session.

The fees, in all cases payable in advance, are,—

2*l.* for each separate course of lectures;

And for laboratory practice, 2*l.* per month, 5*l.* for three months, or 12*l.* for the entire session.

Students entering for the purpose of obtaining the diploma of associate, or intending to compete for the scholarships, pay 10*l.* each year, which will admit them to all the courses of that year, exclusive of laboratory—or 25*l.* for the whole studentship of three years.

The holders of Royal Scholarships or Royal Exhibitions pay no fees.

STAFF OF INSTRUCTION, 1869-70.

Dean of Faculty—SIR ROBERT KANE, LL.D., F.R.S., M.R.I.A.

Professors—*Physics*—WILLIAM BARKER, M.D., M.R.I.A.

Chemistry—WILLIAM K. SULLIVAN, Ph.D., V.P.R.I.A.

Applied Chemistry—ROBERT GALLOWAY, F.C.S.

Geology—EDWARD HULL, F.R.S.

Applied Mathematics—ROBERT BALL, M.A.

Botany—WYVILLE THOMSON, LL.D.

Zoology—RAMSAY H. TRAQUAIR, M.D.

Agriculture—EDMUND W. DAVY, M.B., M.R.I.A.

Descriptive Geometry—THOMAS F. PIGOT.

Mining and Mineralogy—J. P. O'REILLY.

Librarian and Curator of Museum—ALPHONSE GAGES, M.R.I.A.

Paleontological Demonstrator—W. H. BAILEY, F.L.S., F.G.S.

Assistant Chemist—WILLIAM PLUNKETT, F.C.S.

Clerk—GEORGE C. PENNY.

Secretary—FREDERICK J. SIDNEY, LL.D., M.R.I.A.

ROYAL DUBLIN SOCIETY.

THE ROYAL DUBLIN SOCIETY was originally founded to encourage husbandry, and has from its first institution received large government grants in aid of its operations. It was associated with the Science and Art Department in 1854, and the professorship of agriculture, for many years attached to its operations, was in 1864 transferred to the College of Science.

At the close of 1869 there were 1,254 members. Its operations consisted of:

1. *Evening Meetings* of the members for the discussion of subjects of applied Science and Art, were held on the third Monday of each month, which had an average attendance of 96 persons at each meeting. The papers read, and proceedings, were published in the Journal of the Society.

2. *Scientific Lectures* were delivered on the afternoon of every Saturday in March, April, and May, which were attended by 3,714 persons. The substance of the lecture was published in the Journal.

3. The *Botanic Garden at Glasnevin*, with its experimental grounds, its exchanges and donations of plants, flowers, and seeds, and its Botanical Museum, has been maintained in a high degree of efficiency, and visited by 50,936 persons on week-days, and 172,000 on Sundays.

4. The *Museum of Natural History*—rich in geological, palæontological, mineralogical, and zoological collections—was visited by 31,975 persons, and the Library was consulted by 18,375 individuals.

5. The *Agricultural Department* included four exhibitions:—(1.) of cattle in April; (2.) of horses in August; (3.) of sheep in September; and (4.) of fat stock, poultry, and farm and dairy produce, in December, attended in the aggregate by 21,184 persons:—encouragement for the cultivation of flax:—the Agricultural Museum, which was visited by 18,500 persons.

6. The *Art Department*, embraced in a *School of Art*, which in the day classes was attended by 293 students (64 males and 229 females), and morning and evening classes by 242 artisans (214 males and 28 females), an aggregate attendance of 535 students; an annual and competitive examination for prizes; an exhibition of works of art; lectures on the Fine Arts, and a course on anatomy applied to art, which was attended by 805 persons.

7. The provincial lectures, and the instruction by a special professorship in agriculture, have been transferred to the College of Science.

ROYAL ZOOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

The *Royal Zoological Garden*, which receives a public grant of 500*l.* from payments of members 349*l.* and from the sale of tickets at the entrance gate, 1,046*l.*, was visited by 136,052 persons; and the lectures and discussions on comparative anatomy, and veterinary surgery, were largely attended.

ROYAL HIBERNIAN ACADEMY.

The annual exhibition of works of fine art (392), realized 205*l.* out of the sale of 16,001 tickets; and the School of Art was attended by 60 students. The Academy receives a special grant of 300*l.*

MUSEUM OF IRISH INDUSTRY.

This Museum was founded by the government in 1845, and has heretofore received an annual grant of 4,336*l.*, a portion of which was expended on scientific lectures in the large provincial towns. A portion has been transferred to the Dublin Society, and another portion to the College of Science.

THE QUEEN'S COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITY

IRELAND.

The national school system in which secular instruction is kept free from whatever could offend the most susceptible sectarianism, had proved so successful in diffusing a sound elementary education among the children of the peasantry and the working classes of Ireland, that in 1845 the plan was extended so as to provide, under government endowment, the means of obtaining a liberal and professional education for the sons of the middle and upper classes—available to persons of every denomination. This was done by the establishment of the Queen's Colleges at Belfast, Cork, and Galway—now combined and incorporated into the Queen's University, the Senate or governing body of which is seated or holds its meetings at Dublin.

The entire system of United Education has been built up by the co-operation of the two great parties in the State; upon this high ground their only rivalry has been which should contribute most to the common work, and carry out most efficiently its great principle. To the Whig government of Lord Grey, belongs the honor of having first had the courage to proclaim and put in action that principle by the appointment of the first board of commissioners in 1831; the charter which established the schools upon a permanent basis, by constituting the commissioners a body corporate, was a measure of the Tory government of Sir Robert Peel, in 1844; on the other hand, the completion and crowning of the edifice by the addition of the colleges was the idea and enactment of Sir Robert Peel, and has been the achievement, for the greater part, of Lord John Russell. At the opening of the session of parliament on the 4th of February, 1845, her Majesty, in the speech from the throne, recommended to the consideration of the legislature "the policy of improving and extending the opportunities for academical education in Ireland;" and on the 19th of March thereafter, Sir Robert Peel, in reply to a question by Sir Robert Inglis, took an opportunity of laying before the House of Commons an outline of the ministerial plan, both for the establishment of the three new colleges of secular learning and general instruction, and for the endowment of the Roman Catholic Theological College of Maynooth, which had been established by an act of the Irish Parliament in 1793, and had been hitherto dependent for its support only upon an annual grant of very inadequate amount. The two measures thus simultaneously announced and proposed, as in some degree connected with and dependent upon one another, were both carried through parliament in that same session. The Maynooth endowment, however, was made to take the lead, as if to intimate to the gen-

eral population of Ireland—to what may be more peculiarly called the nationality of the country—that its interests and feelings were what the whole scheme primarily had regard to. If the portion of it relating to the Roman Catholic theological seminary had been defeated, the other portion of it also would probably have been withdrawn. The Maynooth bill encountered a vehement opposition, but it was ultimately passed in both Houses by great majorities. The measure for establishing three secular colleges in Ireland, wholly independent of religious tests or creeds, for the education of the middle classes, was brought forward in the commons by Sir James Graham on the 9th of May. In proposing the second reading of the bill on the 30th, Sir James announced certain alterations which ministers were disposed to make in it, with the view of affording facilities for the theological instruction of the students by clergymen, or lecturers, appointed for that purpose by the several denominations to which they might belong. On the 2d of June, an amendment moved by Lord John Manners for the postponement of the second reading of the bill was negatived, by a majority of 311 to 46. On the 30th, when it was in committee, a proposition from Lord John Russell for making the apparatus of theological instruction in the colleges a part of the establishment to be founded and upheld by the State, was rejected by a majority of 117 to 42. Finally, on the 10th of July the third reading of the bill was carried, against an amendment of Sir Robert Inglis, by a majority of 177 to 126. In the Lords it passed through all its stages without a division.

By this act, entitled "An Act to enable her Majesty to endow new colleges, for the advancement of learning in Ireland," the sum of 100,000*l.* was assigned out of the consolidated fund for purchasing the sites, and erecting and furnishing the buildings, of the three colleges. Her Majesty and her successors were made visitors, with power to appoint, by sign manual, persons to execute the office. The appointment of the presidents, vice-presidents, and professors, was intrusted to the Crown, until parliament should otherwise determine. The commissioners of the treasury were empowered to issue annually a sum not exceeding 7,000*l.* for the payment of salaries, and other expenses in each college; it being moreover provided that reasonable fees might be exacted from the students. Lecture rooms were directed to be assigned for religious instruction; and it was enacted that no student should be allowed to attend any of the colleges unless he should reside with his parent or guardian, or some near relation, or with a tutor or master of a boarding-house licensed by the president, or in a hall founded and endowed for the reception of students.

A president and vice-president for each college were soon after nominated, and the erection of the buildings was begun. The other appointments were made in August 1849, and the three colleges were opened in the end of October following. An additional sum of 12,000*l.* had shortly before been granted by parliament for providing them with libraries, philosophical instruments and some other requisites.

Originally, it was intended that the number of professors in each college, exclusive of the president and vice-president, should not exceed twelve, and letters patent constituting them upon that basis were passed for each under the great seal of Ireland in December, 1845. Afterwards it was determined that the number should be augmented for the present to nineteen, but that it should not at any time exceed thirty. The vice-president, however, is also a professor. New letters patent embodying that extended scheme were granted in favor of each of the three colleges in November, 1850.

Under the existing constitution, then, the body politic and corporate of each college consists of a president, with a salary of 800*l.* and a house; a vice-president, with a salary of 500*l.* and a house; and professors of Greek, Latin, mathematics, history and English literature, logic and metaphysics, chemistry, natural philosophy, (each with a salary of 250*l.*;) modern languages, natural history, mineralogy and geology, (each with a salary of 200*l.*;) English law, jurisprudence and political economy, civil engineering, and agriculture, (each with a salary of 150*l.*;) the Celtic languages, the practice of surgery, the practice of medicine, materia medica, and midwifery, (each with a salary of 100*l.*) There are also attached to each college a registrar, (with a salary of 200*l.*;) and a bursar and librarian, (each with a salary of 150*l.*) A sum of 300*l.* annually is allowed for the payment of porters and servants. The total annual expenditure for salaries is, thus, (deducting 250*l.* for the professorship held by the vice-president,) 5,500*l.*

The remaining 1,500*l.* of the annual charge on the consolidated fund is allocated to the payment of scholarships and prizes. The scholarships to be awarded at the commencement of the session of 1850-51 at Belfast, are 48 of 24*l.* each to students of the faculty of arts; 4 of 20*l.* each to students of the faculty of medicine; 2 of 20*l.* each to students of the faculty of law; 2 of 20*l.* each to students of civil engineering; and 4 of 15*l.* each to students of agriculture; the number being equally divided in all cases between students of the first and students of the second year. The scholarships are all held for one year only.

The session in all colleges extends from the third Tuesday in October to the second Saturday in June, and is divided into three terms by recesses of a fortnight at Christmas and at Easter. The fees for each class vary from 1*l.* to 2*l.* 10*s.*; and there is besides a payment from each matriculated student to the bursar on behalf of the college of 3*l.* at the commencement of the first year, and 2*l.* at the commencement of every subsequent year.

It had been all along contemplated that matriculation and attendance at these colleges, as at similar institutions established by public authority in our own and other countries, should conduct to graduation both in arts and in every other faculty, except only that of divinity; and all the regulations and arrangements of the academic curriculum in each have been moulded upon that understanding. It was a question for a considerable time whether, with a view to the conferring of degrees and

other purposes, each college should be erected into a distinct university or the three constituted into one university. The latter plan has been adopted, undoubtedly to the placing of the new establishments in a greatly superior position to what they would have held if they had been left each to its provincial insulation; for it could never have happened that a mere Belfast, Cork, or Galway Degree would have carried the same weight with one from the Queen's University in Ireland. The letters patent creating such an university have now received the royal signature. Her Majesty has therein been pleased to declare that "graduates of our said university shall be fully possessed of all such rights, privileges, and immunities as belong to persons holding similar degrees granted them by other universities, and shall be entitled to whatever rank and precedent is derived from similar degrees granted by other universities." The following individuals constituted the government in 1851:

Chancellor—His Excellency GEORGE WILLIAM FREDERICK, EARL OF CLANKENSON, K.G.
K.C.B. Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

Vice-Chancellor—The Rt. Hon. MARIERE BRADY, Lord High Chancellor of Ireland.

THE SENATE.

His Grace Richard, Archbishop of Dublin.
The Most Reverend Archbishop Daniel Murray, D.D.

The Right Honorable William, Earl of Rosse, K.P.

The Right Honorable Thomas Baron Montague, of Brandon.

The Right Honorable Francis Blackburne, Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench.

The Right Honorable Thomas Barry Cusack Smith, Master of the Rolls.

The Right Honorable David Richard Pigot, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

The Right Honorable Thomas Wyse.

Sir Phillip Crampton, Bart.

The President of the Queen's College, Belfast, for the time being.

The President of the Queen's College, Cork, for the time being.

The President of the Queen's College, Galway, for the time being.

Richard Griffith, LL. D.

Dominic John Corrigan, M.D.

Captain Thomas Askew Larcom, R.E.

James Gibson, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

Secretary—Robert Ball, Esq., LL.D.

STATUTES, BY-LAWS, AND REGULATIONS.

The Queen's University, founded by Royal Charter, 15th August, 1850, has its seat, and holds its meetings, in the Castle of Dublin, until further order, by warrant of the Lord-Lieutenant.

The Chancellor and Senate are a corporation under the title of the Queen's University in Ireland; may sue, and may be sued, as a common seal, and acquire property not to exceed ten thousand pounds a year.

The government of the University vests in the Chancellor and the Senate. The Chancellor presides over its meetings, and authenticates its acts.

The Senate is formed of the three Presidents of the Queen's Colleges for the time being, and certain other persons appointed by warrant under the sign manual; in all not to exceed twenty. The vice-presidents of colleges may exercise the functions of senators in the absence of their respective presidents. Five members of the Senate constitute a quorum, the chairman having a casting vote.

A vice-chancellor is to be elected annually by the Senate, and when his election is approved of by the Lord-Lieutenant, he is empowered to exercise all the functions of Chancellor in the absence of the latter.

The Senate, in the absence of both Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor, may elect a chairman to conduct ordinary business.

The Senate appoint a secretary and such subordinate officers as may be necessary for dispatch of business.

The Senate have full power to make and alter by-laws and regulations; these being approved by the Lord-Lieutenant, and sealed with the common seal, become binding upon the University.

In all cases not provided for by charter, the Chancellor and Senate shall act in such manner as may appear best calculated to promote the purposes intended by the University.

Meetings of the Senate shall be convened by the secretary or acting-secretary, on the authority of the Chancellor; or, in his absence, of the Vice-Chancellor, or of the chairman of a meeting of the Senate, elected as provided in the charter.

There shall be stated meetings on the 7th of January and 30th of June, in each year, or on the following day, when either of these days shall fall on a Sunday.

The Queen's Colleges of Belfast, Cork, and Galway, are constituted Colleges of the Queen's University, and their professors are considered professors of the University.

The power of the University Senate over the Colleges extends only to the regulation of qualification for the several degrees.

The Queen reserves to herself and successors the office of Visitor, with power to appoint others to execute the duties.

The Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor is required to report annually to the Lord-Lieutenant on the condition and progress of the University.

The Chancellor and Senate have power to found and endow scholarships, prizes, or exhibitions, for which funds may be supplied by grant or donation, under such regulations as they may think fit to make, not interfering with the courses prescribed for scholars of Queen's Colleges, or for matriculation therein.

The Queen's University is empowered to grant degrees in arts, medicine, or laws, to students in the Queen's Colleges who shall have completed the courses of education prescribed by the ordinances. Persons who obtain these degrees shall be possessed of all rights and privileges pertaining to similar degrees granted by other universities or colleges.

The Chancellor and Senate have power to admit, by special grace, graduates of other universities to similar and equal degrees in the Queen's University.

All degrees shall be granted and conferred publicly in the hall of the University.

At all meetings of the Senate to confer degrees, the members shall appear in the full robes they may be entitled to wear in respect of any degrees they may have obtained, or offices they may hold. Any member not possessed of a degree or office, to wear the gown of a master of arts.

Candidates for degrees shall wear the costume of their collegiate standing, and the hoods of the degrees sought.

Candidates being presented to the Senate by the presidents of their colleges, and the secretary having certified that their fees have been paid, and that they have duly passed the examiners, they shall sign the roll of the University, when the Chancellor (or Vice-Chancellor) shall admit them to degrees in the following manner:

In virtue of my authority as Chancellor (or Vice-Chancellor) I admit you (——) to the degree of (——).

The Chancellor (or Vice-Chancellor) shall then proceed to present publicly any exhibition or medal which may have been awarded.

Examiners are expected to attend the public meeting of the Senate.

The present courses of study required by the University are prescribed in the ordinances which were prepared by the presidents of the colleges, approved of by the Lord-Lieutenant, and adopted by the Senate at its first meetings. These ordinances remain in force until altered by the Senate; such alterations to be subject to the approval of the Lord-Lieutenant.

The qualifications of candidates for degrees shall be examined into at a special meeting of the Senate.

Each candidate is required to fill up, with his own hand, a certificate of his name, birth-place, age, and qualifications.

All certificates of candidates to be sent to the secretary fourteen days before examination.

The Senate will receive certificates of medical education for two-thirds of the required courses, from the professors of universities and chartered bodies, and from schools and hospitals, which have sought for and obtained the recognition of the Senate; but it is essential that one-third, at least, of the medical lectures prescribed in the course for the degree of M.D., be attended in some one of the Queen's Colleges.

Examinations for degrees, and for scholarships and prizes, shall be appointed and directed by the Senate, who shall elect examiners annually.

In no case shall any member of the Senate, or any Vice-President of a college (liable to be called upon to fulfill the duties of a member,) be elected an examiner.

The salaries of examiners shall commence from the next quarter-day after election. Examinations shall be by printed papers.

Each examiner shall be present during the whole time that the candidates are engaged in writing answers to the papers set by him; but if a paper be set by more than one examiner, the presence of one examiner shall be deemed sufficient; if, from unavoidable necessity, any examiner be unable to attend, the secretary shall be present.

Every member of the Senate shall have the right of being present during examinations, but only the examiner specially appointed to conduct examinations shall have the right to put questions.

No candidates shall be present except those under examination.

The examiners shall report to the Senate the result of their examination, and shall deliver in at the same time, in sealed packets, the answers to the examination papers of the classes which they have severally examined.

The amount of fees to be paid on the granting of degrees shall be directed from time to time by the Chancellor and Senate, with the approbation of the Lord's Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury.

For the present, the fee on the degree of M.D. has been fixed at £2., and the fee on the diploma of agriculture, at 2s. Fees on other degrees are not yet settled.

The fees are to be carried to the general fund.

Accounts of income and expenditure of the University shall once in each year be submitted to the treasury, subject to such audit as may be directed.

The Bank of Ireland has been appointed treasurer.

Payments shall be made by drafts signed by the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor, countersigned by the secretary.

Although much clamor has been raised against the Queen's Colleges, because, in the distracted state of Ireland in religious matters, the British Parliament has at last attempted to establish a plan of liberal education, the special purpose and profession of which is to communicate instruction in certain branches of human knowledge to classes which may be composed of young people belonging to various religious denom-

inations, we believe there is no ground for alarm, or distrust, for the safety of the religious principles of the students who may resort to them. On the other hand, securities are provided, more protective and and conservative than exist in any other academic institution in the empire, which are open to other than students of one religious denomination.

At the ancient national universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and Trinity College, Dublin, there are no arrangements which even recognize the existence of any form of religious belief but that of the Established Church; not only is the student who may hold any other creed (in so far as such dissenting students are admitted at all) left without any spiritual superintendence whatever, but the entire system of teaching and discipline is in the hands of members of the church established by law, and is regulated and administered in all respects in conformity with the doctrines and ritual of that church. Yet, Roman Catholics generally have long been in the habit of sending their sons without hesitation or scruple to the university of Dublin; freedom of admission to Oxford and Cambridge has always been one of the demands which Protestant dissenters have urged most clamorously; and no non-conformist community has ever put forth an authoritative denunciation of either the demand or the practice.

In the Scottish universities the professors are all by law members of the Presbyterian Established Church; any seasoning of theology, therefore, that may insinuate itself into the lectures delivered by them, or their mode of teaching, must be Presbyterian; it may be Presbyterian of the strongest and, to all but the disciples of Calvin and John Knox, of the most offensive flavor. On the other hand, at least at Edinburg and Glasgow, there is no religious superintendence of the students whatever. So here is the extreme of rigor and exclusiveness, combined with the extreme of laxity and neglect. Yet these universities are attended by members of all communions; and certainly it is not the liberality of the system in giving free admission to all sects which any body of dissenters has ever made matter of complaint.

In University College, London, there is the same freedom of admission for students of all descriptions as at the Scotch colleges, with the same entire absence of religious superintendence as at Edinburg and Glasgow; and no religious test is applied to the professors any more than to the students. Many religious fathers of all denominations, nevertheless, have been accustomed ever since it was established to send their sons to be educated in all the great branches of human learning at University College.

In the first place, every professor in these Irish colleges, upon entering into office, signs a declaration promising and engaging that, in his lectures and examinations, and in the performance of all other duties connected with his chair, he will carefully abstain from teaching or advancing any doctrine, or making any statement, either derogatory to the truths of revealed religion, or injurious or disrespectful to the relig-

ious convictions of any portion of his class or audience. And it is enacted, that, if he shall in any respect violate this engagement, he shall be summoned before the College Council, where, upon sufficient evidence of his having so transgressed, he shall be formally warned and reprimanded by the president; and that, if he shall be guilty of a repetition of said or similar offense, the president shall forthwith suspend him from his functions, and take steps officially to recommend to the Crown his removal from office. The appointments of the professors are all held during the pleasure of the Crown. A triennial visitation of each college is ordained to be held during the college session by a Board of Visitors which has already been appointed by the Crown, and which comprises the heads of the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic churches in Ireland.

But further, every student is actually subjected to an extent of religious superintendence such as is enforced nowhere else, unless it be only at Oxford and Cambridge. No matriculated student under the age of twenty-one years is permitted to reside except with his parent or guardian, or with some relation or friend to whose care he shall have been committed by his parent or guardian, and who shall be approved of by the president of the college, or in a boarding-house licensed by the president upon a certificate, produced by the person keeping it, of moral and religious character from his clergyman or minister. The relation or friend to whose care a student is committed must in all cases formally accept the charge of his moral and religious conduct. Clergymen, each approved by the bishop, moderator, or constituted authority of his church or religious denomination, are appointed by the Crown Deans of Residences, to have the moral care and spiritual charge of the students of their respective creeds residing in the licensed boarding-houses; and it is provided that they shall have authority to visit such boarding-houses for the purpose of affording religious instruction to such students, and shall also have power, with the concurrence of the president of the college, and of the authorities of their respective churches, "to make regulations for the due observance of the religious duties of such students, and for securing their regular attendance on divine worship." Finally, at the head of the list of offenses in the statutes of each college for which it is enacted that any student shall be liable to expulsion, are the following: "1. Habitual neglect of attendance for divine worship at such church or chapel as shall be approved by his parents or guardians; 2. Habitual neglect of attendance on the religious instruction provided for students of his church or denomination in the licensed boarding-house in which he may reside."

about 2,000 students, Ireland had but one, and even this one was, from its constitution, not available for the nation at large. The result was, that of nearly 6,000,000 of Roman Catholics in Ireland, about 100 were receiving an university education.

In providing a remedy for the evil thus distinctly recognized, three courses were opened to the legislature. It might have opened the emoluments of Trinity College, Dublin, to all classes of the population without religious distinction; or again, it might have founded colleges for the several religious communities which divide the country amongst them; lastly, it had the alternative of establishing colleges based upon the principle of religious equality—colleges which should give combined secular instruction, and which, whilst they afforded facilities to the various ministers of the Christian faith to teach their respective flocks, should steadily repudiate all interference, positive or negative, with the conscientious scruples of their students.

To the first two courses there were insuperable objections. Trinity College was a Protestant foundation, endowed for the propagation of the Protestant faith, and more especially designed as a nursery for the clergy of the Established Church in Ireland. The attempt to open its emoluments to Roman Catholics and Dissenters, not to speak of the shock it would have given to the sentiment of property, would have called forth such a storm of Protestant feeling as would have rendered it wholly impracticable.

Not only was the combined system alone tenable in theory, but its prodigious growth had shown its singular adaptation to the circumstances of the country. It was this consideration which mainly swayed the minds of the Government in its favor. They are the crown of an edifice designed on the plan of religious equality, and which must not have its symmetry marred by the introduction of any thing heterogeneous to its great idea.

The first criterion of the success of the Colleges is, of course, the number of students who have entered them. On referring to the Calendar of the Queen's University, we find that the total number of students who had entered the Queen's Colleges from the first session in 1849-50 to March 1859, amounted to 1786, of whom 1,265 were matriculated, 521 non-matriculated—that is, students who have not passed the matriculation examination, and do not pursue all the subjects included in the university curriculum, but particular courses of instruction which they may select.

The only sure method of determining the question of failure or success is by comparison with some institution, the position of which is unchallenged. We will take Trinity College, Dublin. The number of students who entered in Dublin during the ten years mentioned above was 2,746. Hence the ratio of the average annual entrances of the institutions compared over a period of ten years is as 178 to 274. Such an average, however, would do injustice to the Queen's Colleges, the numbers of which are steadily increasing. Thus in the year 1858-59, 196 new students entered, while in 1849-50, the number amounts to 201.

If failure can not be predicted of the Queen's Colleges on the score of numbers, no more can it be said that they have failed in their great object of giving united education to the youth of the various religious persuasions. In the ten years, 1849-59, the three great religious communities, which make up the bulk of the population, are thus represented among the matriculated students:—

Established Church,.....	426
Roman Catholics,.....	445
Presbyterians,.....	343

While the 297 students, who have entered this year, are thus distributed:—

Established Church,.....	60
Roman Catholics,.....	69
Presbyterians,.....	69
Other denominations,.....	19

The first thing that strikes us in reading these numbers is, that the Roman Catholics in each case head the list.

Passing to the quality of the education given in the Queen's Colleges, on this score but little needs be said on their behalf. The competence of the professors has, we believe, never been questioned, any more than their zeal, not only in maintaining the existing standard of education, but in elevating it to the highest point which the circumstances of the country admit. Nor have their exertions been unrewarded. Fortunately, on this subject, we are not left to conjecture. We have seen that the competitive examinations for the Indian Civil Service were designed to be a test of "the best, the most liberal, the most finished education, which the country provides;" and a careful study of the papers set will show that the examiners have not willingly let them fall below this standard. The examinations are in effect framed on the model of those to which in the universities candidates for the highest honors at the close of their undergraduate course are subjected. They supply, therefore, a fair criterion of the comparative efficiency of our educational institutions. As the universities bring into course the youth of their affiliated colleges, so these examinations introduce into a still wider arena the youth of the several universities. It is, then, with just pride that the Queen's University appeals to the fact, that, in this competition, looking merely to the number of places obtained, it stands next in order to the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin. If, however, we regard the quality of the answering, the result is still more in favor of the Queen's University. In the only years in which the Universities we have named came into conflict, the average answering of the successful candidates from each stood as follows:—

	1854.	1857.	1859.
Oxford,.....	1,948	1,982	2,103
Cambridge,.....	2,062	2,207	2,020
Dublin,.....	2,473	2,082	2,139
Queen's University,.....	1,985	2,261	2,160

It thus appears that in the last two years the candidates from the Queen's University stood first, in the preceding year third, in the list. This is sufficiently striking, but we can not forbear commemorating a signal instance of success obtained by one of the Colleges. It will be ever memorable in the annals of the College of Belfast, that, while numbering not 200 students, it bore away at this examination, from all our highest seats of learning, the first, fourth, and ninth of twelve vacant places. So much for the direct action of the Queen's Colleges upon the country: no less important has been their indirect influence.

1. It is surely more than a chance coincidence, that within the last ten years, nearly the whole curriculum of the University of Dublin has been changed; all the leading changes being approximations to the curriculum of the Queen's University. Nor is it merely the courses of study which have been revolutionized; the efficiency of the teaching has, in the same period, been vastly increased. Professorial chairs, which had become almost sinecures, have been rehabilitated, and raised by their occupants to a position of dignity and usefulness. Can we be mistaken in attributing this reforming spirit to the emulation of the Queen's Colleges, or in discerning the same influence in the liberality, which has recently endowed scholarships in the same University (some of them of great value), open to candidates of all religious persuasions.

2. Such has been the silent recognition which the ancient University of Ireland has given to her youthful sister. Elsewhere the recognition has been, if not more obvious, more avowed. In the year 1855, the Secretary of the Queen's University received a letter from the Regius Professor of Law in the University of Cambridge, in which, after requesting copies of the University Examination Papers, as being so admirably adapted to students of the principles of law, "that I should wish to make use of them as much as I can," he adds—"But it is not only in their law papers that your colleges show their merit and utility. The whole system of education pursued by you is, in my humble opinion, so good, and so well suited to the times, that I sincerely trust that it may defy all opposition."

3. Through them was first discovered the wretched condition of intermediate education in Ireland. * * Universities without schools are but castles in the air.

The Chancellor of the Queen's University, on the occasion of conferring degrees on the 12th of October, 1860, spoke as follows:—

I have the gratification of being able to announce that the number of the students who have passed our several examinations for the current year exceeds that of those so distinguished on any previous occasion, and is very much in advance of that of 1859, the largest former number, that of the year 1858, having been seventy-six, while that of 1860 amounts to eighty, and in which I find an increase of twenty-two over the number in the past year.

The total number of those whose names were sent in as candidates for examination at this period was somewhat larger, being one hundred and thirty-two, but of these a considerable number failed to present themselves before the examiners, and a few—nine in all—although coming forward for examination, have not been found by the examiners to be sufficiently qualified. I trust that on a future occasion they will appear before us with far better success. In addition to the satisfaction derived from this increase in the number of our candidates, I am happy to be able to add that our examiners generally testify to a high standard of qualification being evinced, as well by those who have competed for special honors as by the entire class of successful students. The university honors, consisting of medals and pecuniary prizes, have been attained by twenty-five of the students present at the examinations, and his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant has been pleased to assent to the request of the senate, that he would personally deliver to the successful candidates those gratifying evidences of their abilities and industry. Six graduates of other universities have been admitted by the senate to take corresponding degrees in this, which will accordingly be conferred upon them. The Colleges were first opened for the reception of students in the year 1849, and it is only eight years since the first meeting of the senate of the Queen's University to confer degrees was held in this hall. In the colleges the total number of matriculated students, including those of the current collegiate year, has amounted to one thousand four hundred and twenty-three; the number of students who have not matriculated, but who have resorted to the colleges for instruction in various branches of knowledge, has been five hundred and seventy. Thus, very nearly two thousand individuals have entered either as matriculated or non-matriculated students in, I may say, the first ten years of their existence, and the numbers attending the superior classes in the colleges in this year is five hundred and forty-six. In the University we have in the eight years of its action admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, including those presented to us to-day, the total number of one hundred and ninety-eight; to that of Doctor of Medicine, ninety-three; and to that of Master of Arts, fifty-two. We have granted to two the degree of Doctor of Laws, and to eleven that of Bachelor in that faculty. The names of three hundred and fifty-six graduates in each of the various degrees have thus been placed on the roll of the University, while our minor distinctions of diplomas in engineering, law, and agriculture, have been conferred respectively on forty-seven students. In regard to the most important of the social relations of the community—perhaps I must rather, though reluctantly, say, the most prominent of their differences, that which arises from the varying forms of religious worship—the number of the collegiate students represent all the classes into which, in this particular, our population stands divided. The members of the Established Church, the Roman Catholics, the Presbyterians, the Wesleyans, the Covenanters, the Independents, the Seceders, the members of the Society of Friends—all in greater or less proportion, as might be expected from their relative numbers in each locality, have had, and have, their representatives in this common body of associated students; and the general benefit of our collegiate and university system, as they have been freely offered to all classes of our fellow-subjects, have by all been thus freely accepted and enjoyed.

In 1857 a Royal Commission, after an examination into the condition of the colleges, reported their progress to be satisfactory, notwithstanding opposing causes still in operation, and that while they were contributing a proportionate share to the educated youth of the country, they at the same time, by the association of students of various creeds and opinions, were helping to soften the feelings of party antagonism and sectarian animosity, generating a feeling of local self-reliance, and exciting an interest in the culture of literature and science throughout the country at large.

In 1864 a new charter was granted by which the Convocation of the University was established, consisting of the Senate, Secretary, Professors, and Registered Graduates of two years' standing.

In 1866 an attempt was made by the Government, represented by Lord Mayo as Secretary for Ireland, after considerable correspondence with the Prelates of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, with a view of meeting their demands for a Chartered University governed, and instructed by officers of that church, to give to Queen's University a Supplementary Charter, by which a University Convocation was constituted of members of all other Colleges which might be in affiliation with the University, in addition to three Queen's Colleges already established. This plan was defeated, and from that time the representatives of the Catholic population of Ireland have continued to urge on Catholics and on the government the establishment of an independent Catholic University.

Mr. Gladstone in his speech on University Education notices the condition of these Institutions in 1871, as follows:

This seems to be the point in the course of my statement at which I ought to refer to the Queen's Colleges and the Queen's University. We have looked carefully at the state of the Queen's Colleges, and we have arrived at the conclusion that the College of Belfast is strongly and solidly founded, and is eminently adapted to meet the wishes and wants of a large portion of the population in the North of Ireland. We also think that the College of Cork, although not perhaps so solidly founded as Belfast, although not at any rate invested with so large a promise of expansion under favorable circumstances, presents what may be called a very fair Parliamentary case, from the number of persons it trains, as well as the efficiency of that training. With regard to Galway College, we have arrived at a very different conclusion. The whole number of matriculated students in 1870-1, the return of which is now, I believe, laid on the table, was only 117, of whom half were medical students; and I may observe that, however excellent professional schools may be, they are not institutions which have the largest claims on the taxpayers of this country. They are rather in the nature of self-supporting institutions. Education in Arts does not directly lead, as a general rule, to remuneration; but education in Medicine will, I hope, always prove its own reward; and the whole number of students in Arts in Galway, whom I point out as the more proper objects of a public foundation, if public foundation there is to be, is only about 30. However invidious it may be to look to pounds shillings and pence in these matters, and although there come from Galway a certain number of very well-instructed men, even the best article can not be viewed without some regard to the price, and it is only right I should tell to the House that the charge on the Consolidated Fund and other expenses of Galway College amount to 10,000*l.* a year. I have called for an account of the charge to the Exchequer of every pupil in the College, and the return given me is this:—The cost per annum to the public of every pupil is 77*l.*; the cost of every pupil carried on to a degree in Arts is 231*l.*, and the cost of every graduate in Law—I confess I grudge this the most, for I know no class which can plead less in the way of necessity for public subvention than our respected friends the lawyers—is 308*l.* The medical charge is lower. We get a doctor, and in almost every case, I am happy to

say, a very efficient doctor, for 1841. Now, under these circumstances, we doubt, and more than doubt, whether, when so much better arrangements are about to be made for the people of Ireland, so large a sum of public money ought permanently to continue to be supplied to the purposes of Galway College.

I pass on now to the Queen's University. The Queen's University and the Colleges, as a whole, have in my opinion rendered great service to Ireland, and if they have been prevented, as they have been prevented, from doing a great deal more good, it has been by an unhappy if not even a strange combination of influences. I know not whether any one supposes me to be actuated by a sentiment of either open or latent hostility to the Queen's College; but this I may say that when many objected to them I spoke and voted as an independent member of Parliament for their foundation in 1846, and have never ceased to wish them well. But now I wish to do an act of justice. It is quite true that the main cause of their comparative failure has lain in the operation of ecclesiastical influence from the Roman side. This influence, however, has been accepted, appropriated, and made their own by a very large portion of the members of the Roman Catholic Church. But what I wish to point out, and it is only fair to point it out, is this: The first blow, and it was a very serious blow, struck at the Queen's Colleges, was struck from that quarter. There never was a plan, I believe, devised in a spirit of more tender regard for religion than the plan of the Queen's Colleges, as it was framed by Sir R. Peel and Sir J. Graham; and those who will look back to the provisions of the Act which established the Colleges in 1846 will see the most distinct indications of their desire, on the one hand, to keep the State out of the vortex of polemical differences, and, on the other hand, to give the utmost possible facilities, to all who were so disposed, for making direct provision for instruction in religion within the walls of appropriate buildings and in immediate connection with the Colleges themselves. These provisions most unhappily proved abortive; but who was it that struck the first blow? On the very night when the Bill was introduced by Sir R. Peel or Sir J. Graham, my much lamented friend, Sir R. Inglis, as member of the University of Oxford, felt it incumbent on him in the discharge of his duty to rise in his place and denounce them as 'a gigantic scheme of Godless education.' And again, at the end of the debate on the second reading, so far from softening or withdrawing the language he had used, he felt it a matter of honor to repeat it and insist on it. After that declaration so made, it was perhaps not very easy for the representative of Orthodoxy in Rome to accept as sufficiently religious for Rome what the representative of Orthodoxy in Oxford had repudiated and condemned as not sufficiently religious for Oxford. I come now to the Queen's University. We regard its influence as unmixedly good so far as it goes; but I doubt very much whether, if we succeed in reorganizing, opening, enlarging, and liberally endowing the University of Dublin, it would be for the interest of the Queen's University to maintain a separate existence by its side. Let me point out these considerations. In the first place, if, where there are only three colleges, and where the professors of the colleges form the whole staff of the University, the University is not very strong, obviously it has nothing to spare; take away one of the colleges, and the University will be weaker than it was before. In the next place, we must expect, as a matter of course, that these colleges will have to suffer more or less from the competition of an enlarged and effective University of Dublin, and from the greater liberty which will now be secured, especially for Roman Catholics, in choosing the place of their education. In the third place, if we leave it as it is, it will be excluded from those liberal endowments which we hope will be possessed and enjoyed by the University of Dublin. And lastly, it will have no share in that great advantage, the privilege of Parliamentary representation, which the University of Dublin enjoys, and which I hope that University will always enjoy. For these reasons, and not in any penal sense, not believing that the institution is not a beneficial institution, but with a view to the yet greater advantage of those who now profit by its existence, we are of opinion that it will be a wise course if Parliament should be disposed to say that the Queen's University, which was brought into existence merely to answer the purposes of the Colleges, shall pass over into the large and remodeled University of Dublin.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, BELFAST.

INTRODUCTION.

THE College of Belfast was one of the three colleges established under the provisions of the Act of 1845, 'to enable Her Majesty to endow new Colleges for the Advancement of Learning in Ireland,' and was incorporated by letters patent December 30, 1845. The Professors were appointed in August, 1849, and students were received in October of the same year. Down to 1874, 2,500 students entered, of which number 1,765 matriculated. In the year 1872-3 there were in constant attendance 351 students (328 matriculated) in the departments of Arts, Medicine, Law, and Engineering.

ORGANIZATION IN 1874.

P. SHULDHAN HENRY, D.D., LL.D., President.

PROFESSORS.

Students attending 1873.

The Greek Language.....	Charles MacDonnell, LL.D., M.A., &c.	61
The Latin Language.....	William Nesbit, M.A.	72
History and English Literature.....	Charles Duke Yonge, M.A., Oxon.	69
Modern Languages.....	A. L. Meisner, F.R.S.	67
Mathematics.....	John Foster, M.A., M.R.I.A.	130
Natural Philosophy.....	Joseph David Everett, M.A., D.C.L.	89
Chemistry.....	Thomas Andrews, M.D., F.R.S., M.R.I.A.	112
Natural History.....	Robert O. Cunningham, M.D., F.R.S.	163
Logic and Metaphysics.....	John Park, M.A.	32
Civil Engineering.....	James Thomson, LL.D., C.E.	23
Agriculture.....	John F. Hodges, M.D., F.R.S.	38
Anatomy and Physiology.....	Peter Roßiers, M.D., Lond., F.R.C.S.	174
Practice of Medicine.....	James Cumming, M.D.	50
Practice of Surgery.....	Alexander Geries, M.D.	81
Materia Medica.....	James Sator Reid, M.D.	32
Midwifery.....	E. F. Dill, M.D.	32
English Law.....	Echlin Molynaux, A.M.	29
Jurisprudence and Political Economy.....	T. E. Cliffe Leslie, LL.B.	29

I. FACULTY OF ARTS.

The students of the college are either matriculated or non-matriculated. The former must pass an entrance examination, and attend the regular courses laid down by the Council, and give evidence of class and final proficiency before taking the regular degrees. Non-matriculated students, on paying the regulated class fees, and signing an agreement to observe order and discipline in the college, are permitted, without undergoing a preliminary examination, to attend any separate course or courses of lectures; but are not permitted to become candidates for scholarships or prizes, or to enjoy other privileges of the matriculated students.

Students intending to proceed to the degree of B.A. must pass the matriculation examination before entering upon their college studies. This examination is prescribed by the College Council, and embraces the first and second books of Euclid, arithmetic, the elementary rules of algebra and simple equations, translation from two Greek and two Latin authors, Latin prose compositions, English grammar and composition, English history, and the outlines of ancient and modern geography. Candidates for literary and science scholarships

of the first year are examined in more extensive courses of literature and science. In 1873 the subjects prescribed for these literary scholarships were, in Greek, four books of the *Iliad* of Homer, the *Ion* of Euripides, portions of the *Anabasis* of Xenophon, selections from Lucian, with an exercise in prose composition; and in Latin, the *Odes* of Horace, six books of the *Æneid* of Virgil, and portions of Cicero and Livy, with Latin prose composition. Candidates had also to translate from Greek and Latin passages not contained in the prescribed books. They were also examined in English composition, Roman history, and the histories of England and France, from A.D. 1066 to A.D. 1509. The subjects prescribed for science scholarships of the first year embraced Euclid, books 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6, with the definitions of the fifth book, geometrical exercises, algebra to the end of the quadratic equations, including the binomial theorem, and the first principles of logarithms; and plain trigonometry.

In the first session of the undergraduate course in arts the students must attend lectures and examinations in mathematics, Greek, Latin, modern languages, and English. In certain classes it has been found difficult to carry on the work of instruction from some of the students being more advanced in knowledge than others; but this has been to some extent obviated by calling in the aid of senior scholars. At the end of the session a general examination is held in each class, which must be passed by the student before he is permitted to enter upon the studies of the second year. The same remark applies to the other years of the undergraduate course.

As the scholarships awarded after matriculation are tenable for one year only, scholarship examinations are held at the beginning of the second year, which are open to all students who have completed the first year of the undergraduate course. These examinations embrace more extended courses of literature and science than those prescribed for the first year's scholarships. In the second session the student is required to attend a course of logic and another of natural philosophy, together with second courses of instruction on any two of the following subjects: Mathematics, Greek, Latin, and a Continental language.

Students intending to proceed to the degree of B.A. must present themselves in Dublin for the first university examination, unless prevented by illness or other unavoidable cause. The subjects of this examination prescribed for 1873 are: In Greek, Euripides—*Medea*; Xenophon—*Memorabilia*, book 1. In Latin, Horace—*Satires*; Cicero—*Ad Familiares* I, II, III., with prose composition in both languages. In modern languages, translation from two modern authors, either French, German, or Italian, with an exercise from English into the language selected. In mathematics, Euclid, books 1 to 4, book 6, and definitions of fifth book, arithmetic, algebra to the end of quadratic equations, together with the binomial theorem, geometrical and arithmetical progression, the nature and use of logarithms, and plane trigonometry to the end of the solution of triangles. In mathematical physics, mechanics, hydrostatics, optics, and elements of astronomy. Candidates for honors at the same examination are required to answer in formal logic as well as in the subjects of the past course; and are examined in a more extended course of literature or science.

For the third session, the following subjects are prescribed: 1, English literature; 2, metaphysics, or history, or political economy; 3, chemistry; 4, zoology or botany. Students are at the same time not obliged to adhere strictly to this course, but are permitted to substitute for any one or two of the above subjects, honor courses on subjects taught in the undergraduate course. This permission is largely used, and many honor courses are delivered.

At the end of the third year students are permitted to present themselves for the final degree examination at the Queen's University. Any bachelor of arts of one year's standing may offer himself for examination.

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

The medical students of this College pass through a rigorous training before they can acquire the degree of M.D. from the Queen's University. In the matriculation examination a knowledge of Latin, Greek, history, arithmetic, algebra, two books of Euclid, &c., is required, and it is not uncommon that several trials have to be made before a sufficient standard is attained.

Many of the subjects of the medical course serve also as means of mental training:—for instance, the attendance on lectures and examinations on the subjects of Modern Languages, Experimental Physics, Botany, Zoology, and Chemistry, and the University test of the knowledge acquired, are such as is generally admitted, it is desirable to add to the required study of Classics and Mathematics for Arts degrees.

Thus every medical undergraduate must submit to an efficient training in non-professional subjects. He is guided during his proper medical studies by the ordinary curriculum of study, but in addition he almost uniformly extends his study of many of these subjects, as a glance at the numbers attending the classes on different subjects will show. The fact that many of the professors are also University examiners, enables them to secure much greater devotion to the subjects of study, and to exact a much more extensive knowledge of each than could possibly be required by examiners unacquainted with the character of the training through which each candidate for a degree had passed.

The attendance at classes is recorded daily in roll-books which are regularly inspected by the College Council; explanation is required of every absence from a class, and the required certificates are withheld whenever the attendance has been so deficient as to have imperiled the acquisition of a knowledge of any subject of study. The University examinations are conducted, in the most practical and laborious manner in dissecting-rooms, hospitals, &c., and every security is thus given that none but well qualified candidates are presented for graduation.

ENGINEERING DEPARTMENT.

The regular ordinary course for students of Civil Engineering in this College extends over three sessions, and includes attendance on Mathematic, Experimental and Mathematical Physics, Chemistry; a course of Mineralogy, Geology, and Physical Geography, and Modern Languages, especially French, together with the various courses conducted by the Professor of Civil Engineering, which may be thus sketched out:—1. Geometrical Drawing, including the general principles of the accurate representation on flat surfaces of the forms and dimensions of solid objects, and including the art of perspective, together with practical drawing, especially in relation to engineering and architectural subjects. 2. Surveying, Leveling, and Mensuration, including various operations of field work in measuring over the surface of land, and of office work in mapping, drawing, and calculating, in connection with such measurements. 3. A course of teaching planned so as to be suitable for the stage of advancement at which students arrive in the third year of their collegiate attendance, and adapted to constitute an introduction to, or a scientific foundation for many of the chief subjects of study which are necessary or useful to the civil or mechanical engineer; to the architect, and to many other classes of artificers and practical men. Of these it may suffice to mention—Strength and elasticity of materials and structures, bridges of various kinds, ornamental architecture, theory of hydraulics, and its application in practical water-works, and subjects more particularly relating to mechanical engineering. The students are engaged in practical work in the drawing class-room during their three entire sessions of attendance; most of them work very diligently there, and many attain to proficiency so as to be well prepared for doing good service in offices, and otherwise in engineering business at once on leaving college. Many of the engineering students too, in addition to carrying out their attendance on the lectures of the Professor of Chemistry, have been very assiduous in acquiring a knowledge of practical chemistry by working in the laboratory under his direction, where they learn the methods of analyzing ores and other minerals, and acquire practice in chemical manipulation.

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LAW.

The Professor of English Law, in conducting his department, has constantly kept in view the object of the Select Committee of the House of Commons in recommending the foundation of Chairs in Law in connection with the Queen's Colleges, which, as they stated in their Report on Legal Education, was not

merely to prepare candidates for the Bar, and for the profession of attorney and solicitor, but to raise the standard of legal attainments amongst local practitioners, and especially to provide opportunities of legal education to qualify persons intended to fill administrative situations not strictly legal—a policy which has been since followed up by the legislature conferring privileges, by way of inducement, on candidates for the profession of attorney and solicitor, who shall avail themselves of these Schools of Law.

The lectures are made auxiliary to the contemporaneous studies directed, and are accompanied by interrogation, independent of the general examination and that for honors. Such books, cases, and decisions and portions of treatises are pointed out for reading as are considered by the Professor most useful in elucidating a branch of learning which is scarcely furnished with books exclusively intended for instruction; and no efforts have been spared to point out the peculiarities of the law in Ireland, whether proceeding from statutes or inherent diversity of practice, or to direct attention to the recent changes which have been introduced into the course of procedure.

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

The Professor of Jurisprudence and Political Economy fills in reality two distinct and important Chairs, in the two distinct Faculties of Law and Arts. As Professor of Jurisprudence, he lectures, teaches, and examines in the general philosophy and history of law, in Roman Law, and in Constitutional and International Law. As Professor of Political Economy, he lectures, teaches, and examines Arts' students in that great subject. His instruction in Jurisprudence has the twofold purpose and result of teaching legal philosophy and history, both as a branch of higher University education, and as a preparation for the legal profession.

President Henry concludes by recording 'his abiding and undiminished testimony in favor of a thorough training in the common branches, and of a united, secular, and separate religious instruction.'

What are called the common branches are, very often, uncommon ones; and, when a student is deficient in the knowledge of English, history, arithmetic, geography, and of some power of composition, need I say that, brought to encounter science and literature, as they must now be taught, he is left to battle afresh with the elementary means, when these should be at his easy disposal, both for the understanding and the recording of knowledge. Competitive examinations may apply to the few who enter into them, for places under the civil service, through the governmental rules; but the spirit of competition has entered more largely than ever into every profession and walk of life; and that parent does great injustice to his son, and mars his ultimate prospects, who hurries him, prematurely, from school to college, and from college to his calling, in the one case, unprepared for studies, which leave on the judgment or memory, no discriminating or abiding principles, and, in the other, little special qualification for distinction or ultimate success. In many cases, an additional year, devoted to the laying of scholastic foundations, would insure greater collegiate advantage, and, in the end, higher personal gain.

Regarding united education I trust the time will never come when science shall cease to congregate within the peaceful walls of our colleges, presidents, vice-presidents, professors, and students of various creeds and denominations, each, without the slightest compromise of religious faith, or principle, conceding to others what he claims in this regard for himself, all taught to respect one another as men and as citizens of the same state, uniting zealously for the common advantage, and learning those lessons of courtesy and good-will, which lay a solid basis for future co-operation, in the varied walks of public, professional, and social life. This firm maintenance of the right of individual faith, and this spirit of harmonious action, exercised in the promotion both of personal and public benefit, are equally consonant with the genius of the State, which has committed to this College its high and beneficent mission, and it is right that all its authorities should preserve inviolate the fundamental principles of its foundation.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, CORK.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, CORK, was incorporated under the name and style of *The President and Professors of Queen's College, Cork*, Dec. 30, 1845, and was opened for the reception of students on the 30th of Oct., 1849. Down to 1874 there had been a registered attendance of 2,000 students, of which number 1,800 were matriculated.

COLLEGIATE STAFF IN 1873-4

President—WILLIAM K. SULLIVAN, PH.D., M.R.I.A.

Vice-President—JOHN BYALL, LL.B.

Professorships

Jacquemontia

Greek Language.....	John Ryall, LL.D.
Latin Language.....	Bunnett Lewis, M.A., F.R.S.
Mathematics.....	Charles Niven, M.A., Fellow of Trin. Col., Camb.
Natural Philosophy.....	John England, M.A.
History and English Literature.....	George F. Armstrong, M.A.
Logic and Metaphysics.....	George Sidney Read, M.A.
Chemistry.....	Maxwell Simpson, B.A., M.D., F.R.S.
Natural History.....	Joseph Reay Greene, B.A., M.D., M.R.I.A.
Geology and Mineralogy.....	Robert Harkness, F.R.S.L. and F., F.G.S.
Modern Languages.....	Raymond de Verriout, M.A.
Jurisprudence and Political Economy.....	Richard Horner Mills, M.A.
English Law.....	Mark S. O'Shaughnessy, M.R.I.A., F.R.S.L.
Anatomy and Physiology.....	J. Henry Corbett, M.D., L.R.C.S.
Medicine.....	David C. O'Shaughnessy, M.D.
Surgery.....	Wm. H. Tanner, M.D. and L.R.C.S.
Maternal Medicine.....	Puxell O'Leary, B. Sc. L., M.A., M.D., F.R.S.
Midwifery.....	Joshua R. Harvey, B.A., M.D.
Medical Jurisprudence.....	Mark O'Shaughnessy, M.R.I.A., F.R.S.L.
Engineering.....	Puxell O'Leary, B. Sc. L., M.A., M.D., F.R.S.
	Alexander Jack, M.A.

The total number of students in 1873-4 was 260, distributed in:

Faculty of Arts.....	64—	Matriculated.....	58
²¹ Law.....	7—	²¹	7
²² Medicine.....	170—	²²	154
²³ Engineering.....	19—	²³	19
	260		238

Of the Matriculated Students, there were 116 Roman Catholics, 110 Episcopal, 10 Presbyterians, 2 other denominations.

SCHOLARSHIPS, EXHIBITIONS, AND PRIZES.

The Council disposes of

30	Junior Scholarships—value	£34	in Faculty of Arts.	
3	"	"	" School of Engineering.	
2	"	"	" 25— in Faculty of Medicine.	
3	"	"	" 50— in Faculty of Law.	
7	Senior Scholarships	41	40— in Faculty of Arts.	
1	"	"	40— in Faculty of Law.	
3	Exhibitions	"	50 for 3 years.	
3	do.	"	15 for 3 "	
2	Prizes in English Prize Composition.	"		
2	" Greek or Latin	"		
2	Exhibitions in Faculty of Medicine, value of	£30.		
2	do School of Engineering.	£30.		

From the Financial Statement for the year ending March 31, 1874, it appears that the College received 9,637l for the entire work of the year. Of this sum all but 81l 4s. (for College Fees and Fines) was from the Government.

The expenditures were, Salaries, 4,910*l*.; for Scholarships, Exhibitions, and Prizes, 1,272*l*.; for Library, 189*l*.; for Apparatus, &c., 145*l*.; for Museum and Botanic Garden, 478*l*.; Printing, &c., 131*l*.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, GALWAY.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, GALWAY, was founded Dec. 30, 1845, opened for students Oct. 30, 1849, and down to 1874 had received 1,371 admissions. Of these 1,150 matriculated. The mixed character of the attendance is shown by the record—570 Roman Catholics, 429 Established Church, 270 Presbyterians, 29 Wesleyans, 17 Independents, 9 other denominations.

The Organization with Faculties, and the Curriculum as to Studies and Terms is substantially the same as at Belfast and Cork. The following table exhibits:

<i>Professorships.</i>	<i>Incumbents.</i>	<i>Students.</i>	<i>Lectures.</i>
Greek.....	D'Arcy W. Thompson, M.A.....	36.....	233
Latin.....	Thomas Maguire, LL.D.....	30.....	229
Mathematics.....	George Johnston Allan, LL.D.....	44.....	309
Natural Philosophy.....	Arthur L. Curtis, LL.D.....	61.....	139
History, English Literature, and Mental Science.....	Thomas W. Moffett, LL.D.....	36.....	227
Chemistry.....	Thomas H. Rowney, FR.S.....	61.....	84
Natural History.....	Alexander G. Melville, M.D., Edin., M.R.S.E.....	37.....	107
Mineralogy and Geology.....	Wm. King, D. Sc.....	84.....	227
Modern Languages.....	Charles Geisler, FR.S.....	8.....	92
Jurisprudence and Polit. Econ.....	William B. Campion, Q.C.....	9.....	77
English Law.....	John Cleland, M.D., F.R.S.....	78.....	170
Anatomy and Physiology.....	Nicholas Colahan, M.D., F.R.S., Edin.....	21.....	36
Practice of Medicine.....	James V. Brown, M.D., L.R.C.S.I.....	21.....	48
Præctice of Surgery.....	Joseph F. Fye, M.D., M.C.H.....	31.....	66
Midwifery.....	Richard Doherty, M.D., Hon. V.P., Obstet.....	17.....	37
Civil Engineering.....	Edward Townsend, M.A.....	10.....	348
Medical Jurisprudence.....	Joseph F. Fye, M.D., M.C.H.....	31.....	92

The President in his Annual Report for 1873-74 remarks:

What we, who have been intrusted by your Majesty with the administration of this College, have from the time of its foundation down to the present longed for has been—REST; the opportunity of patiently and silently endeavoring to develop the institution, and attract round it the sympathies of a people whose history and traditions prove them to have been ever devoted to the attainment of learning.

It is a matter of the deepest satisfaction to myself and the Professors, who have now for a quarter of a century, in the face of a most vigorous opposition, struggled with me to plant in this remote part of your dominions an institution which should be at once a center of enlightenment and of loyalty to your Majesty, to know that our efforts have not been in vain, but that they have been recognized and approved by most eminent and influential men of all parties in the House of Commons.

We append extracts from the Debate on Mr. Gladstone's University Bill for Ireland, in which the Premier's remarks to the disparagement of the success of this College, are answered.

Dr. Lyon Playfair (late Postmaster-General). The case must be a strong one to justify the extinction of a college which is the only one in the West of Ireland. At present you have Dublin College for the East, Cork for the South, and Belfast for the North of Ireland, but if you suppress Galway College, the whole of the West of Ireland is left destitute of means of higher culture for its population. There is no part of Ireland where such a college is more import-

ant. In Munster and Ulster the populations are much larger and wealthier than in Connaught, and the towns of Belfast and Cork are flourishing from their commercial enterprise. In Connaught, on the other hand, you have the little town of Galway, with 13,000 inhabitants, maintaining with singular vigor its College. Galway has decreased in population in twenty years by 10,000 persons, and yet its College has not decreased, for in 1861 it had 144 students, and in 1871 it had still 141. Small as this number may appear, it is larger than any of the seventeen colleges in Cambridge, with two exceptions, Trinity and St. John's. I will not follow the right hon. gentleman into the money appraisalment of each student, for I am sure that he does not attach much importance to that line of argument. He would far more willingly rest the question upon the quality of the work done than upon its quantity or its cost. As to the quality of the work done, there is no question that Galway at present stands at the head of the three colleges. At the last University examination, out of fifteen first-class honors awarded to the three colleges, Galway—the smallest numerically—won no less than seven. In competitions for the public service, Galway College has always held a conspicuous place. I have therefore shown that, while educationally Galway College is a decided success, numerically it can scarcely be considered a failure. But it is chiefly because it has thoroughly fulfilled the intention of Parliament that I plead for Galway. Our intention was to found colleges in which the inhabitants of Ireland might study irrespective of their religious creeds. Belfast has scarcely succeeded in this point of view, for out of 368 students, on an average of ten years, only nineteen have been Roman Catholics. But with Cork and Galway the principle of united education has flourished. Out of 1,536 Roman Catholics who have entered since the foundation of the Queen's Colleges nearly 1,400 were in the colleges of Galway and Cork. It is true that Galway and Cork are much disliked by the clerical party in Ireland, yet that is not because Roman Catholics do not frequent them, but because they do.

Sir William V. Harcourt (late Solicitor-General).—Some years ago the right hon. gentleman, the member for Buckinghamshire (Mr. Disraeli,) had an original theory on the subject of Ireland, to the effect that the evils of Ireland were due to a moist climate and a melancholy ocean. Well, Galway was the headquarters of moisture, and it was washed all along its shores by a most melancholy ocean. Therefore, it had need of all the consolations of philosophy which Boethius or any body else could afford. Why, then, extinguish the glimmering light of Galway? The observations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer the other night, depreciating the character of the Queen's Colleges in Ireland, were somewhat less than just, and certainly much less than generous; for, considering the adverse circumstances under which they had been maintained, these colleges deserved a sympathy and support. He never could understand the test which the right hon. gentleman at the head of the Government applied to the College of Galway when he excluded from his consideration the graduates in the professions of medicine and law. The right hon. gentleman was answered conclusively by his hon. and learned friend, the member for the University of Edinburgh, (Dr. Lyon Playfair,) who said there must be in a poor country a number of professional men who lived by their professional exertions. Perhaps Galway required a very large supply of medical men, and certainly with regard to law, that, at any rate, could not be said to be a superfluous article there. His right hon. friend, the President of the Board of Trade, might as well propose to extinguish the lighthouses on the coast of Galway in order to please the Ultramontane wreckers of that country. Certainly the House would never consent to extinguish the light of Galway.

Professor Fawcett.—He protested against the whole system of estimating the utility of the system as an auctioneer, a salesman, or an appraiser would estimate it; and we could have little expected such a mode of appraising results from a Prime Minister who, above all others, was distinguished for his high culture and his great scholarship. If the right hon. gentleman proceeded upon this plan, where was he going to stop? If Galway College were to be abolished, why did the right hon. gentleman a few hours afterwards recommend Her Majesty to fill up the chair of Pastoral Theology in the University of Oxford?

What was the justification of many of the colleges in the right hon. gentleman's own University? Last session seventy-five students entered at Galway College, which had an income of 10,000*l.* a year. At Magdalen College only twenty-five students matriculated, and its revenues were said to be 40,000*l.* a year. The arithmetical argument, therefore, in favor of abolishing Magdalen College was twelve times as strong as it was in favor of abolishing Galway College. But take the very college of which the right hon. gentleman was so distinguished a member. The average matriculations at Christ Church were seventy a year. This was about the number matriculated at Galway. But compare the revenues of the two Colleges! If, then, the arithmetical argument were pressed to a logical conclusion, the right hon. gentleman would arrive at some very awkward results. To prove the necessity of destroying Queen's College, Galway, the right hon. gentleman laid down the extraordinary doctrine that no one was to be considered a University student unless he was a student in arts; and he added that every body who knew any thing of the Universities would indorse this opinion. Now he (Mr. Fawcett) emphatically denied the assertion, and most University authorities would confirm his statement. If the Premier's opinion was well founded, what became of the 4,000 Scotch students on whom he dwelt so much? They were not all students in arts. As he was informed, at least one-half of them were professional students. Moreover, the doctrine of the right hon. gentleman seemed to him to be opposed to the whole current of University reform.

When the House considered the circumstances of the country, the poverty of the people, the anathemas of the Church, and the threats of constant Parliamentary interference, instead of these colleges being a failure, it proved that a strong desire was really felt by the Irish people to participate in the advantages of united education. What do we find upon looking back a few years. The figures quoted by the right hon. gentleman proved that up to 1865 these colleges were in a state of progress—from that year they began to decline. Was this an accidental circumstance? In 1865 began the policy of denouncing these colleges. In 1865 Archbishop Cullen said that those parents and guardians who permitted their children to attend these colleges were unworthy of the sacraments of the Church, and should be excluded from them. Just at the same time Dr. Derry, the Bishop of Clonfert, declared that those fathers and mothers who persisted in sending their children to receive this kind of education disregarded the warnings, entreaties, and decisions of the Head of the Church, and that those who were guilty of such conduct should be deprived of the Holy Sacraments and the Eucharist. Was there ever a more cruel, cowardly—he would even say a more inhuman—denunciation ever uttered? Why, this bishop could not have used stronger language if these parents had been sending a daughter to prostitution, or a son to some sink of vice.

Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice.—He wished to remind the House of the history of Galway College. It was planted now twenty-five years ago in a poor district, and on a soil inhospitable to learning. The town in which it was established had dwindled away, owing to commercial reasons, and before many years a rival establishment was set up in its immediate proximity, with the avowed intention of thwarting its labor and impeding its progress. Meanwhile from Synod after Synod went forth decree after decree fulminating spiritual penalties of the most atrocious character against the students and the parents of the students who were receiving their education within its walls. It was threatened with destruction, but its foundations were planted on the rock; it was called a Godless College, but it held to the path of duty; it was recovering, it had recovered from its earliest difficulties; it had survived the curses and the imprecations of its spiritual enemies, and then suddenly, in the moment of its greatest usefulness and of its returning prosperity, the right hon. gentleman, emulating the fame of the man who, according to the poet, is described as having done

*'The double sacrifice to things divine,
First robbed the relic, then defaced the shrine.'*

proposed to blot it out from the face of the country which it adorned, and from among the people in whose affections it had found a place.

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND.

INTRODUCTION.

It is difficult for American Educators to understand the grounds on which the Catholic body in Ireland, through the Press, and their Representatives in Parliament, have so persistently opposed the Queen's University and Colleges, and the more recent measure of Mr. Gladstone to reorganize the University of Dublin, and in so doing to make the vast endowments of Trinity College available for the direct culture of all classes and creeds, and to affiliate all the larger secondary schools, and the special University of the Catholics with other institutions of similar grades in Ireland. Wisely or unwisely in reference to ultimate purposes, the effect of this opposition, is to leave the higher education of the people of Ireland behind that of either Scotland or England, and to make institutions of learning the nurseries of sectarian jealousy and animosity. That the Catholics of Ireland have been unjustly and unwisely treated in the school and ecclesiastical Legislation of the British Government, is now generally conceded, as the repeal of the cruel Acts of Henry VIII., which forbade the education of children in the faith of their parents at home or abroad, the abandonment by the Government of all schemes of National Education in which proselytism was an avowed or latent object, the establishment of institutions studiously guarded against the ascendancy in management and instruction of any one denomination, and the placing of all religious bodies on a common platform of legal equality and protection—clearly demonstrate. But in the former repudiated policy and penal legislation must we look for the springs of existing social and political opinions and action.

Prof. Sullivan, of the Catholic University of Ireland, in a pamphlet on University Education in Ireland, re-issued in 1866, at the time when the provisions and acceptance of the Supplementary Charter of the Queen's University were under discussion, presents the historical aspects quite strongly.

The close of the eighteenth century found the Irish Catholics—the representatives of that Irish nation which had maintained for centuries a struggle with British power, and had just begun to emerge from the most disgraceful persecution ever waged against any people—without churches wherein to worship God, without schools wherein to educate their children, without real property, save upon the land which had belonged to their ancestors, possessed of little or no brain or hand-skill, because the acquisition of both had been alike forbidden to

them in their own land, and if acquired elsewhere, they were practically precluded from their exercise. This people, so often described as incapable of improvement, as hostile to the growth or spread of civilization, did not sink into the slough of despair, but nobly set to work to create the material and intellectual elements of culture. Every trade which did not require for its practice long training under skilled workmen, or from the exercise of which they had not been wholly excluded, was soon occupied by them; commerce, which requires no skill of hand, but only intelligence and some training, became theirs as the markets opened to them. And as they grew in wealth, they erected churches and schools, and ultimately colleges.

The qualifications of the majority of Catholic lay teachers could not have been of a very high order forty or fifty years ago. At that time the priests, many of whom had had the advantage of education in Continental Universities, were necessarily the best educated men in the Catholic body, just as Protestant clergymen of the Established Church in England and in Ireland are amongst the best educated men, taken as a body, in the country. It was therefore natural that, whenever a school was set up by priests, Catholic children should be sent to it; just as among Protestants, the great majority of schools are in the hands of clergymen. Priests were in fact obliged to set up schools for the education of students for their own order, to supply the gap caused by the suppression of those ecclesiastical foundations on the Continent, upon which the Irish Church had hitherto depended for the training of candidates for the mission. But these schools had no endowments for their support; and hence it became necessary to widen their range by the admission of lay pupils as well as ecclesiastics, in order to insure a continuous provision for maintaining them in a state of efficiency. As these clerical schools grew up, the Catholic lay classical schools of a better class disappeared; just as the primary schools did when the national schools drew off the ordinary pupils, whose fees enabled teachers to support those schools. The lay teacher could not hope to compete with the clerical for many reasons, but especially for one—the natural desire of parents to combine religious with secular instruction. The result of the competition, or rather of its cessation, is shown by the fact that at least four-fifths of the Catholic males receiving superior education in 1861, were being educated in schools conducted by, or under the immediate direction of, priests. Every day this proportion, or disproportion, will increase, until, ultimately, all the intermediate education of Catholics shall have passed into their hands.

There are at present (1866) in Ireland, sixty-seven such intermediate schools conducted by clergymen. Of these, twenty-four are diocesan seminaries, in all of which, with, I believe, one exception, lay as well as ecclesiastical students are admitted; twenty-eight are classical schools, belonging to eight different religious orders; and fifteen are classical schools, maintained by secular priests, or under their immediate direction. Several of these schools may be fairly ranked as intermediate colleges. Irish boys are also sent in considerable numbers to similar collegiate schools in England.

Considering the circumstances of the country, the short time that has elapsed since the first partial emancipation of education was effected, the absence of any considerable endowments, but, above all, the fact that the field of science was entirely closed to Catholics—and even still continues practically closed to them—the condition of the Irish Catholic collegiate and intermediate schools is creditable to the Irish clergy. It must, however, be admitted that there is much room for improvement. The classical languages are not taught in such a way as to lay a sufficiently solid and extensive foundation for the subsequent acquirement of that accurate critical knowledge, which is one of the chief objects of academical education. Mathematics, for which the generality of Irish students exhibit true aptitude, are too often taught in the antiquated fashion of the pedagogues of the last generation, but not with the thoroughness which often distinguished them. The elements of the physical sciences can hardly be said to be efficiently taught in any of them. An acquaintance with the phenomena and laws of the physical universe must, henceforward, form an essential element of all real education; while, independent of its intrinsic value, a knowledge of physical science, generally diffused among the upper and middle classes

of Ireland, would be the most effective and practical stimulant of the development and growth of successful industry. The backward state of this branch of education in Catholic schools is very easily accounted for. In the first place, the physical sciences require experimental illustration, which is expensive; and in the second, the teachers have not had an opportunity of learning those subjects themselves, or, above all, of working in proper practical laboratories.

The quality of the instruction of the middle and lower educational strata depends upon the intellectual force sent down from the University. Just as the brain receives through the senses the perception of things, and sends back through the proper nerves the force of volition; so the educational brain receives the rudimental, or rather amorphous ideas of the lower schools, fashions and develops them, and sends back to the schools and to society that intellectual nerve-force which somehow always in the end operates upon society, through the persons of its educated men. Take the Protestant intermediate education of England and Ireland. All the heads of its great schools are University men. These schools command the permanent or temporary services of graduates and undergraduates as teachers, who bring down into them the intellectual life of the educational brain, and initiate the youth with the spirit and traditions of their respective Universities. Thus the intellectual force of Oxford and Cambridge is felt through the English schools. The most obscure village school of Scotland is under the direct influence of the Scotch Universities. So in Ireland the Protestant schools are extensions of Trinity College, pervaded by the spirit of the central institution, and feeling through it, sooner or later, and more or less, the pulsation of every wave of scientific progress.

But where is the center of intellectual force for Irish Catholic education? Does the University of Dublin perform that function? Do the Queen's Colleges? What link of connection exists between those institutions and Catholic collegiate schools? What intellectual authority have the professors of the former in the latter? To what extent do those Universities influence the course of study, the method of teaching, the class-books of the schools? Do the youth of those schools look upward to them as the goal of their studies? The graduates of the existing Irish Universities may occasionally teach in the schools; text-books written by their professors may be used in them; even students may be specially prepared there for the Universities; but these are all like accidents—foreign elements—which affect not the general character of the schools.

A Memorial on University Education, signed by twenty-nine Roman Catholic Archbishops and Bishops in Ireland, and presented to the Secretary of State for Home Affairs in 1866, sets forth the claims of the Irish Catholic population in the following terms:

Whilst the majority of the Irish people were thus suffering, great educational privileges were conferred by the State on the minority of the nation; and a Protestant University, with subsidiary institutions, was established and endowed.

Trinity College, or the University of Dublin, has landed property to the extent of 199,573 acres, or 100th part of the whole acreage of Ireland. These lands, valued according to the very reduced standard of 1851 at 92,360*l.* per annum are, it is stated, let at low rents; but still the income and influence derived from such extensive landed property must be considerable.

The advantages offered by an institution so richly endowed have always attracted great numbers to its lecture halls. At present there are 1,500 students on its roll, the fees received from whom average the large sum of 30,000*l.* a year.

Not to speak of the amount originally expended in the erection of the college buildings, the Crown, at the petition of the Irish House of Commons, gave from time to time considerable sums for their extension. Thus, in 1698 we find a grant of 3,000*l.*, in 1709 5,000*l.*, in 1717 another of 5,000*l.*, in 1721 a third sum of 5,000*l.*, and in 1751 a fourth of the same amount, 5,000*l.* In 1753 the grant was raised to 10,000*l.*, and in 1755 to 20,000*l.* In 1757 a further grant was made of 10,000*l.*, and in 1787 of 3,000*l.*

In addition to the large pecuniary resources possessed by the College, and the immense influence resulting from its extensive landed property, it has the presentation to benefices, some of them with an income of over 1,000*l.* a year.

The advantages enjoyed by the Protestant University of Dublin do not stop here; schools connected with it are scattered throughout Ireland, and possess extensive property in lands, granted in part by the Crown—the Royal Schools, Endowed Schools, and Erasmus Smith's Schools. They may be considered as intended exclusively for the benefit of members of the Established Church, although a few boys of other religious denominations are occasionally admitted; and they serve very largely as feeders for the Protestant University. A great proportion of the heads and tutors of these schools are members of Trinity College; all the heads, with two or three exceptions, are clergymen of the Established Church; in fine, to these institutions are attached 153 Exhibitions for the pupils who pass from their halls to the University of Dublin.

It is true that for the last few years Roman Catholics, as well as Protestant Dissenters, have been admitted to certain scholarships in the University of Dublin; but these are *non-foundation scholarships*, giving no right to the University Franchise, or to share in the government of the College, which, according to the Royal Commission of 1853, is 'a Protestant institution, in most of its essential characteristics,' as it was at its foundation by Queen Elizabeth.

All the heads of Trinity College, the provost, vice-provost, fellows, scholars on the foundation, &c., are and must be members of the Established Church, and the provost, vice-provost, and nearly all the fellows are clergymen. Three Professorships in the University School of Physic, in accordance with a recent Act of Parliament, and some Professorships of a subordinate character, are indeed open to Catholics; but, as a matter of fact, all the Professors are Protestants with the exception of the Professor of Italian and Spanish.

Trinity College was founded by Queen Elizabeth as a bulwark of the Protestant religion in Ireland against Catholicity. Until the year 1793, all its students, as well as others belonging to it, were obliged to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles. About 33 per cent. of its students even now are Divinity students of the Established Church; its whole teaching is based on the Protestant religion, the works it publishes are imbued with an anti-Catholic spirit, and several who entered its halls as Catholics, have, during their University course, or afterwards, forsaken the religion of their parents.

The Emancipation Act of 1829 having placed Catholics on a footing of civil and political equality with the rest of Her Majesty's subjects, it was manifest that the educational ascendancy of a minority could not long be maintained through the monopoly enjoyed by Trinity College.

The Queen's Colleges were established in 1845, with the avowed object of affording to all classes in Ireland University education on equal terms. Over 200,000*l.* have up to the present been expended on the buildings, furniture, and repairs of these Colleges, the sum annually voted by Parliament for their support is over 24,000*l.*, besides 1,800*l.* a year to the Queen's University, which exists only for their advantage.

Notwithstanding this profuse expenditure, the Queen's Colleges have, as far as Catholics are concerned, not only failed to attain the object for which they were founded, but have been gradually drifting into Protestantism. Belfast College is almost exclusively Presbyterian, and in Cork and Galway, although situated in Catholic districts, the great majority of the heads and professors are Protestants of various religious denominations.

If the Queen's Colleges had corresponded to the objects for which they were established, the great majority of the students should be Catholics, who are 77 per cent. of the inhabitants of Ireland, not Protestants, who are only 23 per cent. of the population, and are amply provided for in Trinity College. But what is the fact? More than 75 per cent. of the students of those colleges are Protestants, while less than 25 per cent. profess the faith of the great majority of the people, a proportion totally inadequate to represent the number of Catholics who, by their social position and preliminary studies, have a right to aspire to a University education. We may add that even of this minority of Catholic students a considerable number frequent the Queen's Colleges, yielding to the pressure of necessity, or tempted by the abundant allurements held out to them. Hence, whether we take into account the total population of this country, or the large sums expended on those colleges, the number of young

men of all denominations attending them is so inconsiderable that they must be admitted to be a signal failure.

The result of the mixed system of education in the Queen's Colleges, excluding, as it does, the influences of religion, is, we believe, to train the youthful mind in indifference to every creed and in practical infidelity, which tend to subvert the throne as well as the altar. We have, therefore, deemed it our duty, in accordance with the teaching of our Church, and the wisdom of this teaching is confirmed by experience, to declare these institutions replete with grave and intrinsic danger to the faith and morals of our flocks.

We can not leave this subject without referring to some restrictions with respect to persons aspiring to the learned professions, and they are very considerable, restrictions which tend to force Roman Catholics into one of the two legally recognized Universities.

In 1861 there were in Ireland 6,360 Catholic young men receiving a superior education ('Census, 1861.') Now upon this large number of Catholics, any one of whom may aspire to a liberal profession, the following unfair terms are proposed by those who would maintain in education an ascendancy which the legislature long since abolished in civil and political life, or would give educational equality at the cost of conscience.

All graduates of Trinity College, or of the Queen's University, can be called to the bar at the end of *three* years, while non-graduates can not be called until the expiration of *five* years from the date of their registration as law students.

Graduates are obliged to attend only *two* courses of lectures, *either* at the King's Inns, Dublin, or at Trinity College, or (in the case of students of the Queen's University) at any of the Provincial Colleges, while non-graduates are required to attend *four* courses, viz., two at the King's Inns, and two others at Trinity College. Moreover, graduates are required to attend *twelve* terms' commons, viz., six in the King's Inn, and six in any Inn in London, while non-graduates are required to attend *seventeen* terms' commons, viz., nine in the King's Inns and eight in England. Finally, the fees payable by graduates are less than those imposed upon non-graduates.

With regard to the apprentices of solicitors and attorneys, all matriculated students of Trinity College and of the Queen's Colleges are exempt from the preliminary examination imposed upon others. If graduates, they are admissible to the practice of their profession two years sooner than non-graduate apprentices, and are exempt from one of the courses of lectures appointed by the Benchers for such apprentices.

All Catholics aspiring to the professions just mentioned must submit to these inconveniences, or if they wish to avoid them, must enter a University founded to maintain the ascendancy of the Established Church in Ireland, or Institutions condemned by their own Church. It is to be added that these unfair conditions are imposed quite irrespectively of proficiency in literature, science, or law.

With respect to the medical profession, every one knows the high value practitioners and the public set on the degree of 'Doctor of Medicine.' But no person can obtain that high distinction in Ireland without becoming a member of one of the two Universities recognized by law; and Catholic medical students must either give up all chance of that honor and professional advantage, or trample under foot their self-respect, by entering, contrary to their religious principles, one of the institutions which their Church condemns.

As to professors in colleges and tutors, besides the injustice to the persons themselves, every one must see the injury inflicted on the education of the nation at large, when more than one-half of the teachers in superior schools and colleges are obliged to forego a University education, or to secure it at the risk of endangering the most important interests.

It being evident from the statements just made that the existing institutions recognized by the State do not put University education within the reach of Irish Roman Catholics on terms of which they can safely avail themselves, or on principles approved by their religion, we, their pastors, aided by their generous contributions, determined to supply this great want, and established the Catholic University of Ireland.

ORGANIZATION.

The foundation of a University to which Catholic families would be satisfied to send their sons, was suggested by Mr. Wyse, in 1832, soon after the Irish Emancipation Acts had passed the British Parliament, in a formal statement before a Select Committee of the House of Commons raised to consider the whole subject of education for Ireland. No action having followed his suggestion, the subject was brought by him before a large public meeting held at Cork in 1838, and again in 1844. In 1845 the subject of academical education in Ireland was mentioned in the Queen's Speech, and a bill to establish three provincial colleges became law. These colleges, from their unsectarian organization, did not satisfy the Catholic party, and the attention of the Catholic Bishops was called to a distinctively Catholic University by the Pope in certain rescripts in 1847 and 1848, but no steps were taken till 1850, when Richard Devereux, Esq., of Wexford, in a letter, dated Jan. 28, to the Rev. Dr. Speath, offered to begin the work by a donation of 200*l*. A subscription was soon after begun, and the project of a Catholic University in Ireland, upon the model of the Catholic University of Louvain, was formally adopted by the National Synod of Thurles in 1850, and a committee, consisting of four archbishops, four suffragan bishops, eight other ecclesiastics and eight laymen, was appointed to make the object known to the public and secure the means necessary for its establishment. The first public collection was held on St. Patrick's Day, March 17, 1855, and up to January, 1874, the sum of 186,750*l*. had been furnished by voluntary subscriptions (including a few bequests), towards the endowment and annual expense of the institution. The institution as a teaching body was formally organized by the bishops assembled in synodal meeting in Dublin, in May, 1854, and the installation of the very Rev. John Henry Newman, D.D., as Rector,* on the 4th of June following. In the autumn of the same year several professors were appointed, and school was formally opened on the Feast of St. Malachi, November, 1854. The work received the approval of the Holy Father by a special brief, in which he bestowed on the institution all the canonical rights and privileges, and gave to the Rector the faculty of conferring degrees. This faculty has never been recognized or confirmed, or conferred *de novo*, by the English Government.

GOVERNMENT.

By the Statutes of the University, as approved by the Episcopal Board in 1868, its government is vested in the hands of a Rector, assisted by a Rectorial Council, consisting 'of the Vice-Rector, the Dean of Faculties, one of the Heads of Colleges or Collegiate Houses (to be elected annually by the others), and six additional members to be chosen annually by their respective Faculties, viz, two representatives from that of Philosophy and Letters (one from each of its divisions), and one representative from each of the others.' There is besides a Senate, 'composed of the Vice-Rector and Secretary, the Professors, permanent Lecturers, and the Heads and Tutors of Colleges or Collegiate Houses. With regard to the Senate, it is further provided that those who,

* The publications of Dr. Newman, while he held the office of Rector, made originally to further the interests of this University, are valuable contributions to the permanent literature of higher education.

hereafter, being of at least seven years' standing, shall have taken the degree of Master or Doctor, or other of the higher degrees, in the University, may be admitted members of the Senate, on such conditions as the Senate itself shall fix.' All the authorities of the University are subject to the control of the Episcopal Board, consisting of the Roman Catholic Prelates of Ireland. The Rector, Vice-Rector, and Bursar are appointed by this Board, with power of revocation, '*pro sensu et arbitrio*.' The definitive appointment of the Professors also rests with the Bishops; but 'whenever a Professorship is to be filled up, it is the duty of the Rector, having consulted the Faculty in which the vacancy occurs, to present to the Bishops the names of (at least) three candidates.' All the officials of the University, 'though subject to removal by the same power that appointed them, are secure of the permanence of their appointments till they forfeit them by some offense against religion or morals, by insubordinate conduct, contentiousness, incapacity, or other obvious disqualification, according to the judgment of the *Coetus Episcoporum*, or the Episcopal Board of the University.'

ORGANIZATION OF FACULTIES.

The original plan contains five Faculties: Theology, Law, Medicine, Philosophy, Letters and Science. The Faculty of Theology, although provided with professors, and granting theological degrees, is not in operation as a teaching Faculty. The Faculty of Law has also been constituted, and Professors have been appointed: but we do not learn from the evidence that any system of instruction has as yet been commenced in this Faculty. The Faculty of Medicine, however, has had a fair measure of success, and in the academical year 1873-4 had 86 students. The number of resident students in Science and Arts was, in the same year, 30.

The Professorships in the Faculty of Science projected are: (1.) Mathematics, (2.) Physics, or Natural Philosophy, (3.) Chemistry, (4.) Geology and Mineralogy, (5.) Botany, (6.) Zoölogy, (7.) Physiology, to which (8.) a Professorship of Astronomy was to have been added. The Chairs that have been actually established are those of Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and Physiology. There are, besides, Lecturers on Botany and Zoölogy, and on Geology.

STUDENTS.

The Students are divided into two classes, the Resident and the Non-Resident, or Affiliated Students, the latter being those who receive their education not in immediate connection with the University itself, but in colleges in the country, which are affiliated to it, and which are visited and inspected by it. The Resident Students are either Interns or Externs. The Intern Students are those who reside in the Colleges, or Collegiate Houses, in Dublin, (three such houses are mentioned in the Calendar); the Extern Students are those who either live with their friends in Dublin or its neighborhood, or who reside in lodging houses licensed by the Rector for the reception of students. Both these classes of students are, by the Statutes, and by the regulations published in the Calendar of the University, placed under very strict religious discipline, even the Externs being required to attend Mass and General Communion on certain days in the year, and being required on Sundays and other days of obligation to assemble in cap and gown before Mass, to answer to their names, and

then proceed in a body to the church. But it is provided in the Statutes that, 'with the permission of the Rector, and on payment of the proper fees, any person may attend the schools of the University on any particular course of lectures. Such persons are called *Auditors*. Except in the lecture-room, they have no connection with the University, which is in no wise responsible for their conduct or their success in studies. . . . In order to become formally *Students*, and consequently members of the University, entitled to all its privileges, the candidates for admission must pass the matriculation examination, and place themselves under the guidance and discipline of the University.' And it appears from the evidence that non-Catholic auditors have been constantly admitted to the lectures; and even to compete for and to hold exhibitions, although the last privilege is not secured to them by the Statutes. But, whatever may be the privilege of non-Catholic pupils, it must be taken as certain that no dissident from the Roman Catholic religion could be admitted as a professor or teacher in the University. The Statutes require that each Professor shall make the Profession of Faith, according to the form prescribed by Pope Pius IV., in the presence of the Rector. The Rector, who must always be in Priest's orders, has to make the same profession, in addition to the following promise:—'*Ego N., nominatus Rector Universitatis Catholice, fidelis et obediens ero cœtui Episcoporum Hiberniæ et pro viribus juxta illorum mentem curabo honorem et prosperitatem dictæ Universitatis.*' The principle of the restrictions imposed by the Statutes is stated with great clearness by the present Rector, the Very Rev. Canon Woodlock, who says, in his address at the Inauguration of the Session of 1867-8, 'Our Faculty of Medicine does not exclude Protestant students from its lectures, but neither does our other Faculties. We recommend or prescribe, as the case may be, religious observances to the Catholic Medical students under our care, as well as to our students in Letters or in Science; but our rules on this subject do not comprise those who decline to accept the teaching of the Church. But there is one point on which we stand firm, and which equally regards our Faculty of Medicine and the other departments of this University; we will have Catholic students taught by no Professors save those whose principles we know to be in accordance with the teaching of the Catholic Church in faith and morals.'

Mr. Gladstone, in his plan of University Reform for Ireland, included the Irish Catholic University among the colleges which were affiliated to his re-constituted University of Dublin. But his proposition did not receive the approval of the highest Ecclesiastical authorities, and the friends of the Catholic University withheld their support to the proposed measure, insisting on certain chartered privileges, and especially on the independent right of bestowing degrees in its own name in the different academical faculties.

The Royal Commission on Scientific Instruction and the Advancement of Science in their Fifth Report (for 1874), submit evidence of the service rendered to science and literature in Ireland by this University—and which service might be increased by enlarged resources and more completely organized Faculties, but conclude, from the religious restrictions imposed on the selection of its professors and lecturers, and the uncertainty of any large increase of resources, not to recommend a grant from public funds in aid. The number of resident students in science and arts for 1873-4, was 30, and in medicine 86, exclusive of 40 who came up from various schools for examination.

THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

INTRODUCTION.

We begin our account of the University of Oxford with a few paragraphs in which Sir William Hamilton, in an article in the *Edinburgh Review* (1830) republished with additions, in a separate form, and now issued in his collected *Essays and Discussions*, has sharply defined the distinction between the University proper and the Colleges, and opened a controversy which is not yet ended, and which has already modified, by parliamentary statute, and the action of the University Commissioners, and the Heads of Houses, the relations of the University and the Colleges. To the historical discussion of the relation of the Colleges to the University by Sir William Hamilton, we shall add portions of a chapter from Dr. Newman's *Rise of Universities*, which exhibits the advantages of the College system in respect to the domestic life of the student.

THE UNIVERSITY AND THE COLLEGES.

Oxford and Cambridge, as establishments for education, consist of two parts—of the *University proper*, and of the *Colleges*. The former, original and essential, is founded, controlled, and privileged by public authority, for the advantage of the nation. The latter, accessory and contingent, are created, regulated, and endowed by private munificence, for the interest of certain favored individuals. Time was, when the Colleges did not exist, and the University was there; and were the Colleges again abolished, the University would remain entire. The former, founded solely for education, exists only as it accomplishes the end of its institution; the latter, founded principally for aliment and habitation, would still exist, were all education abandoned within their walls. The University, as a national establishment, is necessarily open to the lieges in general; the Colleges, as private institutions, might universally do, as some have actually done—close their gates upon all, except their foundation members.

The Universities and Colleges are thus neither identical, nor vicarious of each other. If the University ceases to perform its functions, it ceases to exist; and the privileges accorded by the nation to the system of public education legally organized in the University, can not, without the consent of the nation—far less without the consent of the academical legislature—be lawfully transferred to the system of private education precariously organized in the Colleges, and over which neither the State nor the University have any control. *They have, however, been unlawfully usurped.*

Through the suspension of the University, and the usurpation of its functions and privileges by the Collegial bodies, there has arisen the second of two systems, diametrically opposite to each other.—The one, in which the University was paramount, is ancient and statutory; the other, in which the Colleges have the ascendant, is recent and illegal.—In the former, all was subservient to public utility, and the interests of science; in the latter, all is sacrificed to private monopoly, and to the convenience of the teacher.—The former amplified the means of education in accommodation to the mighty end which a University proposes; the latter limits the end which the University attempts to the capacity of the

petty instruments which the intrusive system employs.—The one afforded education in all the Faculties; the other professes to furnish only elementary tuition in the lowest.—In the authorized system, the cycle of instruction was distributed among a body of teachers, all professedly chosen from merit, and each concentrating his ability on a single object; in the unauthorized, every branch, necessary to be learned, is monopolized by an individual, privileged to teach all, though probably ill qualified to teach any.—The old system daily collected into large classes, under the same professor, the whole youth of the University of equal standing, and thus rendered possible a keen and constant and unremitted competition; the new, which elevates the colleges and halls into so many little universities, and in these houses distributes the students, without regard to ability or standing, among some fifty tutors, frustrates all emulation among the members of its small and ill-assorted classes.—In the superseded system, the Degrees in all the Faculties were solemn testimonials that the graduate had accomplished a regular course of study in the public schools of the University, and approved his competence by exercise and examination; and on these degrees, only as such testimonials, and solely for the public good, were there bestowed by the civil legislature, great and exclusive privileges in the church, in the courts of law, and in the practice of medicine. In the superseding system, Degrees in all the Faculties, except the lowest department of the lowest, certify neither a course of academical study, nor any ascertained proficiency in the graduate; and these now nominal distinctions retain their privileges to the public detriment, and for the benefit only of those by whom they have been deprived of their significance. Such is the general contrast of the two systems, which we now exhibit in detail.

Though Colleges be unessential accessories to a University, yet common circumstances occasioned, throughout all the older Universities, the foundation of conventual establishments for the habitation, support, and subsidiary discipline of the student; and the date of the earliest Colleges is not long posterior to the date of the most ancient Universities. Establishments of this nature are thus not peculiar to England; and like the greater number of her institutions, they were borrowed by Oxford from the mother University of Paris—but with peculiar and important modifications. A sketch of the Collegial system as variously organized, and as variously affecting the academical constitution in foreign Universities, will afford a clearer conception of the distinctive character of that system in those of England, and of the paramount and unexampled influence it has exerted in determining their corruption.

ORIGIN OF COLLEGES WITHIN THE UNIVERSITIES.

The causes which originally promoted the establishment of Colleges, were very different from those which subsequently occasioned their increase, and are to be found in the circumstances under which the *earliest* Universities sprang up. The great concourse of the studious, counted by tens of thousands, and from every country of Europe, to the illustrious teachers of Law, Medicine, and Philosophy, who in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries delivered their prelections in *Bologna*, *Salerno*, and *Paris*, necessarily occasioned, in these cities, a scarcity of lodgings, and an exorbitant demand for rent. Various means were adopted to alleviate this inconvenience, but with inadequate effect; and the hardships to which the poorer students were frequently exposed, moved compassionate individuals to provide houses, in which a certain number of indigent scholars might be accommodated with free lodging during the progress of their studies. The manners, also, of the cities in which the early Universities arose, were, for obvious reasons more than usually corrupt; and even attendance on the public teachers forced the student into dangerous and degrading associations. Piety thus concurred with benevolence, in supplying houses in which poor scholars might be harbored without cost, and youth, removed from perilous temptation, be placed under the control of an overseer; and an example was afforded for imitation in the *Hospitia* which the religious orders established in the University towns for those of their members who were now attracted, as teachers and learners, to these places of literary resort.* Free board was soon added to free lodging; and

* "Tunc autem," says the Cardinal de Vitry, who wrote in the first half of the thirteenth century, in speaking of the state of Paris—"tunc autem amplius in Clero quam in alio populo discioluta (Lustitia sc.), tanquam capre scabiosa, periculosae exemplo multos hospites suos undique ad eam affluentes corrumpebat, habitatores suos devotum et in profun-

a small bursary or stipend generally completed the endowment. With moral superintendence was conjoined literary discipline, but still in subservience to the public exercises and lectures; opportunity was thus obtained of constant *disputation* to which the greatest importance was wisely attributed, through all the scholastic ages; while books, which only affluent individuals could then afford to purchase, were supplied for the general use of the indigent community.

THE COLLEGE IN PARIS.

But as Paris was the University in which collegial establishments were first founded, so Paris was the University in which they soonest obtained the last and most important extension of their purposes. Regents were occasionally taken from the public schools, and placed as regular lecturers within the Colleges. Sometimes nominated, always controlled, and only degraded by their Faculty, these lecturers were recognized as among its regular teachers; and the same privileges accorded to the attendance on their College courses, as to those delivered by other graduates in the common schools of the University. Different Colleges thus afforded the means of academical education in certain departments of a faculty—in a whole faculty—or in several faculties; and so far they constituted particular incorporations of teachers and learners, apart from, and, in some degree, independent of, the general body of the University. They formed, in fact, so many petty Universities, or so many fragments of a University. Into the Colleges, thus furnished with professors, there were soon admitted to board and education pensioners, or scholars, not on the foundation; and nothing more was wanting to supersede the lecturer in the public schools, than to throw open these domestic classes to the members of the other Colleges, and to the *martines* or scholars of the University not belonging to Colleges at all. In the course of the fifteenth century this was done; and the University and Colleges were thus intimately united. The College Regents, selected for talent, and recommended to favor by their nomination, soon diverted the students from the unguaranteed courses of the lecturers in the University schools. The prime faculties of Theology and Arts became at last exclusively collegial. With the exception of two courses in the great *College of Navarre*, the lectures, disputations, and acts of the *Theological Faculty* were confined to the college of the *Sorbonne*; and the *Sorbonne* thus became convertible with the Theological Faculty of Paris. During the latter half of the fifteenth century, the "*famous Colleges*," or those "*of complete exercise*" (cc. magna, celebra, famosa, famata, de plein exercise), in the *Faculty of Arts*, amounted to eighteen—a number which, before the middle of the seventeenth, had been reduced to ten. About eighty others (cc. parva, non celebra), of which above a half still subsisted in the eighteenth century, taught either only the subordinate branches of the faculty (grammar and rhetoric), and this only to those on the foundation, or merely afforded habitation and stipend to their bursars, now admitted to education in all the larger colleges, with the illustrious exception of Navarre. The *Rue de la Fouarre* (vicus stramineus), which contained the schools belonging to the different Nations of the Faculty, and to which the lectures in philosophy had been once exclusively confined, became less and less frequented; until at last the public chair of Ethics, long perpetuated by an endowment, alone remained; and "*The Street*" would have been wholly abandoned by the university, had not the acts of *Determination*, the forms of *Inceptorship*, and the *Examinations* of some of the Nations, still connected the Faculty of Arts with this venerable site. The colleges of full exercise in this faculty, continued to combine the objects of a classical school and university; for, besides the art of grammar taught in six or seven consecutive classes of humanity or ancient literature, they supplied courses of *rhetoric*, *logic*, *metaphysics*, *physics*, *mathematics*, and *morals*: the several subjects, taught by different professors. A free competition was thus maintained between the Colleges; the princi-

dum emergens, simplicem fornicationem nullum peccatum reputabat. Meretrices publice, ubique per vicos et plateas civitatis, passim ad lupanaria sua clericos transuentes quasi per violentiam pertrahabant. Quod si forte ingredi recusarent, confestim eos "*Sodomitas*," post ipsos conclamantes, dicebant. In una autem ex eadem domo, schola erant superioris, prostrata inferioris. In parte superiori magistri legebant, in inferiori meretrices officia impudencie exercebant. Ex una parte, meretrices inter se et cum Cruciatibus (Jansenibus) litigabant: ex alia parte, disputantes et contentiosos agentes clerici proclamebant."—(Jacobi de Vitruvio Hist. Occident. cap. vii).—It thus appears, that the Schools of the Faculty of Arts were not as yet established in the *Rue de la Fouarre*. At this date in Paris, as originally also in Oxford, the lectures and disputations were conducted by the masters in their private habitations.

pals had every inducement to appoint only the most able teachers; and the emoluments of the rival professors (who were not astricted to celibacy) depended mainly on their fees. A blind munificence quenched this useful emulation. In the year 1719, fixed salaries and retiring pensions were assigned by the crown to the College Regents; the lieges at large now obtained the gratuitous instruction which the poor had always enjoyed, but the University declined.

THE COLLEGE IN LOUVAIN.

After Paris, no continental University was more affected in its fundamental faculty by the collegial system than Louvain. Originally, as in Paris, and the other Universities of the Parisian model, the lectures in the Faculty of Arts were exclusively delivered by the regents *in vice*, or in the *general schools*, to each of whom a certain subject of philosophy, and a certain hour of teaching, was assigned. Colleges were founded; and in some of these, during the fifteenth century, *particular schools* were established. The regents in these colleges were not disowned by the faculty, to whose control they were subjected. Here, as in Paris, the lectures by the regents *in vice* gradually declined, till at last the three public professorships of *Ethics*, *Rhetoric*, and *Mathematics*, perpetuated by endowment, were in the seventeenth century the only classes that remained open in the halls of the Faculty of Arts, in which, besides other exercises, the *Quodlibetic Disputations* were still annually performed. The general tuition of that faculty was conducted in *four rival colleges of full exercise*, or *Pædagogia*, as they were denominated, in contradistinction to the other colleges, which were intended less for the education, than for the habitation and aliment of youth, during their studies. These last, which amounted to above thirty, sent their bursars for education to the four privileged Colleges of the Faculty; to one or other of which these minor establishments were in general astricted. In the Pædagogia (with the single exception of the *Collegium Porci*), Philosophy alone was taught, and this under the fourfold division of *Logic*, *Physics*, *Metaphysics*, and *Morals*, by four ordinary professors and a principal. Instruction in the *Litteræ Humaniores*, was, in the seventeenth century, discontinued in the other three (cc. *Castri*, *Lili*, *Falconis*);—the earlier institution in this department being afforded by the oppidan schools then every where established; the higher by the *Collegium Gandense*; and the highest by the three professors of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew literature, in the *Collegium Trilingue*, founded in 1517, by Hieronymus Buslidius—a memorable institution, imitated by Francis I. in Paris, by Fox and Wolsey in Oxford, and by Ximenes in Alcala de Henares. In the Pædagogia the discipline was rigorous; the diligence of the teachers admirably sustained by the rivalry of the different Houses; and the emulation of the students, roused by daily competition in their several classes and colleges, was powerfully directed toward the great general contest, in which all the candidates for a degree in arts from the different Pædagogia were brought into concurrence—publicly and minutely tried by sworn examiners—and finally arranged in the strict order of merit.

THE COLLEGE IN GERMANY.

In Germany collegial establishments did not obtain the same preponderance as in the Netherlands and France. In the older universities of the empire, the academical system was not essentially modified by these institutions; and in the universities founded after the commencement of the sixteenth century, they were rarely called into existence. In Prague, Vienna, Heidelberg, Cologne, Erfurth, Leipsic, Rostock, Ingolstadt, Tübingen, &c., we find conventual establishments for the habitation, aliment, and superintendence of youth; but these, always subsidiary to the public system, were rarely able, after the revival of letters, to maintain their importance even in this subordinate capacity.

In Germany, the name of *College* was usually applied to foundations destined principally for the residence and support of the academical teachers; the name of *Bursa* was given to houses inhabited by students, under the superintendence of a graduate in arts. In the colleges, which were comparatively rare, if scholars were admitted at all, they received free lodging or free board, but not free domestic tuition; they were bound to be diligent in attendance on the lectures of the public readers in the University; and the governors of the house were enjoined to see that this obligation was faithfully performed. The *Bursa*, which

corresponded to the ancient Halls of Oxford and Cambridge, prevailed in all the older Universities of Germany. They were either benevolent foundations for the reception of a certain class of favored students, who had sometimes also a small exhibition for their support (*bb. private*): or houses licensed by the Faculty of Arts, to whom they exclusively belonged, in which the students admitted were bound to a certain stated contribution (*positio*) to a common exchequer (*bursa*—hence the name), and to obedience to the laws by which the discipline of the establishment was regulated (*bb. communes*). Of these varieties, the second was in general engrafted on the first. Every *bursa* was governed by a graduate (*rector conventoris*;) and in the larger institutions, under him, by his delegate (*conrector*) or assistants (*magistri conventores*). In most Universities it was enjoined that every regular student in the Faculty of Arts should enrol himself of a *bursa*; but the *bursa* was also frequently inhabited by masters engaged in public lecturing in their own, or in following the courses of a higher faculty. To the duty of rector belonged a general superintendence of the diligence and moral conduct of the inferior members, and (in the larger *bursæ*, with the aid of a *procurator* or *economus*) the management of the funds destined for the maintenance of the house. As in the colleges of France and England, he could enforce discipline by the infliction of corporeal punishment. Domestic instruction was generally introduced into these establishments, but, as we said, only in subservience to the public. The rector, either by himself or deputies, repeated with his bursars their public lessons, resolved difficulties they might propose, supplied deficiencies in their knowledge, and moderated at their private disputations.

The philosophical controversies which, during the Middle Ages, divided the universities of Europe into hostile parties, were waged with peculiar activity among a people, like the Germans, actuated more than any other, by speculative opinion, and the spirit of sect. The famous question touching the nature of Universals, which created a schism in the University of Prague, and thus founded the University of Leipsic; which formally separated into two, the faculty of arts (called severally the *via antiqua* or realist, and the *via moderna* or nominalist), in Ingolstadt, Tübingen, Heidelberg, &c.; and occasioned a ceaseless warfare in the other schools of philosophy throughout the empire:—this question modified the German *bursæ* in a far more decisive manner than it affected the colleges in the other countries of Europe. The Nominalists and Realists withdrew themselves into different *bursæ*; whence, as from opposite castles, they daily descended to renew their clamorous, and not always bloodless contests, in the arena of the public schools. In this manner the *Bursæ* of Ingolstadt, Tübingen, Heidelberg, Erfurth, and other universities, were divided between the partisans of the *Via Antiquorum*, and the partisans of the *Via Modernorum*; and in some of the greater schools the several sects of Realism—as the Albertists, Thomists, Scotists—had *bursæ* of their "*peculiar process*."

The effect of this was to place these institutions more absolutely under that scholastic influence which swayed the faculties of arts and theology; and however adverse were the different sects, when a common enemy was at a distance, no sooner was the reign of scholasticism threatened by the revival of polite letters, than their particular dissensions were merged in a general syncretism to resist the novelty equally obnoxious to all—a resistance which, if it did not succeed in obtaining the absolute proscription of humane literature in the Universities, succeeded, at least, in excluding it from the course prescribed for the degree in arts, and from the studies authorized in the *bursæ*, of which that faculty had universally the control. In their relations to the revival of ancient learning, the *bursæ* of Germany, and the colleges of France and England, were directly opposed; and to this contrast is, in part, to be attributed the difference of their fate. The colleges, indeed, mainly owed their stability—in England to their wealth—in France to their coalition with the University. But in harboring the rising literature, and rendering themselves instrumental to its progress, the colleges seemed anew to vindicate their utility, and remained, during the revolutionary crisis at least, in unison with the spirit of the age. The *bursæ*, on the contrary, fell at once into contempt with the antiquated learning which they so fondly defended; and before they were disposed to transfer their allegiance to the dominant literature, other instruments had been organized, and circumstances had superseded their necessity. The philosophical faculty to which they belonged, had lost, by its opposition to the admission of humane letters into its course, the consideration it formerly obtained; and in the Protestant Universi-

ties of the Empire a degree in Arts was no longer required as a necessary passport to the other faculties. The Gymnasias, established or multiplied on the Reformation throughout Protestant Germany, sent the youth to the universities with sounder studies, and at a maturer age; and the public prelections, no longer intrusted to the fortuitous competence of the graduates, were discharged, in chief, by Professors carefully selected for their merit—rewarded in exact proportion to their individual value in the literary market—and stimulated to exertion by a competition unexampled in the academical arrangements of any other country. The discipline of the bursae was now found less useful in aid of the University; and the student less disposed to submit to their restraint. No wealthy foundations perpetuated their existence independently of use; and their services being found too small to warrant their maintenance by compulsory regulations, they were soon generally abandoned.—The name *Bursch* alone survives.

THE COLLEGE IN ENGLAND.

In the *English Universities*, the history of the collegial element has been very different. Nowhere did it deserve to exercise so small an influence; nowhere has it exercised so great. The colleges of the continental Universities were no hospitals for drones; their foundations were exclusively in favor of *teachers* and *learners*; the former, whose number was determined by their necessity, enjoyed their stipend under the condition of instruction; and the latter, only during the period of their academical studies. In the English colleges, on the contrary, the fellowships, with hardly an exception, are perpetual, not burdened with tuition, and indefinite in number. In the foreign colleges, the instructors were chosen from competence. In those of England, but especially in Oxford, the fellows in general owe their election to chance. Abroad, as the colleges were visited, superintended, regulated, and reformed by their faculty, their lectures were acknowledged by the University as public courses, and the lecturers themselves at last recognized as its privileged professors. In England, as the University did not exercise the right of visitation over the colleges, their discipline was viewed as private and subsidiary; while the fellow was never recognized as a public character at all, far less as a privileged instructor. In Paris and Louvain, the college discipline superseded only the precarious lectures of the graduates at large. In Oxford and Cambridge, it was an improved and improvable system of professional education that the tutorial extinguished. In the foreign Universities, the right of academical instruction was deputed to a limited number of "famous colleges," and in these only to a full body of co-operative teachers. In Oxford, all academical education is usurped, not only by every house, but by every fellow-tutor it contains. The alliance between the Colleges and University in Paris and Louvain was, in the circumstances, perhaps a rational improvement; the dethronement of the University by the Colleges in Oxford and Cambridge, was without doubt, a preposterous, as an illegal, revolution.

In the mode of teaching—in the subjects taught—in the forms of graduation—and in the general mechanism of the faculties, no Universities, for a long time, resembled each other more closely than the "first and second schools of the church," *Paris* and *Oxford*; but in the constitution and civil polity of the bodies, there were from the first considerable differences.—In Oxford, the University was not originally established on the distinction of Nations; though, in the sequel, the great national schism of the Northern and Southern men had almost determined a division similar to that which prevailed from the first in the other ancient Universities.—In Oxford, the Chancellor and his deputy combined the powers of the Rector and the two Chancellors in Paris; and the inspection and control, chiefly exercised in the latter through the distribution of the scholars of the University into Nations and Tribes, under the government of Rector, Procurators, and Deans, was in the former more especially accomplished by collecting the students into certain privileged Houses, under the control of a Principal, responsible for the conduct of the members. This subordination was not, indeed, established at once; and the scholars at first lodged, without domestic superintendence, in the houses of the citizens. In the year 1231, we find it only ordained, by royal mandate, "that every clerk or scholar resident in Oxford or Cambridge, must subject himself to the discipline and tuition of some *Master of the Schools*," i. e., we presume, enter himself, as the peculiar disciple of one or other of the actual Regents. In the same year, *Tutors*

are established in both universities. (See Fuller, who gives that document at length.)—By the commencement of the fifteenth century, it appears, however, to have become established law, that all scholars should be members of some College, Hall, or Entry, under a responsible head (Wood, s. 1408); and in the subsequent history of the university, we find more frequent and decisive measures taken in Oxford against the *Chamberdekins*, or scholars haunting the schools, but of no authorized house, than in Paris were ever employed against the *Martinets*.—In the foreign Universities, it was never incumbent on any, beside the students of the Faculty of Arts, to be under collegial or bursal superintendence; in the English Universities, the graduates or undergraduates of every faculty were equally required to be members of a privileged house.

By this regulation, the students were compelled to collect themselves into houses of community, variously denominated Halls, Inns, Hostles, Entries, Chambers (*Aulae, Hospitia, Introitus, Cameræ*). These Halls were governed by peculiar statutes, established by the University, by whom they were also visited and reformed; and administered by a Principal, elected by the scholars themselves, but admitted to his office by the chancellor or his deputy, on finding caution for payment of the rent. The halls were, in general, held only on lease; but by a privilege common to most Universities, houses once occupied by clerks or students could not again be resumed by the proprietor, or taken from the gown, if the rent were punctually discharged, the rate of which was quinquennially fixed by the academical taxators. The great majority of the scholars who inhabited these halls lived at their own expense; but the benevolent motives which, in other countries, determined the establishment of colleges and private bursas, nowhere operated more powerfully than in England. In a few houses, foundations were made for the support of a certain number of indigent scholars, who were incorporated as *fellowes* (or joint participators in the endowment), under the government of a head. But, with an unenlightened liberality, these benefactions were not, as elsewhere, exclusively limited to learners, during their academical studies, and to instructors; they were not even limited to merit; while the subjection of the *Colleges* to private statutes, and their emancipation from the control of the academical authorities, gave them interests apart from those of the public, and not only disqualified them from coöperating toward the general ends of the University, but rendered them, instead of powerful aids, the worst impediments to its utility.

The Colleges, into which commoners, or members not on the foundations, were, until a comparatively modern date, rarely admitted (and this admission, be it noted, is to the present hour wholly optional), remained also for many centuries few in comparison with the Halls. The latter were counted by hundreds; the former, in Oxford, even at the present day, extend only to nineteen.

At the commencement of the fourteenth century, the number of the halls was about three hundred (Wood, s. 1307)—the number of the secular colleges, at the highest, only three.—At the commencement of the fifteenth century, when the colleges had risen to seven, a Fellow of Quee's laments that the students had diminished as the foundations had increased. At the commencement of the sixteenth century, the number of halls had fallen to fifty-five, while the secular colleges had, before 1516, been multiplied to twelve.—The causes which had hitherto occasioned this diminution in the number of scholars, and in the number of the houses destined for their accommodation, were, among others, the plagues, by which Oxford was so frequently desolated, and the members of the University dispersed—the civil wars of York and Lancaster—the rise of other rival Universities in Great Britain and on the Continent—and, finally, the sinking consideration of the scholastic philosophy. The character which the Reformation assumed in England, coöperated, however, still more powerfully to the same result. Of itself, the schism in religion must necessarily have diminished the resort of students to the University, by banishing those who did not acquiesce in the new opinions there inculcated by law; while among the reformed themselves, there arose an influential party, who viewed the academical exercises as sophistical, and many who even regarded degrees as Antichristian. But in England the Reformation incidentally operated in a more peculiar manner. Unlike its fate in other countries, this religious revolution was absolutely governed by the fancies of the royal despot for the time; and so uncertain was the caprice of Henry, so contradictory the policy of his

three immediate successors, that for a long time it was difficult to know what was the religion by law established for the current year, far less possible to calculate, with assurance, on what would be the statutory orthodoxy for the ensuing. At the same time, the dissolution of the monastic orders dried up one great source of academical prosperity; while the confiscation of monastic property, which was generally regarded as only a foretaste of what awaited the endowments of the Universities, and the superfluous revenues of the clergy, rendered literature and the church, during this crisis, uninviting professions, either for an ambitious, or (if disinclined to martyrdom) for a conscientious man. The effect was but too apparent; *for many years the Universities were almost literally deserted.*

The *Halls*, whose existence solely depended on the confluence of students, thus fell; and none, it is probable, would have survived the crisis, had not several chanced to be the property of certain colleges, which had thus an interest in their support. The Halls of St. Alban, St. Edmund, St. Mary, New Inn, Magdalen, severally belonged to Merton, Queen's, Oriel, New, and Magdalen Colleges; and Broadgates Hall, now Pembroke College, Gloucester Hall, now Worcester College, and Hert Hall, subsequently Hertford College, owed their salvation to their dependence on the foundations of Christ Church, St. John's, and Exeter.

The circumstances which occasioned the ruin of the halls, and the dissolution of the cloisters and colleges of the monastic orders in Oxford, not only gave to the secular colleges, which all remained, a preponderant weight in the University for the juncture, but allowed them so to extend their circuit and to increase their numbers, that they were subsequently enabled to comprehend within their walls nearly the whole of the academical population, though previously to the sixteenth century, they appear to have rarely, if ever, admitted independent members at all. As the students fell off, the rents of the halls were taxed at a lower rate; and they became at last of so insignificant a value to the landlords, who could not apply it to other than academical purposes, that they were always willing to dispose of this fallen and falling property for the most trifling consideration. In Oxford, land and houses became a drug. The old colleges thus extended their limits, by easy purchase, from the impoverished burghers; and the new colleges, of which there were *four* established within half a century subsequent to the Reformation, and altogether *six* during the sixteenth century, were built on sites either obtained gratuitously or for an insignificant price. After this period, only *one* college was founded—in 1610; and *three* of the eight halls transmuted into colleges, in 1610, 1702, and 1749; but of these, *one* is now extinct.

Before the era of their downfall, the establishment of a hall was easy. It required only, that a few scholars should hire a house, find caution for a year's rent, and choose for Principal a graduate of respectable character. The Chancellor, or his Deputy, could not refuse to sanction the establishment. An act of usurpation abolished this facility. The general right of nomination to the Principality, and consequently to the institution, of halls, was, "through the absolute potency he had," procured by the Earl of Leicester, Chancellor of the University, about 1570; and it is now, by statute, invested in his successors. In surrendering this privilege to the Chancellor, the Colleges were not blind to their peculiar interest. From his situation, that magistrate was sure to be guided by their heads; no hall has since arisen to interfere with their monopoly; and the collegial interest, thus left without a counterpoise, and concentrated in a few hands, was soon able to establish an absolute supremacy in the University.

As the colleges only received as members those not on the foundation, for their own convenience, they could either exclude them altogether, or admit them under whatever limitations they might choose to impose. By University law, graduates were not compelled to lodge in college; they were therefore excluded as unprofitable members, to make room for under-graduates, who paid tutor's fees, and as dangerous competitors, to prevent them from becoming tutors themselves. This exclusion, or the possibility of this exclusion, of itself prevented any graduate from commencing tutor, in opposition to the interest of the foundation members. Independently of this, there were other circumstances which would have frustrated all interference with monopoly by the fellows; but these we need not enumerate.

Collegial tuition engrossed by the fellows, a more important step was to raise this collegial tuition from a subsidiary to a principal. Could the professorial system on which the University rested be abolished, the tutorial system would remain the one organ of academical instruction; could the University be silently annihilated, the colleges would succeed to its name, its privileges, and its place. This momentous—this deplorable subversion was consummated. We do not affirm that the end was ever clearly proposed, or a line of policy for its attainment ever systematically followed out. But circumstances concurred, and that instinct of self-interest which actuates bodies of men with the certainty of a natural law, determined, in the course of generations, a result, such as no sagacity would have anticipated as possible. After the accomplishment, however, a retrospect of its causes shows the event to have been natural, if not necessary.

The subversion of the University is to be traced to that very code of laws on which its constitution was finally established. The academical body is composed of graduates and under-graduates, in the four faculties of Arts, Theology, Law, and Medicine; and the government of the University was of old exclusively committed to the Masters and Doctors assembled in Congregation and Convocation; Heads of houses and college Fellows shared in the academical government only as they were full graduates, and as they were regents. The statutes ratified under the chancellorship of Laud, and by which the legal constitution of the University is still determined, changed this republican polity into an oligarchical. The legislation and the supreme government were still left with the full graduates, the Masters and Doctors, and the character of Fellow remained always unprivileged by law. But the Heads of Houses, if not now first raised to the rank of a public body, were now first clothed with an authority such as rendered them henceforward the principal—in fact, the sole administrators of the University weal. And whereas in foreign Universities, the University governed the Colleges—in Oxford the Colleges were enthroned the governors of the University. The Vice-chancellor (now also necessarily a College Head), the Heads of Houses, and the two Proctors, were constituted into a body, and the members constrained to regular attendance on an ordinary weekly meeting. To this body was committed, as their *special duty*, the care of "*inquiring into, and taking counsel for, the observance of the statutes and customs of the University*;" and if there be aught touching the good government, the scholastic improvement, the honor and usefulness of the University, which a majority of them may think worthy of deliberation, let them have power to deliberate thereupon; to the end that, after this their deliberation, the same may be proposed more advisedly in the Venerable House of Congregation, and then with mature counsel ratified in the Venerable House of Convocation." (T. xlii.) Thus, no proposal could be submitted to the Houses of Congregation or Convocation, unless it had been *previously discussed and sanctioned by the "Hebdomadal Meeting*;" and through this preliminary negative, the most absolute control was accorded to the Heads of Houses over the proceedings of the University. By their permission, every statute might be violated, and every custom fall into desuetude: without their permission, no measure of reform, or improvement, or discipline, however necessary, could be initiated, or even mentioned.

A body constituted and authorized like the Hebdomadal Meeting, could only be rationally expected to discharge its trust: 1^o, if its members were subjected to a direct and concentrated responsibility; and 2^o, if their public duties were indistinguishable with their private interests. The Hebdomadal Meeting acted under neither of these conditions.

In regard to the *first*, this body was placed under the review of no superior authority either for what it did, or for what it did not perform; and the responsibility to public opinion was distributed among too many to have any influence on their collective acts.

In regard to the *second*, so far were the interests and duties of the Heads from being coincident, that they were diametrically opposed. Their public obligations bound them to maintain and improve the system of University education, of which the *professors* were the organs; but this system their private advantage, both as individuals and as representing the collegial interest, prompted them to deteriorate and undermine.

COLLEGES, THE CORRECTIVE OF UNIVERSITIES.*

By a College, I suppose, is meant, not merely a body of men living together in one dwelling, but belonging to one establishment. In its very notion, the word suggests to us position, authority, and stability; and again, these attributes presuppose a foundation; and that foundation consists either in public recognition, or in the possession of revenues, or in some similar advantage. If two or three individuals live together, the community is not at once called a College; but a charter, or an endowment, some legal *status*, or some ecclesiastical privilege, is necessary to erect it into the Collegiate form. However, it does, I suppose, imply a community or *convitto* too; and, if so, it must be of a certain definite size: for, as soon as it exceeds in point of numbers, non-residence may be expected to follow. It is then a household, and offers an abode to its members, and requires or involves the same virtuous and paternal discipline which is proper to a family and home. Moreover, as no family can subsist without a maintenance, and as children are dependent on their homes, so it is not unnatural that an endowment, which is, as I have said, suggested by the very idea of a college, should ordinarily be necessary for its actual carrying out. Still more necessary are buildings, and buildings of a prominent character; for, whereas every family must have its dwelling, a family which has a recognized and official existence, must live in a sort of public building, which satisfies the eye, and is the enduring habitation of an enduring body.

This view of a College, which I have not been attempting to prove but to delineate, suggests to us the objects which a college is adapted to fulfill in a University. It is all, and does all which is implied in the name of home. Youths, who have left the paternal roof, and traveled some hundred miles for the acquisition of knowledge, find an "Altera Troja" and "simulata Pergama" at the end of their journey and in their place of temporary sojourn. Home is for the young, who know nothing of the world, and who would be forlorn and sad, if thrown upon it. It is the refuge of helpless boyhood, which would be famished and pine away, if it were not maintained by others. It is the providential shelter of the weak and inexperienced, who have still to learn how to cope with the temptations which lie outside of it. It is the place of training for those who are not only ignorant, but have not yet learned how to learn, and who have to be taught, by careful individual trial, how to set about profiting by the lessons of a teacher. And it is the school of elementary studies, not of advanced; for such studies alone can boys at best apprehend and master. Moreover, it is the shrine of our best affections, the bosom of our fondest recollections, a spell upon our after life, a stay for world-weary mind and soul, wherever we are cast, till the end comes. Such are the attributes or offices of home, and like to these, in one or other sense and measure, are the attributes and offices of a College in a University.

We may consider, historically speaking, that Colleges were but continuations, *mutatis mutandis*, of the schools which preceded the rise of Universities. These schools indeed were monastic or at least clerical, and observed a religious or an ecclesiastical rule; so far they were not simple Colleges, still they were devoted to study, and, at least sometimes, admitted laymen. They had two

* Newman's Rise and Progress of Universities.

courses of instruction going on at once, attended by the inner classes and the outer; of which the latter were filled by what would now be called *externs*. Thus even in that early day the school of Rheims educated a certain number of noble youths; and the same arrangement is reported of Bec also.

And in matter of fact these monastic schools remained within the limits of the University, when it was set up, as they had been before, only of course more exclusively religious; for, as soon as the reception of laymen was found to be a part of the academical idea, the monasteries seemed to be relieved of the necessity of receiving lay students within their walls. At first, those Orders only would have a place in the University which were already there; but in process of time nearly every religious fraternity found it its interest to provide a College for its own subjects, and to have representatives in the Academical body. Thus in Paris, as soon as the Dominicans and Franciscans had thrown themselves into the new system, and had determined that their vocation did not hinder them from taking degrees, the Cistercians, under the headship of an Englishman, founded a College near St. Victor's; and the Premonstrants followed their example. The Carmelites, being at first at a distance from St. Geneviève, were planted by a king of France close under her hill. The Benedictines were stationed in the famous Abbey of St. German, near the University Pratum; the monks of Cluni and of Marmoutier had their respective houses also, and the former provided lecturers within their walls for the students. And in Oxford, in like manner, the Benedictines founded Durham Hall for their monks of the North of England, and Gloucester Hall for their monks of the South, on the respective sites of the present Trinity and Worcester Colleges. The Carmelites (to speak without book) were at Beaumont, the site of Henry the First's palace; and St. John's and Wadham Colleges are also on the sites of monastic establishments. Besides these, there were in Oxford, houses of Dominicans, Franciscans, Cistercians, and Augustinians.

These several foundations, indeed, are of very different eras; but, looking at the course of the history as a whole, we shall find that such houses as were monastic preceded the rest. And if the new changes had stopped there, lay education would have suffered, not gained, by the rise of Universities; for it had the effect of multiplying, indeed, monastic halls, but of shutting their doors against all but monks more rigidly than before. The solitary strangers, who came up to Paris or Oxford from a far country, must have been stimulated by a most uncommon thirst for knowledge, to persevere in spite of the discouragements by which they were surrounded. Some attempt indeed was made by the Professors to meet so obvious and so oppressive an evil. The former scholastic type had recognized one master, and one only, in a school, who professed in consequence the whole course of instruction without any assistant Tutors. The tradition of this system continued; and led in many instances to the formation of halls, inns, courts, or hostels, as they were variously called. That is, the Professor of the school kept house, and boarded his pupils. Thus we read of Torald schools in Oxford in the reign of Henry the Third, which had belonged previously to one Master Richard Bacum, who had fitted up a large tenement, partly for lodging house, partly for lecture rooms. In like manner, early in the twelfth century, Theobald had as many as from sixty to a hundred scholars under his tuition, for whom he would necessarily be more or less answerable. A similar custom was exerted in Athens, where

it was the occasion of a great deal of rivalry and canvassing between the Professorial housekeepers, each being set upon obtaining as many lodgers as possible. And apparently a similar inconvenience had to be checked at Paris in the thirteenth century, though, whatever might be that incidental inconvenience, the custom itself, under the circumstances of the day, was as advantageous to the cause of study, as it was natural and obvious.

But still lodging keepers, though Professors, must be paid, and how could poor scholars find the means of fulfilling so hard a condition? And the length of time then required for a University course hindered an evasion of its difficulties by such shifts and expedients, as serve for passing a mere trying crisis, or weathering a threatening season. The whole course, from the termination of the grammatical studies to the licentiate, extended originally through twenty years; though afterwards it was reduced to ten. If we are to consider the six years of the course in Arts to have been in addition to this long space, the residence at the University is no longer a sojourn at the seat of learning, but becomes a sort of naturalization, yet without offering a home.

The University itself has little or no funds, to meet the difficulty withal. At Oxford, it had no buildings of its own, but rented such as were indispensable for academical purposes, and these were of a miserable description. It had little or no ground belonging to it, and no endowments. It had not the means of being an Alma Mater to the young men who came thither for education.

Accordingly, one of the earliest movements in the University, almost as early as the entrance into it of the monastic bodies, was that of providing maintenance for poor scholars. The authors of such charity hardly aimed at giving more than the bare necessities of life,—food, lodging, and clothing,—so as to make a life of study possible. Comfort or animal satisfaction can hardly be said to have entered into the scope of their benefactions; and we shall gain a lively impression of the sufferings of the student, before the era of endowments, by considering his rude and hardy life even when a member of a College. From an account which has been preserved in one of the colleges of Cambridge, we are able to extract the following *horarium* of a student's day. He got up between four and five; from five to six he assisted at Mass, and heard an exhortation. He then studied or attended the schools till ten, which was the dinner hour. The meal, which seems also to have been a breakfast, was not sumptuous; it consisted of beef, in small messes for four persons, and a pottage made of its gravy and oatmeal. From dinner to five p. m., he either studied, or gave instruction to others, when he went to supper, which was the principal meal of the day, though scarcely more plentiful than dinner. Afterwards, problems were discussed and other studies pursued, till nine or ten; and then half an hour was devoted to walking or running about, that they might not go to bed with cold feet;—the expedient of hearth or stove for the purpose was out of the question.

However, poor as was the fare, the collegiate life was a blessing in many other ways far more important than meat and drink; and it was the object of pious benefactions for centuries. Hence the munificence of Robert Capet, as early as 1050, even before the canons of St. Genesiove and the monks of St. Victor had commenced the University of Paris. His foundation was sufficient for as many as one hundred poor clerks. Another was St. Catherine in the

Valley, founded by St. Louis, in consequence of a vow, which his grandfather, Philip Augustus, had died before executing. Another and later was the Collegium Bonorum Puerorum, which is assigned to the year 1245. Such too, in its original intention, was the Harcurianum, or Harcourt College, the famous College of Navarre, the more famous Sorbonne, and the Montague College.

These Colleges, as was natural, were often provincial or diocesan, being founded by benefactors of a particular district for their own people. Sometimes they too were connected with one or other of the Nations of the University; I think the Harcurianum, just mentioned, was founded for the Normans; such too was the Dacian, founded for the Danes; and the Swedish; to which may be added the Burses provided for the Italians, the Lombards, the Germans, and the Scotch. In Bologna there was the greater College of St. Clement for the Spaniards, and the Collegio Sondi for the Hungarians. As to Diocesan or Provincial Colleges, such was Laon College, for poor scholars of the diocese of Laon; the College of Bayeux for scholars of the diocese of Mons and Aëgers; the Colleges of Narbonne, of Arras, of Lisieux, and various others. Such too in Oxford at present are Queen's College, founded in favor of north countrymen, and Jesus College for the Welsh. Such are the fellowships, founded in various Colleges, for natives of particular counties; and such the fellowships or scholarships for founder's kin. In Paris, in like manner, Cardinal de Dormans founded a College for more than twenty students, with a preference in favor of his own family. A Society of a peculiar kind was founded in the very beginning of the thirteenth century. Baldwin, Count of Flanders, at that time Emperor of Constantinople, is said to have established a Greek College with a view to train up the youth of Constantinople in devotion to the Holy See.

When I said that there were graver reasons than the need of maintenance, for establishing Colleges and Burses for poor scholars, it may be easily understood that I alluded to the moral evils, of which a University, without homes and guardians for the young, would infallibly be the occasion and the scene. These are so intelligible, and so much a matter of history, and so often illustrated, whether from the mediæval or the modern continental Universities, that they need not occupy our attention here. Whatever licentiousness of conduct there is at Oxford and Cambridge now, where the Collegiate system is in force, does but suggest to us how fatal must be the strength of those impulses to disorder and riot when unrestrained, which are so imperfectly controlled even when submitted to an anxious discipline.

At first Universities were almost democracies: Colleges tended to break their anarchical spirit, introduced ranks and gave the example of laws, and trained up a set of students, who, as being morally and intellectually superior to other members of the academical body, became the depositaries of academical power and influence. Moreover, learning was no longer thought unworthy of a gentleman; and, while the nobles of an earlier period had not disdained to send their sons to Lanfranc or Vacarius, now it even became a matter of custom, that young men of rank should have a University education. Thus, in the charter of the 29th of Edward the Third, we even read that "to the University a multitude of nobles, gentry, strangers, and others continually flock;" and towards the end of the century, we find Henry of Monmouth, afterwards the Fifth, as a young man, a sojourner at Queen's College, Oxford. But it was in the next century, of which Henry has made the first years glorious, that Col-

leges were provided, not for the poor, but for the noble. Many Colleges, too, which had been originally for the poor, opened their gates to the rich, not as fellows or foundation-students, but as simple lodgers, or what are now called independent members, such as monasteries might have received in a former age. This was especially the case with the College of Navarre at Paris; and the change has continued remarkably impressed upon Oxford and Cambridge even down to this day, with this additional peculiarity, that, while the influence of aristocracy upon those Universities is not less than it was, the influence of other political classes has been introduced into the academic cloisters also. Never has learned institution been more directly political and national than the University of Oxford. Some of its Colleges represent the talent of the nation, others its rank and fashion, others its wealth; others have been the organs of the government of the day; while others, and the majority, represent one or other division, chiefly local, of the country party. That all this has rather destroyed, than subserved, the University itself, which Colleges originally were instituted to complete, I will not take upon myself to deny; but good comes out of many things which are in the way to evil, and this antagonism of the Collegiate to the University principle was not worked out, till Colleges had first rendered signal service to the University, and that, not only by completing it in those points where the University was weak, but even corroborating it in those in which it was strong. The whole nation, brought into the University by means of the Colleges, gave the University itself a vigor and a stability which the abundant influx of foreigners had not been able to secure.

As in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries French, German, and Italian students had flocked to the University of Oxford, and made its name famous in distant lands, so in the fifteenth, all ranks and classes of the nation furnished it with pupils, and what was wanting in their number or variety, compared with the former era, was compensated by their splendor or political importance. At that time nobles moved only in state, and surrounded themselves with retainers and servants, with an ostentation which has now quite gone out of fashion. Huber informs us that, before the wars of the Roses, and when the aristocracy were more powerful than the king, each noble family sent up at least one son to Oxford with an ample retinue of followers. Nor were the towns in that age less closely united to the University than the upper classes, by reason of the numerous members of it that belonged to the clerical order, the popular character of that institution, and its intimate connection, as now, with the seat of learning. Thus town and country, high and low, north and south, had a common stake in the academical institutions, and took a personal interest in the academical proceedings. The degree possessed a sort of indelible character, which all classes understood; and the people at large were more or less partakers of a cultivation which the aristocracy were beginning to appreciate. And, though railroad traveling certainly did not then exist, communication between the students and their homes occurred with a frequency which could not be when they came from abroad; and Oxford became in a peculiar way a national and political center. Not only in vacations and term-time was there a stated ebbing and flowing of the academical youth, but messengers posted to and fro between Oxford and all parts of the country in all seasons of the year. So intimate was this connection, that Oxford became a sort of selected arena for the conflicts of the various interests of the nation, and

a serious University strife was received far and wide as the presage of civil war.

Such an united action of the Collegiate and of the National principle, far from being prejudicial, was simply favorable to the principle of a University. It was a later age which sacrificed the University to the College. We must look to the last two or three centuries, if we would witness the ascendancy of the College idea in the English Universities, to the extreme prejudice, not indeed of its own peculiar usefulness (for that it has retained), but of the University itself. Huber, who gives us this account of Oxford, and who is neither Catholic on the one hand, nor innovator on the existing state of things on the other, warming yet saddening at his own picture, ends by observing: "Those days never can return; for the plain reason that then men learned and taught by the living word, but now by the dead paper."

What has been here drawn out from the history of Oxford, admits of ample illustration from the parallel history of Paris. We find Chancellor Gerson on one occasion remonstrating in the name of his University with the French king. "Shall the University, being what she is, shut her eyes and be silent? What would all France say, whose population she is ever exhorting, by means of her members, to patience and good obedience to the king and rulers? Does not she represent the universal realm, nay, the whole world? She is the vigorous seminary of the whole body politic, whence issue men of every kind of excellence. Therefore in behalf of the whole of France, of all states of men, of all her friends, who can not be present here, she ought to expostulate and cry, 'Long live the king.'"

There is one other historical peculiarity attached to Colleges, to which I will briefly allude before concluding. If Colleges with their endowments and local interests, provincial or county, are necessarily, when compared with Universities, of a national character, it follows that the education which they will administer, will also be national, and adapted to all ranks and classes of the community. And if so, then again it follows, that they will be far more given to the study of the Arts than to the learned professions, or to any special class of pursuits at all; and such in matter of fact has ever been the case. They have inherited under changed circumstances the position of the monastic teaching founded by Charlemagne, and have continued its primitive tradition, through, and in spite of, the noble intellectual developments, to which Universities have given occasion. The Historical link between the Monasteries and the Colleges have been the Nations, as some words of Antony à Wood about the latter suggest, and as the very name of "Nation" makes probable; and indeed the Colleges were hardly more than the Nations formally established and endowed, with Provosts and Wardens in the place of Proctors.

Buleus has some remarks on the subject of Colleges, which illustrate the points I have last insisted on, and several others which have previously come before us. He says:

The College system had no slight influence in restoring Latin composition. Indeed Letters were publicly professed in Colleges, and that, not only by persons on the foundation, but by others also who lived within the walls, though external to the body, and who were admitted to the schools of the Masters and to the classes in a fixed order and by regulated steps. On the contrary, we find that all the ancient Colleges were established for the education and instruction of poor scholars, members of the foundation; but in the fifteenth

century other ranks were gradually introduced also. By this means the lecturer was stimulated by the largeness of the classes, and the pupil by emulation, while the opportunities of a truant life were removed. Accordingly laws were frequently promulgated and statutes passed, with a view of bringing the martinet and wandering scholars within the walls of the Colleges. We do not know exactly when this practice began; it is generally thought that the College of Navarre, which was reformed in the year 1464, was the first to open its gates to these public professors of letters. It is certain, that in former ages the teachers of grammar and rhetoric had schools of their own, or hired houses and hostels, where they received pupils; but in this century, teachers of grammar, or of rhetoric, or of philosophy, began to teach within the Colleges.

The influence of the College—of the constant and intimate associate of its membership on the social and political life of the country is immense. When the mind is most impressible, when the affections are warmest, when associations are made for life, when the character is most ingenuous and the sentiment of reverence is most powerful, the future landowner, or statesman, or lawyer, or clergyman comes up to a College in the Universities. There he forms friendships, there he spends his happiest days; and, whatever is his career there, brilliant or obscure, virtuous or vicious, in after years, when he looks back on the past, he finds himself bound by ties of gratitude and regret to the memories of his college life. He has received favors from the Fellows, he has dined with the warden or provost; he has unconsciously imbibed to the full the beauty and the music of the place. The routine of duties and observances, the preachings and the examinations and the lectures, the dresses and the ceremonies, the officials whom he feared, the buildings or gardens that he admired, rest upon his mind and his heart, and the shade of the past becomes a sort of shrine to which he makes continual silent offerings of attachment and devotion. It is a second home, not so tender, but more noble and majestic and authoritative. Through his life he more or less keeps up a connection with it and its successive sojourners. He has a brother or intimate friend on the foundation, or he is training up his son to be a member of it. When then he hears that a blow is leveled at the colleges, and that they are in commotion—that his own College, Head, and Fellows, have met together, and put forward a declaration calling on its members to come up and rally around it and defend it, a chord is struck within him, more thrilling than any other; he burns with *esprit de corps* and generous indignation; and he is driven up to the scene of his early education, under the keenness of his feelings, to vote, to sign, to protest, to do just what he is told to do, from confidence in the truth of the representations made to him, and from sympathy with the appeal. He appears on the scene of action ready for battle on the appointed day, and there he meets others like himself, brought up by the same summons; he gazes on old faces, revives old friendships, awakens old reminiscences, and goes back to the country with the renewed freshness of youth upon him. Thus, wherever you look, to the north or south of England, to the east or west, you find the interest of the colleges dominant; they extend their roots all over the country, and can scarcely be overturned, certainly not suddenly overturned, without a revolution.

THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

INTRODUCTION.

Before passing to the historical development of the University of Oxford, its present organization, studies, and examinations, with glimpses of student life at different periods, and the representative men of the principal colleges, we give, in the language of Prof. Goldwin Smith,* who was Secretary of the Oxford Commission in 1852, a brief statement of its characteristic features.

The University of Oxford is a Federation of Colleges. Each college is a separate institution for the purposes of instruction and discipline; has its own governing body, consisting of a Head (variously styled president, principal, warden, provost, master, and—in the case of Christchurch—dean) and Fellows; its own endowments, its own library, lecture-rooms, and dining-hall; its own domestic chapel, where service is performed by its own chaplains. Each has also its own code of statutes, and the power, subject to those statutes, of making laws for itself. The college instructors, called tutors, are generally chosen from the number of the Fellows, as are also the administrators of college discipline, called deans or censors. All the members of the colleges are members of the University, and subject to University government and laws. The University holds the public examinations and confers the degrees. It legislates, through its Council and Convocation, on what may be called federal subjects, and administers federal discipline through its Vice-Chancellor and Proctors. In the matter of discipline there is, I believe, a speculative difference of opinion as to the federal jurisdiction of the Proctors within the college gates; but the bond of mutual interest between all the members of the Federation is too strong to allow this or any State-right question ever to threaten us with an academical-civil war. There is also a University staff of teachers in all the subjects of instruction, called the professors, to whose lectures the students from all the colleges resort, and whose duty it is to carry the instruction to a higher point than it can be carried by the college tutors, who are mostly younger men, not permanently devoted to a college life, but intending to take one of the many ecclesiastical benefices in the gift of the colleges, or to embrace, in course of time, some other active calling. The federal element is embodied in the public buildings of the University—the Bodleian Library; the Examination Schools, which occupy the lower part of the same great Tudor quadrangle; the Radcliffe Library, from the dome of which the best view of the city is obtained; the Convocation House, in which University statutes are passed and University degrees conferred; the Theatre, in which the memory of the founders and benefactors is celebrated at the gay ceremony of the Summer Commemoration, prize compositions recited, and honorary degrees bestowed on distinguished visitors; the University Museum; the University

* From a lecture before the Historical Society of New York, in December, 1864, by Goldwin Smith, Professor of History in the University of Oxford. *Harper's Magazine* for May, 1865.

Press; and, above all, the University Church of St. Mary, which, with its beautiful spire, crowns the Academic City, and in which sermons are preached to the assembled University, after the hour of college chapel, from a pulpit not unfamed in the annals of religious thought.

The mainspring of the system, as regards education, lies in the University examinations for the degree of Bachelor of Arts. At these examinations the majority of the students seek only to attain the standard required for an ordinary or "pass" degree. The more aspiring become candidates for "honors," and obtain a place in the first or one of the lower classes, according to their merits. The publication of these class-lists is, as might be expected, the great event of university life, and it is not an insignificant event in the domestic and social life of England. The training of those who read for high honors at Oxford or Cambridge is probably the severest that youth anywhere undergoes, and it is prolonged, generally speaking, to the age of twenty-two. The system of competition is not carried quite so high at Oxford as at Cambridge, where the candidates are not only divided into classes, but arranged in each class in their order of merit; whereas at Oxford they are only divided into classes, and the names arranged alphabetically in each class. Whether such strong stimulants of youthful ambition, and such marked distinctions for youthful attainment would be necessary or desirable in a perfect state of things, is perhaps, a doubtful question. But in English society as it is, the intellectual honors thus awarded by national authority are useful as a counterpoise, however imperfect, to the artificial distinctions of hereditary rank and wealth. Nor can it be denied that the class-lists have given England men in all departments, from theology to finance, whose high training has lent loftiness to their own character and aspirations, and to the character and aspirations of their nation. The College Fellowships, which are bestowed by examination, and to which stipends are attached averaging about £200 or \$1,000 a year, form additional and more substantial prizes for exertion among the flower of our students, and it is in the competition for these that the highest intellectual efforts of all are probably made. Our almost exclusive subjects of instruction, till recently, were the classics, with ancient philosophy and ancient history, mathematics being recognized, and by some of our students carried to a high point, but not held in the same honor, though at Cambridge they were the dominant study. Recently, by an Academic revolution, something like that which substituted the classical for the scholastic system in the sixteenth century, we have thrown open our doors to physical science, modern history, jurisprudence, and political economy, to which honors are now awarded legally, equal to those conferred on classics, though classics still, practically, retain the foremost place. The degrees higher than that of Bachelor of Arts—that of Master of Arts, and those of Bachelor or Doctor of Theology, Civil Law, or Medicine—are rather marks of academical standing than rewards of intellectual exertion, though there is an examination for the degree in civil law, and one of a more effective character for the degree in medicine. The degree of Doctor of Civil Law is conferred as an honorary mark of distinction on illustrious visitors of all kinds—generals, admirals, politicians, and diplomatists, as well as men of letters or science. Law and medicine, of which the universities were the schools in the Middle Ages, are now studied, the first in the chambers of London barristers, the second in the great London hospitals. Of theology England has no regular school. The universities, which were once places of professional as well as of general training in England, as they are still on the Continent, are now in England places of general training alone. They are the final schools of those among our English youth who can afford to give themselves the advantage, and pay to their country the tribute of a long, liberal education.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT.

THE following chapters are contributions only to the history of the University of Oxford, and its influence on liberal education, drawn from the biographies and publications of eminent graduates, and from other sources, which will be indicated as used.

I. PRE-DOCUMENTARY PERIOD.

For this shadowy period of the history of Oxford, both as a town and a university, we adopt a portion of an article by Prof. J. W. Newman, in the "British Critic" for July, 1833, and since incorporated into this volume of Historical Sketches with the title of *Medieval Oxford*. The article is an artistic reproduction of the valuable antiquarian memoranda of Dr. Ingham in his richly illustrated 'Memorials of Oxford.'

Little can be narrated in any connected way concerning the University previously to the Norman conquest. The ravages of the Danes, civil troubles, and the debased state of religion, interrupted and dispersed, at least the records, if not the schools and studies themselves, of the peaceful place; and the scanty glimpses, which are left to us, are like the broken remembrances with which we retrace the first mysterious portion of our childhood, ere memory has yet become continuous, and we begin to live in the thought of our own identity. It seems, that, about the year 727, a certain governor, provost, or viceroy, "sub-regulus," he is called, of the name of Didan, ruled over a large portion of the city of Oxford with dignity and honor. His wife's name was Saffrida, and their daughter was called Frideswide. Having received a religious education from a female of eminent sanctity, this young lady, not only embraced the monastic life herself, but induced certain others among her equals, of respectable families, to do the like. Her mother dying, her father sought consolation according to the fashion peculiar to those times, in a work of piety, and employed himself in the construction of a convent, with its church, within the precincts of the city; and, having dedicated it to St. Mary and all Saints, he made over his foundation to his daughter. This church, which was known by the name of St. Mary of Oxford "prope Tamesin," or "on the Thames," was the rudiments of the present cathedral, as the priory attached to it was of the present Christ Church.

Frideswide Priory.

Frideswide's priory was, even from the first, something beyond a simple religious foundation. She died on October 19, 740, and was buried in her own church; but, even before her death, or shortly after, the king of Mercia, in whose territory Oxford lay (Ethelbald), constructed certain inns for the advancement of learning in connection with the sacred edifice. Alfred, 150 years later, after wresting the city from the Danes, restored them. Nothing is known of her foundation for another hundred years, that is, till A.D. 1003, by which date the priory of St. Frideswide has been richly endowed, its lands increased, and its church enlarged. Oxford was, at that time, the metropolis of Mercia, and had been a favorite seat of both Saxon and Danish monarchs. King Ethelred (1004) built the church tower, which, with the addition of a Norman story and spire, is still standing. So great was the king's satisfaction at his own work, that he calls it, in the half-modernized spelling of an extant MS. "myn owne mynster in Oxenford." Another hundred years brought with it a fresh series of changes; the nuns were gone, never to return; secular canons had succeeded, had fallen into disorder, and in turn been dispossessed; and in their place an austere Nor-

man, chaplain to Henry I., was made the prior of an establishment of regulars. Under this form the foundation stood till the time of Wolsey, when those further changes were made which brought it into its present shape. Meanwhile, the prior of St. Frideswide and his community were among the most learned and scientific persons of their times, and their sainted patroness was proportionally honored. Her relics, as it seems to be ascertained, were in 1180 translated, in Wood's words, "from an obscure to a more noted place in the church," being deposited in a reliquary, which Dr. Ingram supposes to remain to this day; miracles are said to have followed; rich offerings were made at her shrine, and ample endowments were added to her foundation. A more splendid shrine received her relics in 1280, and one still more splendid about 1480. Sermons were preached at her cross, the University authorities went in annual procession to her altar, and as late as 1434 she is called in a public instrument "the special advocate of the flourishing University of Oxford."

Collegiate Church of St. George.

Such is the history of the earliest endowment for learning, in a place which was destined to be so fruitful in similar noble institutions. The next that has to be noticed takes us back to the important era, which, while it forms a sort of commencement of our civil history, brought the University also up on to a new stage of its existence. Only ten years had passed after the troubles attendant on the conquest, in which Oxford largely partook, when we find signs of returning peace, religion and learning in that city. The Castle Tower, which still is seen on the left hand of the road by travellers leaving for Bath or Cheltenham, belonged to the collegiate Church of St. George, and was founded at that date by Robert d'Olley for secular canons of the order of St. Augustine, being such, (observes Wood,) as were "most fit for a University, and not bound to keep their cloister, as regulars are." Here they continued till their translation to Oseney in 1149, "at which time," says the same writer, "this their said habitation became a nursery for secular students, subject to the chancellor's jurisdiction." Brumman le Riche endowed this same Church of St. George's, on its first foundation, with land in the northern suburbs of Oxford; whence, as Dr. Ingram supposes, came the tradition that the University was anciently on that side of the town. Thus established as a scho'astic institution, St. George continued, as a dependency of Oseney Abbey, till the dissolution of the latter, being governed by statutes similar in some respects to those of more recent colleges, and consisting of a warden, fellows, and scholars. The warden was always to be chosen from the canons of Oseney; the fellows and scholars were sworn to the performance of divine service, and to obedience to the warden and to a life of charity and purity. There were five secular priests, and the scholars were in number twelve, for the most part Welshmen. Such was the record of the earliest scholastic foundations of Oxford, being situated on a spot originally a palace, and now a gaol.

Oseney Abbey—Augustinian Canons.

Since Oseney has been mentioned, it may be allowed us to bestow a few words of notice on this celebrated foundation, though it lies somewhat off the line of University history. It was founded, as we have said, in the early part of the 12th century, where the castle now stands, as a priory of Augustinian canons; and, when it had removed to the adjacent isle of Oseney, so many benefactions poured in, that the priory became an abbey, and ultimately one of the largest and most magnificent in the kingdom. From the great extent and splendor of its buildings, Wood says, "it was one of the first ornaments and wonders of this place and nation." The island, on which

It was placed, was one of those formed by the winding branches of the Ouse or Isis, whence it derived its name of Osney. The church, dedicated, as St. Frideswide's, to St. Mary the Virgin, was lofty, and was adorned with two towers; its bells were celebrated as the best in England in those times, and are those known in Dean Aldrich's time and in our own, as "the merry Christ Church bells." The famous Tom of Oxford, which tolls nightly at nine o'clock, was the bell in the clock-tower. The edifice was enriched with a variety of chape's, having not less than twenty-four distinct altars. The abbot's house was also celebrated for its splendor and was frequently honored by the company of kings, high prelates, and nobles of the first rank; having a hall, as a writer describes it, "more befitting a common society than a private man." The cloisters, the kitchen, the great hall, and the infirmary, were on a corresponding scale of magnificence. King Henry III., after he had raised the siege of Kenilworth, passed his Christmas here, celebrating the season for seven days' space, "with great revelling and mirth." Of all these gorgeous buildings scarcely a vestige now remains; and, had not a knowledge of the site been preserved by tradition and the diligence of antiquarians, it could not from the face of the land have been conjectured. Some unevenness in a broad and fertile meadow marks the site of the great quadrangle; and a wall, gate, and window, belonging to its outbuildings, are still standing, near a mill which inherits its name. Its church bells, its sole extant memorial, were transferred, as we have said, together with its endowments, to Christ Church at the date of the Reformation.

Benedictine Colleges.

The schools of which we have already spoken, were situated on the banks of the Thames: but now, receding from the river, we must proceed up the rising ground to the north, to the spot occupied by the present Worcester College where lay the land with which le Riche endowed the Church of St. George. Here was the great Benedictine College, founded by John Giffard, Baron of Brimesfield, in 1283, for the reception of the novices sent from the Benedictine Abbey at Gloucester. In the original documents connected with this place, its site is much extolled for its suitableness to an abode for study; a consideration which seems to have induced Giffard to enlarge his establishment in order to be a "studium generale" for all the Benedictine youths in the province of Canterbury; three fourths of such novices being, it is said, at that time sent to Oxford, and the remainder to Cambridge. The Benedictines were then, as in later times, a learned body of men, as their founder designed; and, a tax being imposed at a general chapter of the order on their greater abbeys, buildings adequate to the occasion quickly rose. Those belonging to each community were distinct from each other, and distinguished each by appropriate escutcheons and rebuses over the doors, some of which remain to this day. The students were governed by a superior called "Prior Studentium," chosen by themselves, by a rule similar to that which is still nominally observed in the University, as regards the election of the Principals of Halls. About the year 1343 we find two chairs of theology established for their instruction, one in this establishment, and the other at Durham College.

Thus we are introduced to a sister foundation. Durham College was the seminary of the Benedictine priory at Durham. It was founded about 1286, under a grant of land made "to God, and to our Lady, and to St. Cuthbert, and to the prior and convent of Durham," and it was placed, not far from Gloucester College, on about the present site of Trinity. Several bishops of Durham became the benefactors of the foundation, among whom Richard Angervyle, or de Bury, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, left them

his great collection of books, which was to be open for the use of all students. The building erected to receive this collection by his immediate successor, still remains; and there are those among the living generation of Trinity men, who, though not Benedictine novices, were gainers in their undergraduate days by a like liberality on the part of the College, and associate a summer vacation, long past, with the calm recesses of its library. At the end of the thirteenth century the foundation consisted of eight fellows, who were to be priests or monks, one being warden or prior, and eight secular scholars; at the time of the great religious revolution of the sixteenth century, it was, with other regular houses, suppressed, and its revenues transferred to the new dean and chapter of Durham.

School Street—Precursors of three Colleges.

The institutions, and the schools connected with them, which we have hitherto described, were of a monastic character, richly endowed, and situated in the suburbs of the town, as becoming places of retirement and of dignity. But meanwhile inside the town, and without the advantages resulting from the power and wealth of Augustinians or Benedictines, was growing up a distinct family, as it may be called, of schools,—secular schools as the former were claustral, which were the germ out of which the collegiate system was afterwards formed. There is a spot in the centre of the city, where Alfred is said to have lived, and which may be called the birth-place or fountain-head of three societies still existing, University College, Oriel, and Brasenose. Brasenose claims to preserve the memory of his palace, Oriel of his church, and University of his school or academy.

(1.) Of these Brasenose is still called in its formal style "the king's hall," which is the name by which Alfred himself in his laws calls his palace; and it has its present singular title from a corruption of *brasinium* or *brasin-huse*, as originally occupying that part of the royal mansion which was devoted to the purposes of brewing.

(2.) The history of the adjacent church, which has belonged to Oriel College for the more than 500 years which have elapsed since its foundation, is a sort of repetition of what had already taken place in the instance of Frideswide's. A convent of women had been the beginning of the first schools, and of a church of St. Mary, on the banks of the Thames; and a convent, though a little way out of Oxford, was closely associated with the later schools, out of which came the present Colleges, and with a second St. Mary's in the heart of the place. The liberty of Littlemore lies on an elevated plain, two or three miles from Oxford. Of old it was covered with woods, and is bounded by a brook which joins the Thames. Situated upon this brook, even in Saxon times, was a Benedictine nunnery, which was rebuilt after the conquest, and the remains of which still bear the Saxon name of Mynchery. What was its original connection with Oxford does not appear; but for some reason or other, the church which Alfred is said to have built on the site of the present University Church, and is spoken of as "St. Mary's," in the Domesday survey, is known to have been dedicated to "our Lady of Littlemore." This Church, it is supposed, Alfred made the nucleus, or at least it was in fact the starting point, of a large collection of schools, both claustral and especially secular. They ran from the west end of the Church, at right angles to it, and towards the north, flanking "the king's Hall of Brasenose," as we have described it, in a long street, called School Street, which reached the northern wall of the city, that is, up to the present Broad Street. These schools were large rooms, which either were integral portions of the several halls or inns for students, situated in the street, or were first-floors over tradesmen's shops, and were dependencies on monastic

bodies in the neighborhood. Among the latter the convent of Littlemore had a place; besides possessing the ancient hall, now called St. Alban's, and then Nun Hall, to the south of the Church, it had schools in the street just mentioned, which were called after the name of St. Mary of Littlemore.

By permission of the Crown, to whom, till the foundation of Oriel, the Church of St. Mary belonged, as many as six of its chapels or chantries were used as schools for public acts and degrees, being assigned to separate Faculties. The public library, erected over a chapel of Henry I., still remains, and is the present law school. The foundation of Oriel seems to have the beginning of a change. A new church was projected to the south of the old building. Adam de Brom, rector of the Church, and first founder of Oriel, began, or at least completed, its tower; the chancel was built by a provost of Oriel in the middle of the fifteenth century; and the nave and aisle by the University at the end of it.

The same causes which led to the erection of the Church, led also to the contemplation of schools, worthy of a great University. They were withdrawn from the chapels of St. Mary's, and from the halls of School street, and gradually brought together at its upper end, on their present site. Of the existing buildings the beautiful Divinity School was not finished till towards the end of the fifteenth century, nor the quadrangle before the time of James I. In the interval between these dates a remarkable instance occurred of the vicissitudes to which the abodes of learning are exposed. The ordinary exercises and scholastic acts in the University being suspended during the religious troubles of Edward VI.'s reign, the present ante-chapel, as it may be called, of the Divinity School was converted into a garden and pig-market; and the schools themselves, being abandoned by the masters and scholars, were occupied by glovers and laundresses.

(3.) The claim of University College to be the identical school, hall, or inn which Alfred instituted, is recognized in an order of Parliament as early as 1334, and in licenses of mortmain and other grants from the Crown in the reigns of Henry IV. and VI., Elizabeth and James I.; moreover, it is indirectly but distinctly confirmed in a judgment of the Court of King's Bench in 1736. As far, however, as the question is an historical one, this only can be said for it,—that the bequest of the founder of the College in the thirteenth century was laid out in getting possession of the Brasenose or Brasin-huse with its schools, which has already been described as Alfred's palace; near which the members of the College resided for about eighty years, when they seem to have removed to their present site.

St. Frideswide's Priory, St. George's Church, the Abbey of Osney, the establishments for the Gloucester and Durham Benedictines have gone their way; but Christ Church is a magnificent monument to the memory of the abbots and canons regular whom it has succeeded; Trinity College occupies the place of Durham, and Worcester the buildings of Gloucester; St. John's is a revival of a Cistercian establishment, founded on its site in the fifteenth century, and Wadham has risen amid the ruins of a foundation of Augustines in the thirteenth, whose disputative powers were kept in memory in the exercises of the University schools down to 1800.*

* The practice of holding disputations *apud Augustinæ*, colloquially called "doing Austins," continued down to the introduction of the new examination statute. They were held in the school of Natural Philosophy, every Saturday in full term; and every B.A., after his Lent determination, was bound to dispute there once every year, either as opponent or respondent, before he could proceed to his Master's degree.

II. DOCUMENTARY PERIOD.

As both Oxford and Cambridge are collegiate universities—universities of colleges—universities in which the collegiate feature or residence in communities with corporate powers and resources for a certain class or portion of the members, extended by degrees to all the members as belonging to one house or school, we will group together in one chapter the historical development of the colleges in both universities.

Hostels, or Lodging houses.

Prior to the establishment of Colleges with corporate powers and provision for its members (each, a master, fellows, and sizars) there had sprung up the Hostel—a lodging-house under the rule of a principal, where students resided at their own cost. Mulligan cites a recently discovered statute (of an early date) respecting the hire and tenure of these boarding-houses, which we give below:

If any one desire to have the principalship of any hostel in said university, he must come to the landlord of the said hostel on St. Barnabas the Apostle's day (June 11); for from that time up to the nativity of the blessed Mary (Sept. 8) cautions [money or other pledges] may be offered and received, and at no other time of the year.

Moreover, the first by priority is the first by legal right, and therefore he who first offers the caution to the landlord of the house, his caution shall stand, and that same caution must be preferred in the presence of the chancellor.

Moreover, the scholar who is to give the caution must come in person to the landlord of the hostel, on the aforesaid day or within [the above named] period, but the sooner the better, and in the presence of a bedell or a notary, or of two witnesses, produce his caution, giving effect thereto, if he be willing; by effect is intended either a *cautio fidejussoria* or *pignoratitia*, that is, two sureties, or a book or something of the kind; and if he be not admitted the same scholar is forthwith to repair to the chancellor and produce his caution in the presence of the afore said witness and say in what way the landlord of the hostel has refused him in the matter of the acceptance of the caution; and this having been proved, the chancellor shall immediately admit him on that caution and to that principalship notwithstanding the refusal of the proprietor.

Moreover, he who is a scholar and the principal of any hostel may not give up possession or renounce his right in favor of any fellow-student, but to the landlord of the hostel only.

Moreover, cessions of this kind are forbidden, because they have proved to the prejudice of the landlord of the hostel, which ought not to be.

Moreover, if any one be principal of a hostel and any other scholar desire to occupy the same hostel as principal, let him go to the landlord of the hotel and proffer his caution, as above directed, with these words: "Landlord, if it please thee, I desire to be admitted to the principalship of the hostel in such and such a parish, whensoever the principal is ready to retire or to give up his right, so that I may first, as principal (*principalter*) succeed him, if you are willing, without prejudice to his right thereto, so long as he shall be principal." If he do not agree, thou mayest produce thy caution before the chancellor that he may admit thee on the condition that whenever there shall be no principal thou mayest be master and mayest succeed him (the former principal) in the same hostel rather than any one else; and the chancellor shall admit these even against the wish of the landlord and that of the principal.

Moreover, if any landlord shall say to any scholar, "Dost thou desire to be principal of this mine hostel?" and the scholar answer "Yes," but the landlord says that he does not wish that the hotel should be taxed in any way, and the scholar says he does not mind, and enters into occupation as principal and receives scholars to share the hostel with him,—those same scholars may go to the chancellor and have their hostel taxed, contrary to the wish of both the landlord and the principal, and notwithstanding the agreement between the landlord and the principal, inasmuch as agreements between private persons cannot have effect to the prejudice of public rights.

Moreover, no one is to deprive any principalship or to supplant him, in any fashion, so long as he pays his rent, or unless the landlord desire himself to be the occupier, or shall have sold or alienated the hostel.

Ayliffe, in "*Antient and Present State of Oxford*," records [1730] as follows: In Oxford in 1354, on the Feast of St. Scholastica, February 10th, "several Scholars going to a Tavern then called *Sweyndestock*, and in some modern Deeds *Seynstock* (but lately known by the Name of the *Mermaid*), at *Cairfax* ['Quartervois' or *Carfax*], and being served with bad Wine, order'd the Vintner [John de Croydon] to change the same for better, and for his sawey Language they broke his Head with the Flagon; who thereon went and laid the matter of his Grief before his Servants and some of his Neighbours." They rejoiced to have a good occasion for a fray, and rang the bell of St. Martin's to summon the Townsmen, who fell upon the Scholars and even the Chancellor, Humphrey de Charleton. By his orders S. Mary's bell was tolled, and the Scholars then "defended themselves till Night parted them, without any Mischief done on either side." Next morning the Chancellor issued proclamation that both sides should lay down their arms, but the Townsmen going to the *Austin* Schools "assaulted a D.D. in his Determination; together with his Auditory, and then by the means of an Ambuscade of 80 Persons plac'd in St. Giles's Church, they surrounded the Students in the Fields called the *Beaumonts*, and soon put them to flight, being without Arms, some getting into the *Austin* Convent, and others into the City, with the loss of one slain, and others miserably wounded."

The Scholars were much harassed, and many of their Hal's burnt, priests insulted, and all the friars' crosses overthrown, the peasants having been induced to break open the city gates, which had been shut against them. A royal proclamation restored peace; and the authorities were summoned to appear before K. Edward III. at Woodstock. The bishop of Lincoln (John Gynewell), in whose diocese it then was, put Oxford under an interdict to be published every Sunday and holyday. All the scholars went into rustication, with the exception of those of Merton. But having surrendered their privileges to the king, they returned by degrees, and were exhorted by him to resume their studies regularly; for, "as it is said to have formerly happen'd at *Athens*, on a Quarrel of the like Nature, between the Scholars and Citizens; where the Sophists, on refusal to do any publick Exercises, taught the Youth in their private Houses; even so here were the Scholars altogether instructed in private for some time, until the King publicly open'd the Mouths of the Lecturers; and, for an Encouragement, now granted to them the most ample Charter yet obtain'd, containing many antient and modern privileges, some of which were taken away from the City and conferr'd on the University."

In 1357 the bishop took off the Interdict on condit on "That the City on St. Scholastica's Day, should celebrate so many Masses at the City's Expence, for the Souls of the Scholars and others kill'd in this Tumult: Others say that the Mayor and Bailiffs, with 60 of the chief Burgesses, were obliged on that Day at St. Mary's, to swear Observance of the customary Rights of the University, unless they have a Cause of Absence to be approv'd by the Vice-Chancellor; and also, at their own Costs, there to say Mass by a Deacon or Subdeacon, for the Souls of the slain: and it was further ordered that the said Number of Citizens should after Mass ended, singly offer up a Penny at the high Altar, of which forty Pence was to be distributed to Poor Scholars, and the Residue to the Curate of St. Mary's." As long as this was performed the City was exempt from their engagement to pay 100 marks, "till Q. Elizabeth's Reign, when the Scholars impleaded them in the Summ of 1,500 Marks for omitting the same for 15 Years, by reason of a Prohibition to celebrate Mass according to the Tenor of the said Agreement: wherefore it was order'd by the Privy Council, that instead of the Mass on this Day, there should be a Sermon and Communion at this Church, with the aforesaid Offering, and at length this came only to publick Prayers, with the Oblation of sixty Pence as now in Use.

Fuller enumerates not less than thirty-four hostels in Cambridge, which were absorbed in the Colleges before 1500. Of these some were denominated from the saint to which they were dedicated, as St. Margaret, St. Nicholas; some from the vicinage of the church to which they were adjoined, as St. Mary's, &c.; some from the material, the Tiled Hostel; some from those who built or possessed them, as Borden's, Rud's, &c. At Oxford the Hostels, Inns, and Halls were still more numerous, and were gradually absorbed first in the Religious Houses, and finally in the Secular Colleges.

RELIGIOUS AND MENDICANT ORDERS.*

We will speak briefly of the Religious and Mendicant Orders whose very existence is collegiate, and whose connection with the universities determined for centuries their instruction and influence.

The Benedictines appeared in 596, and established their first house at Westminster in 616; the Cluniacs in 1077; the Cistercians in 1128; the White Canons (*Augustinians*) in 1140; the Gilbertines in Lincolnshire in 1150; the Carthusians in 1181, the Dominicans established their first house in 1231, and the Franciscans in 1224.

The relations of the Mendicant Orders to the universities was decided in the contest between them and the Doctors of the University at Paris, who had cordially welcomed them in 1231, but denied in 1231 their right to teach publicly. This denial was reversed by Pope Alexander IV. in 1257, when Thomas Aquinas, of the Dominican Order, and Bonaventura of the Franciscan Order, received the cap of the Doctors of Theology from the Canon of Notre Dame, Chancellor of the University of Paris. In this triumph all the religious orders devoted to study were authorized to share; and henceforward for several centuries these orders located in the vicinity of the schools of the different universities to receive students into their protection, as well as to give instruction in schools of their own.

The collegiate systems seem to have arisen in consequence of the irregularities and disorders of University life, when it had lost the checks which a religious rule originally provided. When literature, no longer confined within the precincts and discipline of a monastery, wandered forth into the halls and chambers of School Street, and dispersed itself among a hundred separate circles, what was to be expected as its lot but confusion and trouble? During the first part of the thirteenth century the disorders consequent upon such free trade in letters, reached their height, and what aggravated their seriousness was the almost incredible number of students whom the reputation of the place attracted thither. . . . Serious quarrels and tumults between hostile parties were also frequent, of which loss of life was no uncommon issue. Moreover, the buildings themselves, in which the students were lodged, were of a wretched and unsafe character. Fires were frequent; this led to the citizens building with stone and slate, instead of timber and thatch; and when they could not afford this expense, they raised a high stone wall between every fourth or sixth house, remains of which are still to be seen. But the institutions, which came in with the middle of the thirteenth century, brought a remedy for both the physical and moral evils of the place. To Walter de Merton, the founder of Merton College (A.D. 1264), is commonly attributed the introduction of the collegiate system; and to William of Wykeham, the founder of New, in the latter part of the following century, the praise of establishing it in buildings of suitable splendor and solidity. The two combined present the form into which the present University is almost or altogether cast.

* For a comprehensive survey of the Religious and Teaching Orders of the Catholic Church, see Volumes XXIV. and XXVI. of *Barnard's American Journal of Education*—consult Index.

The great Religious Houses of the Benedictines, the Augustinians, the Dominicans, and Franciscans, after sheltering the studious youth of the realm residing away from their families, for centuries, from the exposures of Hostels, Inns, and Halls, in which there was no domestic life, and little rule or supervision, fell from internal dissensions, and departures by their own officers and members from the spirit and principles of their foundations. But in these picturesque ruins the student of civilization still finds an interest, because in these cloisters the expiring lamp of learning was for centuries kept alive, and by their brethren was knowledge disseminated in Church and State. From the Benedictine Abbey of Evesham, Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury in 1234, passed to the house of the Order in Oxford, and when his training was completed at Paris, opened a school of his own on the spot now occupied by St. Edmund's Hall. Under his general rule: "Study as if you were to live forever, live as if you were to die to-morrow," were educated several of the most influential men of their age, and among them Robert Grosseteste, the learned Bishop of Lincoln, who invited the Franciscans to Oxford, read lectures in their schools, and induced Adam Marsh (Adam de Marisco) and Roger Bacon to enter the order.

Roger Bacon, b. 1214—d. 1294.

Roger Bacon, one of the most eminent members of the Franciscan Order at Oxford, was born in Ilchester, in 1214. He studied at Oxford and Paris, where he received the degree of Doctor of Theology. On his return he settled at Oxford, in the Franciscan Order. Of his career Mulligan remarks:

The writings of Roger Bacon have a value of an almost unique kind. They not only give us an insight into the learning of the age, such as is afforded by the writings of no other Englishman in the thirteenth or the succeeding century, but they also supply us with that most assuring of all corroborations in our estimate of a remote and obsolete culture—the concurring verdict of a contemporary observer. When the Oxford friar denounces the extravagance, the frivolity, and the shortcomings of his time, we feel less diffident lest our own impressions may be chiefly those of mere prejudice and association; and in bringing to a termination our sketch of this era, we can scarcely do better than record the conclusions wherein his penetrating intellect has summed up its stern indictment, as his eagle glance ranged over the domain of knowledge, and noted with what caprice, what perversity, what blindness, the laborers yet tilled, planted, and essayed to gather fruit on an ungrateful soil, while all around them broad and fertile acres stretched far and wide, or faded from the gaze on the dim and distant horizon. It was in the year 1267 that Bacon completed those three treatises which he had, in obedience to the wishes of his patron, Pope Clement IV., drawn up in illustration of his views, and which, known as the *Opus Majus*, the *Opus Minus*, and the *Opus Tertium*,* are still extant, and constitute so remarkable a monument of his genius. It is from these writings, together with two other treatises written at a later period, that we gain an insight into the actual education of the time, such as we should vainly seek elsewhere; and as the writer views with scornful impartiality the errors and defects of the prevailing methods, we seem rather to hear the voice of his great name sake, speaking from the vantage ground of three additional centuries, than that of a humble friar of the days of Henry III. His censure falls alike upon Dominican and Franciscan; upon Aquinas and his method—

* The three treatises by Bacon, with the assumed dates of their composition, are, (a) *Opus Majus* (edited by Dr. Jebb, 1733); (b) *Opus Minus* (extant only as a fragment); (c) *Opus Tertium* (intended as a preface to the two former), composed 1266-67, in compliance with the request of Pope Clement IV.; (d) *Compendium Studii Philosophici* 1271; (e) *Compendium Studii Theologici* (still in manuscript), 1282. The asterisk denotes the treatises included in Professor Brewer's edition of the Rolls series.

wherein he can only see philosophy aspiring to usurp the province of theology—and upon Alexander Hales, to whom the true thought of Aristotle had never been known, and whose writings, he notes with satisfaction, are already falling into neglect; upon the superstitious reverence yielded to the Sentences while the Scriptures were neglected and set aside; on the errors of the Vulgate, the false Aristotle, the neglect of science, the youth and inexperience of those from whom the ministers of the Church were recruited, and the overweening attention given to the study of the civil law as the path to honor and emolument.

But Bacon was no mere iconoclast; and while he severely scrutinized existing defects he was not less explicit in the remedies he advocated. Logic was, indeed, to be dethroned, but its place was to be filled by two other studies, which he regarded as the portals to all knowledge, the study of language and the study of mathematics. To the prevailing ignorance of the original tongues he ascribes the confusion then so rife in theology and philosophy. The earliest revelation to man had been handed down in the Hebrew tongue; the thought of Aristotle was enshrined in Greek; that of Avicenna, in Arabic. How important, then, that these languages should be thoroughly known! And yet, he affirms, though there are many who can speak these languages, there is an almost utter ignorance of them in their grammatical structure. "There are not four men among all the Latins," he writes, "who know the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Arabic tongues grammatically. I know what I say, for I have instituted rigorous inquiry, both at home and abroad, and have gone to considerable pains in the matter."

It is to mathematics, however, that he assigns the foremost place. Divine Mathesis, and she alone, can purge the intellectual vision, and fit the learner for the acquirement of all knowledge. As for the implied non-approval of the study, which, as some would have it, had been conveyed in the silence of the fathers, he urges that in the early days of the Church mathematics were almost unknown, and consequently could scarcely have been either condemned or approved; but, so far as any evidence existed to show, had not Isidorus carefully discriminated between the use and abuse of the science, in the distinction he had drawn between the study of astronomy, and that of astrology or magic! The uses of logic cannot, he insists, compare with those of mathematical or linguistic studies, for though its terminology is a matter of acquirement in the language which we speak, the reasoning faculty is itself innate, and, as Aristotle had himself admitted, even the uneducated syllogize. Amid the many disappointments which befel him in his troublous career, Bacon was yet spared from foreseeing how completely his estimate would, in a few years, be set aside at Oxford, and how long language and mathematics would be doomed to wait without her gates while logic reigned supreme within.

And yet there were grounds for hope in the events that were going on around him; for at the time that these three treatises were written, there had already been founded at Oxford an institution, to which indeed we find no reference in his writings, but which we cannot but suppose must have suggested to him a coming age when learning should be set free from petty obstructions and vexations like those that haunted his Franciscan cell. The walls of Merton College were already reared,* and though his soul would have been but little gladdened could it have descried, in the future, Duns Scotus descending to breathless audiences on the mysteries of the *intentio secunda*, he might have derived some solace could he have foreseen the work of Occam and Wyclif.

*The earliest college foundation at Oxford appears really to have been University College, founded by William of Durham, who, dying in 1249, bequeathed £310 mark for the support of poor scholars. His bequest remained unapplied for many years, during which interval Merton College was founded.

WALTER DE MERTON, 1200-1277, AND THE COLLEGE SYSTEM.

Walter de Merton, the founder of the collegiate system at Oxford, was born about 1200, studied at Oxford, and was in Holy Orders in 1237. Having been the King's clerk and prothonotary, he was called to the office of Chancellor of England in 1260, and made Bishop of Rochester in 1274. He founded a religious house in his manor of Malden in Surrey in 1264, for the perpetual sustentation of twenty scholars dwelling at Oxford, or "wheresoever else learning shall happen to flourish," and also for the maintenance of a warden and three or four ministers of the Altar, who were to live in the house together with lay brethren or bailiffs, whose business was to cultivate the property. The society belonged to none of the religious orders, the community were not bound by monastic vows, nor were the students compelled to take Holy Orders. In 1270 he ordained that the warden and ministers of the Altar should be removed to Oxford, leaving the estates to be managed by the bailiffs, under the control of the warden and scholars, and excluding the priests; and in order that the property and entire dominion of the possessions and manors of the house, whether ecclesiastical or secular, might be clearly shown to belong to the scholars, his statutes provide that once in each year the stewards and bailiffs should surrender their keys to the senior or vice-warden, and that a diligent inquiry should be instituted by the vice-warden and scholars into the life, conduct, and morals of the warden, stewards, and brethren. His statutes were revised and confirmed in 1274, and became the model on which all the earlier colleges at Oxford and Cambridge were framed—monastic so far as a common life, governed by statutes, under a common head, and protected from all external interference except that of its lawful visitor, but its members were not bound by vows to a religious life. The aid and privileges of a fellow or scholar was a fixed sum, to be diminished by absence, and not to be increased by any surplus incomes of the estates. The rule of life included attendance at chapel, for which two chaplains were provided; common meals, at which the Bible was to be read by one of two Bible clerks, the use of the library, and command of the services of four poor boys, in training for scholars, called *postionistes*.

Statutes of Merton College.

The first broad fact that challenges our attention in these statutes is the restriction whereby "no religious person," *nemo religiosus*, is to be admitted on the foundation—a provision which it may be well to place beyond all possible misapprehension. In those times, it is to be remembered, there existed only two professions: the church and the military life; the *religiæ* life, whether that of the monk or the friar, was a renunciation of the world; the former withdrawing from all intercourse with society, the latter disavowing any share in worldly wealth, and both merging, as it were, their individual existence in their corporate life. Such were the two classes whom Walter de Merton sought to exclude. It was his design to create a seminary for the Church, and he accordingly determined to place it beyond the power of either monks or friars to monopolize his foundation and convert it to their exclusive purposes. All around him, at Oxford, were to be seen the outward signs of their successful ambition; the Benedictine priory of St. Frideswide, the Augustinian Canons at Osney, the Franciscans in St. Ebbe's, the Dominicans in the Jewry, St. John's Hospital, where Magdalen College was one day to stand, the Augustinian Friars, on the future site of Wadham, the Carmelites, and the Friars de Penitencia. He might well think that enough had been done for the recluse and the mendicant, and that something might now be attempted on behalf of those who were destined to return again into the world, to mingle with its affairs as fellow-citizens, and to influ-

ence its thought and action by their acquired learning. On the other hand, it would be erroneous to infer that Merton College was originally anything more than a seminary for the Church, though such a limitation loses all its apparent narrowness when we consider that the clergy at this period included all vocations that involved a lettered and technical preparation.

The restriction of Merton College to the clergy cannot consequently be held to have excluded any of those professions that possess a *curriculum* at either Oxford or Cambridge at the present day. Considerable stress has indeed been laid on the extent to which the monastic mode of life was reproduced in the discipline imposed upon our colleges, but a very slight examination of the early statutes is sufficient to show that such an approximation was simply for the purposes of organization and economy; the essential conception of the college was really anti-monastic, and its limitation to those designed for the clerical profession was simply a necessary consequence of the fact that the activity of the Church embraced all the culture of the age.

The next important feature is the character of the culture which the founder designed should predominate among the scholars. It was his aim to establish a "constant succession to scholars devoted to the pursuits of literature," "bound to employ themselves in the study of arts or philosophy, theology or the canon law;" "the majority to continue engaged in the liberal arts and philosophy until passed on to the study of theology, by the decision of the warden and fellows, and as the result of meritorious proficiency in the first-named subjects." The order in which the different branches are here enumerated may be regarded, as is the case with all the early college statutes, as significant of the relative importance attached by the founder to the different studies. The canon law is recognized, but the students in that faculty are expressly limited to four or five; to the civil law even less favor is shown, for the study is permitted only to the canonists, and as ancillary to their special study, *pro utilitate ecclesiastici regimini*, and the time to be devoted to it is made dependent on the discretion of the warden. A judicious remedy for the prevailing ignorance of grammar is provided by a clause requiring that one of the fellows, known as the *grammaticus*, shall devote himself expressly to the study, and directing that he shall be provided with all the necessary books, and shall regularly instruct the younger students, while the more advanced students are to have the benefit of his assistance when occasion may require. It is to be noted that English as well as Latin enters into his province of instruction.

It is significant of the founder's intention that only real students should find a home within the walls of Merton, that another statute provides that all students absenting themselves from the schools on insufficient grounds shall be liable to corresponding deductions in respect of their scholarships, and even in cases where proper diligence in study is not shown, the authorities are empowered to withhold the payments of the usual stipends. There is also another regulation, perhaps the only one of any importance which may not, in some form or other, be found embodied in the rule of subsequent foundations, providing that a year of probation is to precede the admission of each scholar as a permanent member of the society.

"We do not conceive," says Walter de Merton's biographer, in summing up his estimate of these statutes, "that there need remain any doubt that the particular benefit which the founder designed to confer on the Church was the improvement of his own order, the secular priesthood, by giving them first a good elementary, and then a good theological, education, in close connection with a university, and with the moral and religious training of a scholar-family living under rules of piety and discipline.

them first a good elementary, and then a good theological education, in close connection with a university, and with the moral and religious training of a scholar-family living under rules of piety and discipline.

Within the walls of Merton were trained the minds that chiefly influenced the thought of the fourteenth century. It was there that Duns Scotus was educated; it was there that he first taught. Thence too came William of Occam, the revolutionizer of the philosophy of his age, and Thomas Bradwardine, known throughout Christendom as the Doctor Profundus, whose influence might well vie even with that of the Doctor Invincible; Richard Fitzralph, the precursor of Wycklif; Walter Burley, Robert Holcot, Sir Thomas Bodley, founder of the great library which bears his name, Sir Henry Savile, Dr. Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood, and a host of other names of not inferior fame. The terraced garden, the old quadrangle, the library, and cathedral-like church are all objects of interest. 'Who,' asks Dr. Johnson, 'does not feel emotion as he contemplates at leisure the magnificence which here surrounds him; pressing the same soil, breathing the same air, admiring the same objects which the Hookers, the Chillingworths, the Lowths, and a host of other learned and pious men have trodden, breathed, and admired before?'

University College, 1249.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, waving its traditions to a founder in King Alfred, and its claims as a royal foundation through this king, on a decision by the Court of King's Bench in 1726, has undoubted recognition by William, Archdeacon of Durham in 1249, who bequeathed certain moneys to the University of Oxford, to be invested for the maintenance of Masters [of Arts], who should be natives of Durham and its vicinity. Four masters took up their abode in a house purchased out of this bequest, in 1280, and called University Hall. The society of masters was recognized as the College of William of Durham in 1292. The various statutes enacted for its government, were superseded by a new code in 1786, by which Latin must be spoken in the Hall, and the Bible read during dinner. Attendance at chapel twice a day was required of all connected with the society. On the basis of the original provisions in 1249, made for natives of Durham and its vicinity, the two Scotts, Lord Stowell, and the Earl of Eldon, became members of the University. On the rolls of the college are the names of Sir William Jones, the Marquis of Hastings, William Wyndham, Dr. Radcliffe, and Sir Rodger Newdigate the founder of the English verse prize. Until the action of the University Commission of 1853, many absurd customs belonging to an obsolete state of society were observed—Masters and Fellows were required to attend Disputations; at Easter each member, as he leaves the hall, strikes with a cleaver at a block; and all the members are awakened in the morning by a violent hooting and yelling at the foot of each staircase.

Balliol College, Founded 1263 and 1282.

BALLIOL COLLEGE originated in a request of John de Balliol of Scotland, on his deathbed, of his wife Devorgilla, daughter of Alan of Galloway, to continue the bounty which he had bestowed since 1263 on a certain number of poor scholars at Oxford from Durham, by which he had commuted for a scourging at the doors of Durham Cathedral for some high-handed offense to the Benedictine Monastery. The original statutes of Devorgilla are dated in 1282—by which sixteen scholars were lodged in a house bought by her for this purpose, and are enjoined to attend divine services on festivals, and on other days to frequent the schools of the university. In 1284, other buildings were bought, and confirmed to Walter de Foderinghaye, the first master, and the scholars of Balliol college for ever. In the course of two centuries benefactions were added, other buildings were built, and the statutes were finally settled in 1504 by Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, on a basis which remained unchanged until the Oxford Univer-

sity Commission was appointed in 1878. The original statutes did not fetter election to its Headships, Fellowships, and Scholarships, and Visitor, to particular counties, or to next of kin, so that candidates have been selected for various positions on their own merits—and at present all scholarships are filled after open competitive examination—except students from Glasgow University, who must have attained to certain high scholarships there to enjoy the exhibitions founded by Mr. Snell and Bishop Warner. The Oxford Commissioners, in their Report (1852), remark that ‘Balliol, which is one of the smallest colleges as regards its foundation, is certainly at present the most distinguished. It has the ablest teachers, and the most successful body of students in all University competitions.’

Exeter College, Founded in 1314.

EXETER COLLEGE was founded in 1314 by Walter de Stapledon, Bishop of Exeter, who was promoted to this see in 1307, and who had previously supported thirteen poor scholars in Exeter, in one of the halls of that period. To his scholars he gave permission to elect their principal. By Pope Innocent VII., permission was given to Bishop Stafford, who had provided for additional scholars from his diocese of Salisbury, to revise the statutes and change the name to Exeter Hall, which by Queen Elizabeth was made a college in 1566, on the application of Sir William Petre, who added scholars. The growth of the college having been made by endowments for local scholarships, the benefit of a wide election by open competition was lost, and its immense resources did not secure reputation in proportion to the number of its fellowships and undergraduates, until a new policy was inaugurated in 1838. Among its graduates are the names of Secker, Frideaux, Dr. Bray, Earl of Shaftesbury, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and Sir John T. Coleridge.

Oriel College, Founded in 1324.

ORIEL COLLEGE was founded in 1324 by Adam de Brom, who was at the time Rector of St. Mary's, and procured from King Edward II. a charter for a college under the name of St. Mary's House. In the year following the king granted a new charter, following the provisions of that of Merton, and making Adam de Brom the first provost, who made several gifts, and among others, the advowson of St. Mary's church, on condition that the college should keep ‘four priests, to celebrate service in said church for ever.’ The name of Oriel came with the occupancy of a spacious mansion so called, acquired by the college of the chaplain of Queen Eleanor of Castile. The code of 1326, after having lain in abeyance for several centuries, was resumed in 1726, and continued to govern the society, with such modifications as suited the ease and emoluments of the Fellows, until 1358. The Report of the Commissioners of 1852 gives an abstract as follows:

‘There were to be ten scholars, or fellows, of good character, poor, and willing to study Theology; with a permission, however, for three to study Civil or Canon Law. A Superior, under the name of Provost, was to live in the house with them. They were to receive from the Provost twelvepence a week, so long as they were resident. In case of absence, except on college business, a rateable deduction was to be made. The number of Fellowships was to be increased with the increase of the revenues. The Provost and Fellows were to live at a common table in the hall, and the Scriptures were to be read during meals. A senior Fellow was to be placed in the chambers of the junior Fellows to report their conduct to the Provost. They were to behave quietly in their chambers, and to talk nothing but Latin or French. The harmony of the college was not to be disturbed by the introduction of relatives or strangers. The Fellows were to study Logic and Philosophy before Theology. They were to lose their Fellowships in case they took monastic vows, entered into service, obtained a rich benefice, or deserted study. There were to be three Chapter-days in the year, on which masses were to be said in St. Mary's church for the souls of King Ed-

ward II., King Edward III., Adam de Brom, and Bishop Burgash. The statutes were then to be read, and inquiry was to be instituted into the state of study in the college. New statutes might be made by the college, with consent of the Bishop of Lincoln. The Fellows were to swear obedience to these and all other statutes of the Bishop of Lincoln, and fidelity to the college.'

Queen's College, Founded in 1340.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE was founded in 1340 by Robert de Egglefield, confessor to Philippa, queen consort to Edward III., in whose honor it was called Queen's Hall, or the Hall of the Queen's Scholars. The object of the founder as set forth in his statutes was 'to defend the Catholic Faith, to adorn the Universal church, and tranquilize and instruct the minds of Christian people.' The society was to consist of a Provost and Fellows, who were ultimately to take Priests' Orders, and study, in every term, the Sentences and the Scriptures for eighteen years; a certain proportion, however, were to study Civil and Canon Law for thirteen years. Theological study was the main purpose of the institution, but there were other objects combined with it. First, for the sake of saying masses for the souls of King Edward III., Queen Philippa, the Founder and his family, and all benefactors, thirteen chaplains to be chosen and supported by the Fellows, were to celebrate mass in the chapel of All Saints within the precincts of the college, with solemn processions and anthems on great festivals. Secondly, a number of poor boys, bearing a certain proportion to the number of the Fellows, but so as not to exceed seventy-two, were to be maintained at the expense of the Provost and Fellows, and taught grammar, logic, and singing, by a grammarian and 'Artist,' chosen and paid for that purpose. These boys were to have their crowns neatly shaved, to be decently clothed, and to officiate as choristers in the chapel, and to receive their food bareheaded. They were to be removed from the college for neglect in study, but if they attained the Degree of M.A., they were to have a preference in elections to Fellowships. Thirdly, there was to be a daily supply of pottage, made up of beans and peas, with an admixture of wheat, barley, or oats, doled out at the college gates to the poor, besides other alms.

Residence was involved by the prescription of the thirteen or eighteen years' course of study. The Provost was never to be absent more than a month, except on college business. Poverty was secured by the injunctions that none but the poor were to be elected, and that the number of Fellows was to be increased with the increase of property, a contingency to which the Founder frequently alludes as in a high degree probable. The Fellows were to receive ten marks yearly. Of this eighteen pence a week was paid weekly for commons, and the rest for clothes. If absent on any other than college business, or at any other time than in the long vacation, they were to lose their commons, and a proportion of their allowances. A benefice or property of the annual value of ten marks was to vacate a Fellowship. The Provost was to have five marks beyond the portion of a Fellow. His emoluments were to rise with the increased labor involved in the increase of the number of Fellows, and to reach 40*l.* a year if that number should become forty or more. On no consideration were his emoluments to exceed this last sum. He might hold a benefice if it did not require residence. The Fellows were never to sleep out of college, except for a grave cause, or with permission of the Provost. Two Fellows at least were to sleep in the same room. The prohibition of archery within the walls, of chess, and dice, and of the keeping of hawks and hounds, found in many statutes, is here first mentioned. Dogs are forbidden on the express ground that it does not become those who live on alms to give to dogs the bread of man. Music is prohibited as disturbing study.

Magdalen College, Founded in 1448.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE, or the College of St. Mary Magdalen, together with Magdalen Hall, and the Magdalen Grammar School, Oxford, are all creations of Wil-

liam Patten, or Long, called Waynflete from the place of his birth—from 1448 to 1479, when he gave to the college the statutes by which it was governed for near four centuries. By the original constitution there were to be a Head (called president), 70 'poor and indigent scholars,' 12 chaplains, and 16 choristers. Of the 78 scholars, 30 were to be called *Demyes* (because they were to receive half the allowance made to the other part (called Fellows), which was from twelve to sixteen pence a week, according to the price of wheat. The President was to receive 40*l.* a year for himself and three servants. Any surplus was to be applied to the good of the college. An ampler allowance than above specified 'in any way or under any color,' was strictly forbidden under pain of perjury.

The *Demyes* were to study logic and grammar, and two were to be designated 'to write verses,' the first indication of a classical exercise which afterward became so prominent at Oxford. The Fellows must study theology and moral and natural philosophy. Evidence of good conduct, aptitude for study, and sufficient skill in chanting, are to be required both in Fellows and *Demyes*, who are to be elected from certain dioceses and counties. The Grammar school was open to poor boys—from all quarters.

No stranger could be lodged within the college without permission of the President, who could receive the sons of twenty noblemen, friends of the college, to be maintained at their own expense, and made guardians called *Oreaners*. The King of England and the Prince of Wales could with their suite lodge in the college whenever they pleased. In connection with his foundation, Waynflete founded three Lectureships of Divinity, Moral Philosophy, and Natural Philosophy, to instruct not only members of his own college, but the whole University—who were to be chosen from the best men who could be procured, and should succeed to vacancies in the Fellowships irrespective of place or birth.

The Fellows were all to proceed to the higher degrees, and (unless they studied Civil Law or Medicine) to take Priests' Orders within a year from the Degree of M.A. Disputations in Logic or Philosophy were to be usually conducted in the college hall, and disputations in Divinity in the nave of the college chapel. Daily private prayers, as well for themselves as for the souls of the Founder, his family, and four Kings of England, were enjoined upon all the Fellows and *Demyes*. On Sundays and holidays five services were to take place in chapel, with processions round the college cloisters, the President attired in a gray amice, and the graduate Fellows in surplices, and capes of fur or turned up with Chinese muslin. Masses for the souls of certain benefactors are to be celebrated daily. The garb of the Fellows is prescribed with great minuteness. They are commanded to walk 'with pricked ears,' according to the Holy Canons. They are not to walk out alone. The Bible was to be read in hall; only Latin is to be spoken there; and no lingering allowed after meals. The statutes were to be read, and 'scrutinies' into the conduct of the Fellows to take place, once a year. Such is a meager account of one of the most noble and rich academical societies in the world. Of it Macaulay writes:

'Magdalen college, founded by William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester and Lord Chancellor, is one of the most remarkable of our academical institutions. A graceful tower, on the summit of which a Latin hymn is usually chanted by choristers at the dawn of May Day, caught, far off, the eye of the traveler who came from London. As he approached, he found that the tower arose from an embattled pile, low and irregular, yet singularly venerable, which, embowered in verdure, overhung the sluggish waters of the Cherwell. He passed through a gateway overhung by a noble oriel, and found himself in a spacious cloister, adorned with emblems of virtues and vices rudely carved in graystone by the masons of the fifteenth century. The table of the society was plentifully spread in a stately refectory, hung with paintings, and rich with fantastic carving. The

services of the church were performed morning and evening in a chapel which had suffered much violence from the Reformers and much from the Puritans, but which was, under every disadvantage, a building of eminent beauty, and which has in our own time been restored with rare taste and skill. The spacious gardens along the river-side were remarkable for the size of the trees, among which towered conspicuous one of the vegetable wonders of the island, a gigantic oak, older by a century, men said, than the oldest college in the University.'

The statutes of the society ordained that the Kings of England and the Princes of Wales should be lodged in their house. Edward IV. had inhabited the building while it was still unfinished. Richard III. had held his court there, had heard disputations in the hall, had feasted there royally, and had rewarded the cheer of his hosts by a present of fat bucks from his forest. Two heirs-apparent of the Crown, who had been prematurely snatched away—Arthur, the elder brother of Henry VIII., and Henry, the elder brother of Charles I.—had been members of the college. Another prince of the blood, the last and best of the Roman Catholic archbishops, the gentle Reginald Pole, had studied there. In the time of the civil wars, Magdalen had been true to the cause of the crown; there Rupert had fixed his quarters, and before some of his most daring enterprises, his trumpet had sound to horse through those "quiet cloisters."

Christ Church—Founded in 745 to 1525.

If we look for the foundation of Christ Church College to the oldest of the institutions, which were merged in the grand conception and revenues of Cardinal College, as projected by Wolsey, we find its date in the Priory of St. Frideswide in 745, or the Cathedral Church of Prior Guimond commenced about 1190; both of which were included in the site of the new college. If we look to the Patent of King Henry VIII. authorizing Cardinal Wolsey to erect a college and appropriate the revenues of twenty-two monasteries, amounting to 3,000 ducats of gold, which had been suppressed by Pope Clement as no longer useful in their localities for religious purposes, we find its date in 1525; but as the magnificent design of the Lord High Chancellor of England and a Cardinal of the Church of Rome, and the princely revenues which he had assigned to his college, fell with their founder, this college is sometimes traced back only to the act of Henry VIII., who retained in part the plans of Wolsey, and declared himself the founder of the 'College of King Henry VIII.,' which he endowed with an annual revenue of £2,000, or about \$40,000 of our money, and dedicated to the Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary, and St. Frideswide. In 1545, the founder took the revenues back into his own hands, and erected the new bishopric of Oxford, the see of which he finally fixed in the Church of St. Frideswide; and, combining the chapter of his new cathedral with the governing body of the new college, re-established the college in 1546, under the name of the *Christ Church Cathedral in Oxford on the Foundation of Henry VIII.*, together with a Dean and eight Canons, to whom was granted the site of the previous college together with Canterbury College, founded by Archbishop Islip, and other property. To this grant was attached the obligation to pay certain stipends to eight minor canons [three of which were annexed to University Professorships—Divinity, Hebrew, and Greek, established by the King in 1540], eight chaplains, one schoolmaster, one usher, one gospeler, one postiler, two lay clerks, eight choristers, and sixty students. As the King died in the course of the next year without giving statutes for the government of his college, it has continued to be governed by orders of the Dean and Chapter. By successive endowments, exhibitions, scholarships, and annexations, this collegiate society has developed not into the magnificent conception of Cardinal College, but into a great institution, with grand buildings, spacious grounds, and a vast aggregate of paid scholarships and Fellowships, and not a very large per cent. of teaching usefulness, when measured by its revenues.

GREEK LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE AT OXFORD.

We read of the revival of Greek studies in England, but we do not find any reliable evidence that Greek ever constituted a subject of instruction in convent or school, or that even the more advanced scholars, by solitary reading or residence on the continent, had anything beyond a smattering of Greek literature prior to 1311, when the Council of Vienne ordered the establishment of professors in the Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Arabic languages, in the Universities of Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca. And for two hundred years afterwards there is no evidence that any officially recognized teacher gave instruction in Greek at Oxford. It was not till 1361 that a public teacher in this language was to be found in Italy,* and in 1395 Emanuel Chrysoloras opened a school in Florence, and his pupils, and those of Aurispa in 1423, Filadelfo in 1437, and Gaza about 1450, established schools or filled professorships in all the chief cities, until the love of the old classical studies absorbed the minds of Italian scholars.

William Selling, or Sellynge, b. 1420—d. 1490.

Among the earliest, if not the first, of those who in England caught from Italy the inspiration of the Grecian muse, was William Selling, a member of the recently founded and singularly exclusive foundation of All Souls', Oxford, and subsequently prior of the society of Christ Church, Canterbury. His own taste, which was naturally refined, appears in the first instance to have attracted him to the study of the Latin literature, and this, in turn, soon awakened in him a lively interest in the progress of learning in Italy. He resolved himself to visit the land that had witnessed so wondrous a revival, and having gained the permission of his chapter to travel—partly, it would seem, under the plea of adding to his knowledge of the canon and civil law,—lost no time in carrying his design into execution. At Bologna, it is stated, he formed the acquaintance of Politian, and forthwith placed himself under his instruction. From this eminent scholar he gained a knowledge of Greek, while his leisure was devoted, like that of William Gray,† to the collection of numerous manuscripts. On his return to England, Selling bequeathed these treasures to his own convent, and his acquirements in Greek, and genuine admiration for the Greek literature, became the germ of the study in England. His attainments as a scholar now led to his appointment as master of the conventual school at Canterbury, and among his pupils was Linaere. It was through his influence that Cornelius Vetellii, a fine classical scholar of noble birth, located at Oxford, and gave instruction in both Greek and Latin authors after the methods of the Italian masters.

Thomas Linaere, b. 1460—d. 1524.

THOMAS LINAERE, or LYNAKER, was born in Canterbury in 1460, where he received in the Conventual School under Selling, his first instruction in Greek; and when, at the age of twenty, he went up to All Souls', Oxford, it was with a stock of learning that, both as regards quality and quantity, differed considerably from the ordinary acquirements of an Oxford freshman in those days. In the year 1491 he was, like Selling (to whom he was probably related), elected to a fellowship at All Souls', and became distinguished

* An account of the restoration of Greek learning in Italy will be found in *Barnard's American Journal of Education*, vii., 436. See also Hallam's *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, I., 97. An account of Ruchlin, Wessel, Agricola, Hegius, and Melancthon will be found in *Barnard's Educational Reformers in Germany*. 1857. Revised edition. 1877. See also Mullinger's *University of Cambridge*, 1873.

† William Gray, according to Warton, who was made Bishop of Ely in 1454, employed at Venice and Florence many scribes and illuminators in preparing copies of the classics and other rare books which he gave to Balliol College. He was also aided by John Phron, an ecclesiastic of Bristol, in obtaining Greek manuscripts from the East, through Italian merchants who trafficked at Bristol.

for his studious habits. Like Calus Auberinus at Cambridge, there was at this time, at Oxford, a learned Italian of the name of Cornelius Vitelli; but while Auberinus taught only Latin, Vitelli could teach Greek. Linaere became his pupil, and his intercourse with the noble exile soon excited in his breast a longing to follow in the steps of his old preceptor. It so happened that Selling's acquirements as a scholar had marked him out for a diplomatic mission to the papal court, and he now gained permission for Linaere to accompany him on his journey. On his arrival in Italy, he obtained for his former pupil an introduction to Politian, at Florence, who was there, and divided the academic honors with Chalcondylas. After studying at Florence, where he was honored by being admitted to share Politian's instruction along with the young Medicean princes—Linaere proceeded to Rome. In the splendid libraries of that capitol he found grateful employment in the collating of different texts of classical authors,—many of them far superior in accuracy and authority to any that it had previously been his fortune to find. One day, while thus engaged over the *Phædo* of Plato, he was accosted by a stranger; their conversation turned upon the manuscript with which he was occupied, and from this casual interview sprang up a cordial and lasting friendship between the young English scholar and the noblest Italian scholar of the period—Hermolaus Barbarus. It became Linaere's privilege to form one of that favored circle, in whose company the illustrious Venetian would forget, for awhile, the sorrows of exile and proscription; he was a guest at those simple but delightful banquets, where they discussed, now the expedition of the Argonauts, now the canons for the interpretation of Aristotle; he joined in the pleasant lounge round the extensive gardens in the cool of the evening, and listened to the discussions on the dicta of Dioscorides respecting the virtues and medicinal uses of the plants that grew around. It seems in every way probable that, from this intercourse, Linaere derived both that predilection for the scientific writings of Aristotle for which he was afterwards so distinguished, and that devotion to the study of medicine which afterwards found expression in the foundation of the College of Physicians, and of the Linaere lectureship at Merton College, Oxford, and at St John's College, Cambridge. From Rome, Linaere proceeded to Padua, whence, after studying medicine for some months, and receiving the doctoral degree, he returned to England. His example, and the interest excited by his accounts at Oxford, proved more potent than the example of Selling. Within a few years three other Oxonians—William Grocyn, William Lily, and William Latimer—also set out for Italy, and, after there acquiring a more or less competent acquaintance with Greek, returned to their university to inspire among their fellow-academicians an interest in Greek literature.

William Grocyn, b. 1443—d. 1519.

WILLIAM GROCYN was born at Bristol, in 1442, and passed from Winchester school to New College, Oxford, where he became Divinity reader in Magdalen College, in 1489. In 1489 he was made Prebendary of Lincoln, which he resigned in 1498 to visit Italy to improve his knowledge of Greek, which he did under Chalcondylas and Politian. On his return, he taught Greek at Oxford in 1491, where this new learning had evoked an organized opposition under the name of *Trojans*. Here he became acquainted with Erasmus, in 1499, and assisted him in his study of Greek. He was master of Aristotle, and aided many students in their attempts to master the Greek language.

William Latimer, b. 1449—d. 1545.

WILLIAM LATIMER was educated in Oxford; became Fellow of All Souls' College in 1479; studied Greek at Padua, in Italy, and on his return was incorporated Master of Arts at Oxford in 1513; about which time he became

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tutor to Reginald Pole, who obtained for him the rectory of Saintburg, in Gloucestershire. He assisted Erasmus in the second edition of his New Testament. He died in September, 1545, with the reputation of one of the best Greek scholars of his age, and of having been instrumental in introducing its study into England.

William Lilly, b. 1468—d. 1533.

WILLIAM LILLY, whose name is identified with the introduction of Greek culture into England, and as the first master of one of its great historic schools, was born at Odiham, in Hampshire, about 1468. At eighteen he was admitted a *demy* of Magdalen College, Oxford. After taking his degree of bachelor, he travelled on the continent, spending five years in Rhodes, at that time the resort of many learned Greeks, with whom he lived on terms of scholarly familiarity. Before returning to England, he spent some time in linguistic studies under John Sulpitius and Pomponius Sabinus. In 1509 he opened a private school in London, in which he gave instruction in Greek. In 1512, on the recommendation of Erasmus and Sir Thomas More, he was made master of St. Paul's School, by Dean Colet, and gave it at once a reputation second to no other in the kingdom. His *Brevissima Institutio seu Ratic Grammatices Cognoscendae*, first printed in 1513, has been as widely used, and as long in the same schools, as any school book ever issued.

To the united efforts of these illustrious Oxonians, the study of Greek in England is undoubtedly to be attributed; but the individual claims of any one of the four to this special honor are not so easily to be determined. That Grocyne was the father of the new study, is in Stapleton's opinion incontestable, inasmuch as he was the first who publicly lectured at Oxford on the subject; 'if he who first publishes to the world the fruits of his studies,' says Johnson, 'merits the title of a restorer of letters above others, the award to Linacre will not be questioned;' while Polydore Virgil considers that Lilly, from his industry as a teacher, ought to be regarded as the true founder of a real knowledge of the language. In any award we can not ignore the claims of William Selling the teacher of Linacre, or Dean Colet, who was one of the earliest scholars to recognize the value of Greek learning, and to provide a place for Lilly in his school.

Dean Colet—Sir Thomas More.

The service rendered to the New Education by its recognition even by Dean Colet, in the original Constitution of his great school as one of the qualifications of its head master, and especially by the employment of one of the best Greek scholars of the age to inaugurate its studies, cannot be too highly estimated; and Sir Thomas More must not be forgotten in our even brief notice of its early friends. In a charming letter addressed to Colet, who had retired, for a season to the country, leaving his parish of Stepney to a curate, he writes:

"Dear Colet, either for Stepney's sake, which mourneth for your absence, no less than children do for the absence of their loving mother, or else for London's sake, in respect it is your native country, whereof you can have no less regard than of your parents; and finally, (though this be the least motive,) return for my sake, who have wholly dedicated myself to your directions, and do most earnestly long to see you. In the meantime, I pass my time with Grocine, Linacer, and Lillye; the first being, as you know, the director of my life in your absence; the second, the master of my studies; the third, my most dear companion."

GLIMPSES OF UNIVERSITY LIFE,* 1674-88.

Prideaux's Letters from Christ Church College.

In a letter to his friend Ellis, written in 1674, he speaks of the Bishop of Winchester's Commissioners, who had come to examine his colleges—Magdalen, New College, and Corpus. 'In town on (one) of their inquiries is whither any of the scholars of those colleges weare pantaloons, periwigues, or keep dogs; but which is most materiall is their inquiry wither any buy or sel places?' 'If,' he goes on, 'he can rectify this abuse, which is crept in at Magdalen's and New College, to the notorious scandale of the University, he will do us a considerable kindnesse, and gain himself much credit; but I thinke not that he is able soe for to provide against this in such a manner as those which have found out soe many tricks to cheat God Almighty and their own consciences, will not likewise have store of them to evade all his provisions, especially since they have the old politician Satan to helpe them out and their damd averice to entice them to harken to his counsel.' Pretty strong this against the Fellows of Magdalen and New College, who no more than the Fellows of All Souls—Prideaux's special aversion—or those of Balliol and Exeter, escape the slanders which he pours forth against them as compared with the students of his own 'House.'

In a letter soon after, August 18th, 1674, Prideaux informs Ellis of a journey he had made to Oxford in 'miserable bad company.' The coach, it seems, held six inside, three on a seat. On one side of Prideaux was a 'pitiful rogue,' and on the other a lady with an unmentionable name, which, however, the old divine raps out on this occasion in all its simplicity. But his wrath was chiefly directed against 'two schollars' on the opposite seat, who 'violated his ears with such horrid, dissolute, and profane discourse, as I scarce should have thought the divell himselfe dared either to use or teach others, were it not that I was soe unfortunate as to have this miserable experience thereof.' In these young men, undergraduates as it would seem, we may see the reaction from Puritanical strictness produced by the gay and dissolute reign of Charles II. When the court set such a bad example, young men were apt not only to follow, but to out-Herod it. After all, Mr. R. Fincher and Mr. Daniel—these were their names—might have been only bad specimens of their class; and it is some consolation to us, as it was to Prideaux, to learn that when these two profane youths played off some of their pranks on a company of carters, they, Fincher especially, 'got sturdily belabored with whips and prong-staves.'

In the same letter he turns next to the quarrel then raging between 'Dick Peers and Anthóny Wood,' about the Latin version of the 'Antiquities of Oxford,' which Peers had written much to the discontent of the author. From words it appears they proceeded to blows, and fought hand to hand at eating-houses and the press itself. 'But,' says Prideaux, 'Peers always coming off with a bloody nose or a black eye; he was a long time afraid to goe anywhere where he might chance to meet his too powerfull adversary, for fear of another drubbing, till he was pro-proctor; and now Woods is as much afraid to meet him, lest he should exercise his authority upon him; and although he be a good bowzeing blad, yet it hath been observed that never since his adversary hath been in office hath he dared to be out after nine, least he should meet him and exact the rigor of the statute upon him.' What a picture of University life in the seventeenth century! Two scholars and masters of arts fighting at pot-houses and the University press, and one only restrained from continuing to thrash the other by fear of the bull-dogs which, as pro-proctor, he might let slip at him. Over all this strife, it is refreshing to hear the boom of 'Tom' at nine, then, as now, striking a hundred and one for the 'students of the House,' and calling on all members of the University to be within the walls betimes.

We have already heard him say that Pembroke was only fit for brutes, but Balliol, it seems, was very little, if at all better. As for the head, Dr. Good, though Baxter styled him 'one of the most peaceable, moderate, and honest conformists of his acquaintance,' Prideaux only calls him, 'an honest good old

* From an article in the *London Quarterly Review* for July, 1877, on *Humphrey Prideaux's Letters*, addressed to John Ellis, in the years 1674 to 1688, from Christ Church College, Oxford. Donn Prideaux is the author of '*Connection between the Old and New Testament*.' He and Ellis were students of Westminster, and went up together to Christ Church in 1668, where Prideaux resided as Student, Fellow, and Tutor till 1688.

toast,' rather a figure of fun, in short, 'who, out of a desire to be a fool in print,' had lately published a 'Dialogue between a Protestant and a new converted Papist.' But that was not all, for there was another ridiculous story of him, 'which,' says the charitable Prideaux, 'I do not well believe; but, however, you shall have it. There is over against Balliol College a dingy, horrid, scandalous alehouse, fit for none but draymen and tinkers, and such as by goeing there have made themselves equally scandalous. Here the Balliol men continually, and by perpetual bubbling ad art to their natural stupidity to make themselves perfect sots.' This was very shocking to Dr. Good, and so Prideaux proceeds, 'The head beeing informed of this, called them together, and in a grave speech informed them of the mischiefs of that hellish liquor cald ale, that it destroyed body and soul, and adviced them by no means to have anything more to do with it.'

So far so good; 'but on (one) of them, not willing so tamely to be preached out of his beloved liquor, made reply that the vice-chancellor's men drunke ale at the "Split Crow," and why should not they to?' This nonplussed the old man, who posted off to Dr. Bathurst, of Trinity, then vice-chancellor, the distinguished wit and Latin scholar, who was one of a large family, six sons of which had fallen in the king's service. But when Dr. Good desired his brother head to prohibit his Fellows from drinking ale, Bathurst, 'being formerly an (sic) old lover of good ale, answered him roughly that there was no hurt in ale, and that so long as his fellows did noe worse, he would not disturb them.' Whereupon Dr. Good returned to his Fellows, and told them he had been with the vice-chancellor, 'and that he had told him there was noe hurt in ale; truly he thought there was, but now being informed of the contrary, since the vice-chancellor gave his men leave to drinke ale, he would give them leave to; so that,' adds Prideaux, 'now they may be sots by authority.' Well may the existing Head and Fellows of Balliol exclaim, when they read this story,—

Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis.

The dingy, scandalous ale-house opposite Balliol perished long ago, when Broad street was made, and along with it has perished the 'bubbling' of the Fellows, which drew down on them such ridicule in the time of Prideaux.

Duchess of Cleveland and Nel Gwyn.

Just at this time (1674) we catch a glimpse of the great world. The Duchess of Cleveland came to Oxford to place her son at the University, and sent for 'Mr. Dean,' leaving the whole matter in his hands. 'Her third son was with her, who, as she said, being born in Oxford among the schollars, was to live some considerable time amongst them, especially since he is far more apt to receive instructions than his eldest brother, whom she confesseth to be a very kockish idle boy. The morneing before she went, she sate at least an hour in her coach, that everybody might see her.' Further on we see another of the king's mistresses on very easy terms with him. The townspeople of Oxford having a dispute with the king as to their town clerk, sent a deputation to him at Newmarket, and there Alderman Wright was much scandalized; for 'it seems when the Alderman was at Newmarket with his petition, the king walking in the fields met Nel Gwyn, and Nel calld to him, "Charles, I hope I shall have your company at night, shall I not?"' It must be admitted, however, that Prideaux in speaking of the king and his mistresses and their children, does not scruple to put, as the French say, the dots over the i's. Thus when old Cartwright of Aynhoe, whom, in his phonetic spelling, he calls 'Cartret of Ane,' dies and leaves 120,000*l.* in money, and 8,000*l.* a year in land, which fell to his grandchildren, two little girls getting '25,000*l.* a peice,' he adds: 'I suppose the king may put in for some of his bastards. That which he hath here with us'—the Earl of Northumberland, son of Charles and the Duchess of Cleveland, mentioned before—'is kept very orderly, but will ever be very simple, and scarce, I beleive, ever attain to the reputation of not being thought a fool.'

Suicide and Simony.

'Yesterday, at 10 in the morning,' Prideaux writes: 'David Whitford (an old Westminster and student of "the House"—Christ Church, who had not found the civil war—in which he had served in some capacity, although educated for the church—a school of temperance) was found dead in his cham-

ber, having been the night before and that very morning at eight very well. He had not on (one) farthing in his pocket, although he had received 9*l*. within ten days before; but all was spent in ale, he having been drunke almost every night since he came hither. He was fond fallin back upon his bed halfe dressed, with a brandy-bottle in on hand, and the cork in the other; he findeing himself ill, as it seemeth, was goeing to take a dram for refreshment; but death came between the cup and the lips; and this is the end of Davy.' This end was sad enough though Prideaux treats it rather jocosely; but something was afterward discovered which it appears shocked him and Mr. Dean more than Davy's death itself; this something being no less than simony; for 'Mr. Dean coming into his chamber on the noise of this accident, we searched to se what he had left. Among his papers I by chance light on a bond ready drawn up to be sealed, by which Davy bound himselfe to give 500*l*. for a pargenage by such a day, or resign it again. The horror of this crime, joined to the rest of his bade life, hath made death appear very dismall unto me.' To relieve his mind, he tells his friend what Dr. Fell is doing at the press, but somehow or other every thing seems to turn to scandal in Prideaux's hand, and even the University Press is not exempt from it. 'The Press,' he writes on January 24th, 1675, 'hath often furnished me with something to tell you.' On this occasion, Prideaux's sworn foes, the Fellows of All Souls, whom he had hated more than all the Fellows of all the other colleges, had secretly had some of Aretin's infamous prints—Prideaux calls them 'Postures'—engraved and struck off at the University Press. Dr. Fell discovered this design by going to the press late. 'How he tooke to finde his Press working at such an employment I leave you to imagin. The prints and plates he had seased, and threatens the owners of them with expulsion; and I thinke they would deserve it were they of any other college then All Souls; but there I will allow them to be vertuous that are lascivious only in pictures. That college in my esteem is a scandalous place.' Further on he gloats over the story as he tells Ellis how the dean had called 'sixty of these cuts in which had got abroad,' and committed them, very properly, to the fire; but though he hated the All Souls' men, he was afraid of their vengeance. 'I must desire you to let noe on (one) know from whom you have such like intelligence. The All Souls' men from on end to the other have all declared war against me already for sayeing they had no famous man since Digs'—Dudley Digges, who died in 1643—'and that they had lived on his credit ever since. If they should know this to, they would hamstring me; therefore you must be sure to keep secret for fear of the worst; for I assure you they are terrible fellows at some things.' Not altogether an idle fear in a time when men were assassinated, like Tom of Ten Thousand, in their coaches in London, and when hired bullies split Dryden's nose for writing libels.

Admiral Van Trump vanquished by an Oxford Don.

It was shortly before this time, in January, 1675, that Oxford was visited by one of the heroes on the Dutch side in the late war with Holland. No less a personage than Admiral Van Trump, as Prideaux calls him, came to see the University, and the dean and the University authorities were sore put to it to do him honor. It was not that he wanted much, for his tastes were very simple; salt-junk and brandy being the only things that seemed to please 'his pallet.' 'He had much respect shown him here,' says Prideaux. The University wished to make him a doctor, but he would have nothing to do with it. 'He was much gazed at by the boys'—undergraduates—'who, perchance, wondered to finde him, whom they had found so famous in Gazets, to be at best but a drunkeing, greazy Dutchman.' 'Speed,' says Prideaux, 'stayed in town on purpose to drink with him, which is the only thing he is good for; and for feare he should lose soe commendable a quality, he dayly exerciseth it, for want of better company, with Price, our butler, and Rawlins, the Plumber, with whom he spendeth al the time he is here either in the brandy-shop or tavern.' For the honor of the University over its cups, we are glad to hear that Speed (he was M.D. of St. John's College) was equal to the occasion, and that he defeated the Dutchman in his own element—brandy. 'We got,' said Prideaux, writing on the 5th of February, 1675, 'a greater victory over Van Trump here than all your sea-captains in London; he confesseing that he was more drunke here than anywhere else since he came into England, which I think very little to the

honor of our university. Dr. Speed was the chief man that encountered him, who, mustering up about five or six more as able men as himself at wine and brandy, got the Dutchman to the Crown Tavern, and there soe plyed him with both, that at twelve at night they were fain to carry him to his lodgings.'

John Locke at Oxford in 1675—Expulsion in 1684.

In the political movements of the time these letters show Prideaux to have played the part of a spy on those at Oxford suspected of liberal feelings. And it so happened that there was one illustrious man, a student of Christ Church and an old Westminster scholar, over whom and his movements Prideaux seemed to think it his special duty to spy and to report. This was John Locke, whose early connection and obligations to Ashley were well known. . . . The first notice we have of John Locke—whom he always calls Lock—is in 1675, when Prideaux writes to Ellis, 'Lock and Hodges are both here. Lock hath wriggied into Ireland's faculty-place, and intendeth this act to proceed Dr. in physick, which will be a great kindness to us, we not being above four to bear the whole charge of the act supper.' In 1676, Prideaux tells us he has gone abroad, and we know from other sources that he stayed abroad till 1679, for the benefit of his health. In that year he returned to England when Shaftesbury was restored to favor, and then we hear something more about him from Prideaux. Thus, in 1681, he asserts that John Locke was the author of the pamphlet entitled, 'Noe Protestant Plot,' though Locke, in a letter written to Lord Pembroke, most solemnly denied it. In 1682, just after the passage about Shaftesbury's imprisonment in the Tower quoted above, Prideaux writes, 'John Lock lives a very cunning, unintelligible life here, beeing two days in town and three out, and noe one knows where he goes, or when he goes, or when he returns. Certainly there is some Whig intreague a-manageing, but here not a word of politics comes from him; nothing of news or ought else concerning our present affairs; as if he were not at all concerned in them. If any one asks him what news when he returns from a progresse, his answer is, "We know nothing." And, a day or two after, "Where J. L. goes I cannot by any means learn, all his voyages beeing so cunningly contrived; sometimes he will goe to some acquaintances of his near the town, and then he will let any one know where he is; but at other times, when I am assured he goes elsewhere, noe one knows where he goes, and therefore the other is only made use of for a blind. He hath in his last sally been absent at least ten days, where I cannot learn. Last night he returned; and sometimes he himself goes out and leaves his man behind, who shall then to be often seen in the quadrangle to make people beleive his master is at home, for he will let noe one come to his chamber, and therefore it is not certain when he is there or when he is absent. I fancy there are projects afoot.' On October 24th, 1683, Shaftesbury having fled on the 19th of that month, Prideaux writes, 'John Lock lives very quietly with us, and not a word ever drops from his mouth that discovers anything of his heart within. Now his master is fled, I suppose we shall have him altogether. He seems to be a man of very good converse, and that we have of him with content; as for what else he is he keeps it to himselfe, and therefore troubles not us with it, nor we him.' What a vexation this reticent, self-contained nature, that would not commit itself, must have been to gossiping Prideaux! But, though baffled, they could not let Locke rest. In 1684, when the Rye House Plot was discovered, Prideaux writes, 'Our friend John Lock is likewise become a brother sufferer with them. As soon as the plot was discovered he cunningly stole away from us, and in halfe a yeare's time noe one knew where he was. At last he began to appear in Holland, and the last account we had of him from thence was that he had consorted himselfe with Dane of Taunton, and they two had taken a lodgeing together in Amsterdam. We have been told orders have been given at court to inquire after him; however, the bishop—Dr. Fell—is resolved to know where he is, or put him out of beeing student of Christ Church, a citation being fixed up in the hall to summon him to appear and give an account of his absence on the first day of January next.' In November, 1684, we hear 'Lock is expelled by the king's special command.'

When William Cardonnel, an old Westminster scholar, and then Fellow of Merton, 'a very fretful, peevish man,' hangs himself at his study door, having

been forced to beg pardon on his knees of the warden, Prideaux is naturally full of the strange story, and could not explain till he wrote, 'It seems he had lived with the Earl of Devonshire as preceptor to his grandson, where, having been poisoned by Hoba, on his return hither, blasphemy and atheism was his most frequent talk, of which beeing at last sensible, this, it's supposed, precipitated him into despair.' When, after Colledge's trial, Dr. Lamphire, principal of Hart Hall, falls mad of a cold, it is said caught at the trial, Prideaux will not believe it, for he knows better. 'For my part, I attribute it to his gluttony, he beeing the greatest eater that I ever knew.' In the same letter, he relates with glee the troubles which the Fellows of All Souls had got into by being detected in selling their places, and how they had been disgraced by an injunction from the archbishop, and a mandamus from the king to elect as Fellow 'one Sayer, son to the king's cooke, which causeth great disturbance among them.' Sometimes, alas! there is a scandal to tell of within 'the House' itself, as when, in 1682, one letter contains two such stories; the first being that it had been found out that Mr. Penny, to whom a Christ Church living had been given, had been for several years married to an alewife's daughter in Islip; the other that Mr. Charles Allestree had married 'the most scandalously bad that any fellow hath don I beleive for these many years, his wife being one Mother Yalden, an old alewife with an house full of children. Its one of the greatest disgraces that hath happened to our College a long while.' Again, when in June, 1681, there was to be an election for a new esquire bedel, Prideaux writes, 'We are now busy about the election of a new Esquire Beadle, Mr. Minshul, one of them, haveing made himself top-heavy by drinkeing too much last Tuesday night, fell off his horse and broke his neck.'

Prideaux's Escape from Christ Church.

One of Prideaux's accomplishments was that of being an Oriental scholar. With regard to Pococke, 'the good doctor,' who planted the fig-tree which is still trained to the wall at the back of a set of rooms in Tom Quad, and proves rather oppressive to the inmates when it puts forth its leaves—with regard to him, there could be nothing in Prideaux's mind but veneration and love. But Pococke might die, and then he must have a successor; and in Oxford two might claim the succession—Prideaux, and the keeper of Bodley's Library, Hyde. We are sorry to say that Prideaux's reverence for Pococke was only equalled by his abhorrence of Hyde. We suppose it was only the old story of the two potters. There were two of a trade. But early in these letters Prideaux describes his rival Hyde as a poor creature, a Jerry Sneak of those days. In 1675, he writes, 'Our Library Keeper Hyde, at present lyeth under heavy affliction. The story is pleasant, and therefore I will relate it at full. I suppose you know he married an old w—— here about four or five years since, who both domineered over the poor fool most infamously ever since, and having lately found him too familiar with her maid, began to mistrust him of making love to her, and challenged him for it. The poor man, to appease his wife, took a formal oath on the Bible he designed noe such thing with the mayd as he was accused of; but this not being sufficient to satisfy the wife, she beat him soe basely that he hath kept his chamber these too months, and is now in danger of looseing his hand, which he made use of only to defend the blows and beg mercy.' Such a poor creature Prideaux was slow to admit as his rival, and in 1682, when there was an alarm about 'the good doctor's' health, and he and Ellis began to correspond about the succession, he would not even mention Hyde as a competitor, though he adroitly complains that Sir Leoline Jenkins, to whom Ellis was then secretary, should have sent his Arabic letters to 'soe egregious a donce' as Hyde to translate... 'who doth not understand common sense in his own language, and therefore I cannot conceive how he can render sense of anything that is writ in another.' Shortly before this, Prideaux had received the first installment of his subservency to the Stuarts, his second was to come for his conversion to the interests of William III. This first instalment was a prebendal stall in Norwich Cathedral, which he owed to the favor of Finch, now Earl of Nottingham and Lord Chancellor; and the second was his advancement to the Deanery. The Dean he found in occupancy was Henry Fairfax, who as master of Magdalen College, resisted the aggressions of James II, and who turned out at Norwich, according to Prideaux, 'a horrid sot.'

THOMAS WARTON.—1729-1790.

THOMAS WARTON was born at Basingstoke in 1728; admitted commoner of Trinity College, Oxford, in 1743; elected scholar in 1744, and took his degree of M. A. in 1750, and succeeded to a fellowship in 1751, and spent the rest of his life in his college, partly occupied as tutor, and partly in literary occupations. In 1757 he was elected professor of poetry, and in 1771 he was instituted to the small living of Kiddington, in Oxfordshire. His reputation as a scholar rests on his *History of English Poetry*, the first volume of which appeared in 1774, the second in 1778, and the third in 1781. His poems, although few and occasional, rank high with the best descriptive, romantic and humorous pieces of the same character, in the language. His notices of Oxford and Winchester School life are thought to be highly graphic.

PROGRESS OF DISCONTENT.

WHEN now mature in classic knowledge,
The joyful youth is sent to college,
His father comes, a vicar plain,
At Oxford bred, in Anna's reign,
And thus in form of humble suitor,
Bowing accosts a reverend tutor.
"Sir, I'm a Glo'stershire divine,
And this my eldest son of nine;
My wife's ambition and my own
Was that this child should wear a gown;
I'll warrant that his good behavior
Will justify your future favor;
And for his parts, to tell the truth,
My son's a very forward youth;
Has Horace all by heart—you'd wonder—
And mouths out Homer's Greek like thunder.
If you'd examine—and admit him,
A scholarship would nicely fit him:
That he succeeds 'tis ten to one;
Your vote and interest, sir!"—'Tis done.

Our pupil's hopes, though twice defeated,
Are with a scholarship completed:
A scholarship but half maintains,
And college rules are heavy chains:
In garret dark he smokes and puns,
A prey to discipline and duns;
And now intent on new designs,
Sighs for a fellowship—and fines.

When nine full tedious winters past,
That utmost wish is crown'd at last:
But the rich prize, no sooner got,
Again he quarrels with his lot;
These fellowships are pretty things,
We live indeed like petty kings:
But who can bear to waste his whole age
Amid the dullness of a college,
Beharr'd the common joys of life,
And that prime bliss—a loving wife!

O! what's a table richly spread
 Without a woman at its head!
 Would some snug benefice but fall,
 Ye feasts, ye dinners! farewell all!
 To offices I'd bid adieu,
 Of Dean, Vice-Pres.—of Bursar, too;
 Come joys that rural quiet yields,
 Come, tithes, and house, and fruitful fields.
 Too fond of freedom and of ease
 A patron's vanity to please,
 Long time he watches, and by stealth,
 Each frail incumbent's doubtful health:
 At length—and in his fortieth year,
 A living drops—two hundred clear!
 With breast elate beyond expression,
 He hurries down to take possession,
 With rapture views the sweet retreat—
 What a convenient house! how neat!
 For fuel here's sufficient wood:
 Pray God the cellars may be good!
 The garden—that must be new plann'd—
 Shall these old-fashioned yew-trees stand?
 O'er yonder vacant plot shall rise
 The flow'ry shrub of thousand dyes:—
 Yon wall, that feels the southern ray,
 Shall blush with ruddy fruitage gay:
 While thick beneath its aspect warm
 O'er well-rang'd hives the bees shall swarm,
 From which, ere long, of golden gleam,
 Metheglin's luscious juice shall stream.
 Up yon green slope, of hazels trim,
 An avenue so cool and dim
 Shall to an arbor, at the end,
 In spite of gout, entice a friend.
 My predecessor loved devotion—
 But of a garden had no notion.
 Continuing this fantastic farce on,
 He now commences country parson.
 To make his character entire,
 He weds—a cousin of the 'squire;
 Not over weighty in the purse,
 But many doctors have done worse:
 And though she boasts no charms divine,
 Yet she can carve and make birch wine.
 Thus fixt, content he taps his barrel,
 Exhorts his neighbors not to quarrel;
 Finds his churchwardens have discerning
 Both in good liquor and good learning:
 With tithes his barns replete he sees,
 And chuckles o'er his surplice fees;
 Studies to find out latent dues,
 And regulates the state of pews;
 Rides a sleek mare with purple housing,
 To share the monthly club's carousing;
 Of Oxford pranks facetious tells,
 And—but on Sunday—hears no bells;
 Sends presents of his choicest fruit,
 And prunes himself each sapless shoot;
 Plants cauliflow'rs and boasts to rear
 The earliest melons of the year;
 Thinks alteration charming work is,
 Keeps Bantam cocks, and feeds his turkeys:

Builds in his copse a fav'rite bench
 And stores the pond with carp and tench.
 But ah! too soon his thoughtless breast
 By cares domestic is oppress;
 And a third butcher's bill, and brewing,
 Threaten inevitable ruin:
 For children fresh expenses yet,
 And Dicky now for school is fit.
 "Why did I sell my college life,
 (He cries) for benefice and wife!
 Return ye days! when endless pleasure
 I found in reading or in leisure;
 When calm around the common room
 I puff'd my daily pipe's perfume!
 Rode for a stomach, and inspected;
 At annual bottlings, corks selected:
 And dined untax'd, untroubled, under
 The portrait of our pious founder!
 When impositions were supplied
 To light my pipe—or soothe my pride,—
 No cares were then for forward pease
 A yearly-longing wife to please;
 My thoughts no christ'ning dinners crost,
 No children cried for butter'd toast;
 And ev'ry night I went to bed,
 Without a *modus* in my head!"

Oh! trifling head, and fickle heart
 Chagrined at whatse'er thou art;
 A dupe to follies yet untried,
 And sick of pleasures, scarce enjoy'd!
 Each prize possessed, thy transport ceases,
 And in pursuit alone it pleases.

From the Triumph of Isis, written in 1749.

'Tis ours, my son, to deal the sacred bay,
 Where honor calls, and justice points the way
 To wear the well-earned wreath that merit brings,
 And snatch a gift beyond the reach of kings.
 Scorning and scorned by courts, yon muse's bower
 Still nor enjoys, nor seeks, the smile of power.
 Though wakeful vengeance watch my crystal spring,
 Though persecution wave her iron wing,
 And, o'er yon spiry temples as she flies,
 'These destin'd seats be mine,' exulting cries;
 Fortune's fair smiles on Isis still attend;
 And, as the dews of gracious Heaven descend
 Unasked, unseen, in still but copious showers,
 Her stores on me spontaneous bounty pours.
 See Science walks with recent chaplets crowned;
 With fancy's strain my fairy shades resound;
 My Muse divine, still keeps her custom'd state,
 The mien erect, and his majestic gait;
 Green as of old each oliv'd portal shines,
 And still the graces build my Grecian piles
 My gothic spires, in ancient glory rise,
 And dare with wonted pride to rush into the skies.
 Thus in some gallant ship, that long has bore
 Britain's victorious cross from shore to shore,
 By chance, beneath her close sequestered cells,
 Some low-born worm, a lurking mischief dwells;
 Eats his blind way, and saps with secret guile
 The deep foundations of the floating pile.

UNIVERSITY LIFE IN 1735.

In 1735, Dr. Richard Newton, Principal of Hart Hall (Hertford College after 1747) from 1710 to 1753, published a pamphlet (407 pages) entitled '*The Expense of University Education Reduced*,' which, as it went through four editions, must have discussed subjects of interest to that generation of parents. The following extracts throw light on University Life in 1735:

It should be a rule (p. 6) 'that nothing be allow'd to be dress'd in the *Common Kitchen* for any member of the Society, but *Commons*: and that every scholar affecting to make *entertainments*, at his *private chamber*, for strangers visiting him in his studious retirement, be obliged to defray the entire charge thereof out of his own purse.'

'The largest endowments in any society of the Univerity are but barely sufficient for *maintenance* in the manner intended, for decent *apparel*, and for a few useful *books*. . . There are stated times for *devotion*, for *study* and *improvement*, for *private lectures*, for *public exercises*, for the refreshments of *eating*, *walking*, *conversing*. Each scholar hath his separate apartment. The furniture of it is suppos'd to be no other than that of a lodger in a private family who never eats at home. . . What sort of *strangers*, now, are those who expect to be invited to an *elegant entertainment* in this *chamber*? . . . Hath he so much as a *servant* to attend him upon this occasion, but who, at the same time, is the *common servant* of *twenty scholars* more? . . . And what a *consumption* of the common fuel will this entertainment, at a later hour, occasion, at the *equal* expense of *others* of the community, whose prudence, as well as circumstances, will not permit them to give in to this *affected* and *impertinent* hospitality?'

If the stranger wishes to see students' life, he should dine at the ordinary hall. If he only wants their conversation in private rooms, let him refresh himself in his inn. It is monstrous to allow your time and money to be frittered away 'in absurd and conceited entertainments for every trifling acquaintance, who has a mind to take *Oxford* and *Blenheim* in his way to the *Bath*. I say trifling acquaintance; for no man living, that is well-bred and understands what is proper, will ever *accept* of an entertainment at a scholar's chamber.'

'Another source of expense and inconvenience is the having notable *ale* in the College cellars. In plain terms I would not advise young men to use it in a *morning*, or at their *meals*; if in the *evening*, when they mix in conversation with each other or with scholars of other societies in their respective rooms, they would, in a sober manner, recruit the spirits, which by hard study have been exhausted, with this liquor, the most abstinent person in the world would not be so much as to think it might not innocently be done.' 'Ale and wine are *already* introduc'd into the private cellars of scholars.'

Nothing should 'be put upon the scholar's name in the book of battels for either *bye-services* or *charities*.'

Some of the undergraduates 'find as much employment for a common servant as ten other scholars of the same society.'

As to the *Charities*, the practice of keeping a note or subscription list hanging in the public refectory to be transferred to the action of battels is reprehensible: 'A multitude of applications are made at the University for collections of this sort, and what incredible success they meet with. Young men are often *rash* and desirous to be thought liberal. . . Whoever pretends to *give*, must give of his own; and must call that only his own which he can save out of his founder's or his parent's provision for his maintenance.'

RULES AND STATUTES OF HERTFORD COLLEGE IN 1747.*

The Principal may hold his office for life; the four senior Fellow, Vice-Principal, Catechist, Chaplain, and Moderator may be tutors till eighteen years after their matriculation; the eight junior B. A. Fellows may continue in the position of assistants for three years. There shall be but thirty-two students, and four scholars.

One of the four seniors is to be principal tutor for a year in rotation; he

* The following extracts are taken from an edition issued by the Principal [Richard Newton, D.D.] 'with Observations on Particular Parts of them showing their Reasonableness.' As these statutes were framed by an experienced Principal, they must have been in general harmony with at least the statutable aim of other associated colleges in the same University—how much the latter may have fallen below the standard here fixed.

is to receive the fees and to lecture once a week to all students. Each tutor to have a class of eight students and one scholar who are to continue under his special care for their career of sixteen terms.

The Revenue of the Principal to be £311. 6s. 8d.		
"	"	each Tutor or Senior 93l. 11s. 8d.
"	"	each Junior Fellow 26l. 13s. 4d.
"	"	each Student 13l. 6s. 8d.
"	"	each Probationer Student 6l. 13s. 4d.
"	"	each Scholar 4l. 3s. 4d.

These stipends are only to be augmented by an allowance of 6d. *per diem* for Commons, for 31 weeks, making an addition of 5l. 8s. 6d. *per annum* for each member of the foundation.

Any person of superior condition to pay double fees, &c., and to be 'distinguish'd tho' not by a different gown yet by a *tuft* upon his cap, varying according to the different rank in which he is admitted.'

One tutor is to lodge in the middle room of the middle staircase in each angle of the College Court. [Hence, according to Nic. Amherst (Appendix to *Terra-Filius*, 1736, p. 296, n.), they were nicknamed *Anglers*.] Each compartment shall contain an outward room, a bed-place, and a study. One bed-maker (a man or elderly woman) assisted by a son or servant, who shall lodge in the tutor's suite and serve him out of the hours of their common service, to have care of each angle, i. e. of 15 sets of rooms apiece.

§ 2. *Morning* prayers on *common* days at 6.30 or 7.30 according to the time of year. On *Litany* days the second service at 9. Fines of 2d. for absence or bad behavior in chapel.

Evening prayer at 6.30 p. m.

Immediately after *first* service on *Sundays* and *Holidays* in term, shall follow a very short *explication* of some part of the *Church Catechism*, or *instruction* in some *moral duty*, in a manner useful to the *servants*. On *Sundays* at 8 or 9 p. m. a *Catechetical* or *Theological* lecture for undergraduates. All to communicate on Xmas Day, Easter Day, Whitsun-day, the first Sunday in every term, and at the admission of a new principal. Undergraduates to read in course in chapel on surplice day; and on other days the 2d lesson for the morning before dinner, and the 2d lesson for the evening before supper, in hall, when all shall be present. None to rise from table without leave till the second grace is said. The college officers may examine the reader as to his comprehension of the chapter. He shall write explanations of the difficulties in the lessons instead of his weekly theme, disputation or translation.

§ 3. Oaths on admission. § 4. The Principal to be chosen from the Westminster students of Christ Church by the Chancellor of Oxford.

§ 5. There shall be *Lectures* (1) by the Principal to all undergraduates on Thursdays; (2) by the Tutors to their respective classes on M. Tuesdays, W. F.; (3) by the officers or their assistants at 9 p. m. on Tu. Th. Sat. and on Sundays at 8 p. m. in winter, 9 p. m. in summer.

Disputations 4 to 5 p. m.: of Undergraduates (beginning from Easter term in their second year) on M. W. in Philosophy (Logic, Ethics, Physics and Metaphysics); of B. A. on Fridays in Divinity. All persons to take their turn in seniority of being respondents and prior opponents. Notice to be given, a term in advance, of the subjects and persons required in the disputations. And in order to give interest to the proceedings the college moderator is to order the same questions to be disputed in college, as any of the society are intending to take up in their public exercises in the schools. On these occasions only those of B. A. degree may take part in *philosophical* disputations.

The *Respondent* and *Opponent* shall each of them, by way of introduction to the disputation, premise something relating to them in certain *speeches* commonly called *supposition* and *opposition* speeches, which shall not be bare *transcripts* out of philosophical or theological books; but the *former* a short state of the question, shewing in what respect the question is true, in what false, with the application of such distinctions as are to be met with in those books which treat of the questions to be disputed upon; the *latter* an elusive speech, treating plausibly of the other side of the question, the known part of a declamant who holds the wrong side of the thesis; unless the question may be such as may be well supported by good arguments on *both* sides.' [This was probably the original function of the *Terra-Filius* at Oxford, and the *Prævaricator* at Cambridge.]

Undergraduates (even when not in residence) to make a *theme* or a *declamation* or a *translation* every week in full term. Declamations in English during their 2d and 3d, and Latin during their 4th year. Translations from

Latin into English, or English into Latin, or by advanced students into Greek, to be looked over by the tutors on Saturday at 4 P.M., and corrected in the following week, so as to be ready for reading or recitation the following Saturday morning. Permission may be given to any that has a genius that way, to write English verse instead.

Bachelors of Arts for the 1st six terms which they aim to keep towards their *Master's Degree*, shall read in the *College* as an exercise of the house the *Six Solemn Lectures* (one every term) which are afterwards to be read, by those in the schools as an exercise of the University for the said degree; and in every of the other terms to be kept for the said degree, they shall make and publicly speak or read a short sermon upon a text of Scripture assigned them by the *Principal*. Without the performance of this exercise they shall neither keep the term nor receive a *testimonium* for orders, nor an instrument of leave to go to another house. [A *Host migrare*: still less a *bene dicere*.]

Two Undergraduates a week to deliver *narration* [cp. p. 119, above. These 'collections' are commonplace beauties, difficulties, and other noteworthy references from four classic authors chosen for each student by his tutor, in the way of elegant extracts to be recited; instead of their theme or translation.

§ 6. The *Principal* is to have the sole nomination of servants' assistants; also of the tutors, only they may not of his own or his wife's relations 'even to the fourth remove inclusive,' except at the visitor's recommendation; he shall be present at all exercises; shall visit students in their rooms; reprimand them when needs are, preside over a *tutor's meeting* fortnightly in his own lodgings, as *curator* shall hold two audits a year. He may take one private pupil only, and that in excess of the statutable number of students (39). If a tutor's place fall vacant within the first year of his principality he may take the duties and stipend himself. The *Principal* shall be removed if he accept any other lectureship, professorship, care of souls, dignity requiring him to break the statutable residence, &c., &c.

§ 7. The *Tutor* shall instruct their classes 1 hour *per diem*; for the first year in classes (composition and translation) and theology; for the three next 'in *University Learning*, not exclusive of other; for the three several weeks immediately preceding *Christmas-day*, *Easter-day*, and *Whitsunday*, in *Divinity Proper* to that season; for two several vacations of the year, in whatsoever the *Tutor* shall think *useful* to them. But a few probably will then stay up, two of the tutors may be absent for either half of each vacation, and only one of the two then in residence need lecture each day. Tutors shall criticise their pupils' themes, &c., see that they do them in good time; shall always commence a lecture by examining them in the last; they shall frequently visit pupils in their chambers; shall with the *Principal's* sanction appoint them 'what *traders* they shall deal with for necessities. . . shall insist upon it that no *pupil* . . . do contract any *intimacies* with tradesmen or their families; nor accept of *invitations* to their houses, nor introduce them to *entertainments* at his chamber.'

'The *quarterly allowance* to scholars' is to be paid back into the tutor's hand, who shall deduct money to pay tradesmen's bills, and shall return the remainder or part of it for the scholars' pocket-money. They shall have no debt above the value of 5s. with any person keeping a coffee-house, cook's shop, or any other public house whatsoever.

§ 8. The *Vice-Principal* acts as *Dean* and *Proctor* of the society.

The *Chaplain* to pray for any sick member of the house, though he be not dangerously ill, to lecture to the servants, &c.

The *Catechist* to instruct undergraduates at 8 P.M. on Sundays, to recommend books, answer cases of conscience, &c.

The *Subordinate Governor* shall examine the rooms and furniture and punish disorders committed in rooms of the angle over which he presides.

§ 9. A Register of *exit* and *redit* to be kept. Any undergraduate or fellow shall be fined 1s. for each day's absence in term time.

§ 10. Three years' notice to be given of intention to apply for Holy Orders, before the *testimonium* is granted. Such intention will not be registered before the candidate is 20 years of age.

[Minute rules follow against encouraging idleness in one's neighbors and the like.]

No one is to give an entertainment on the occasion of taking his degree; nor to *treat* any examining master, or collector, or other officer of the University; or present any of them with anything more than their precise fees . . . or accept of any entertainment from any proctor, or collector, or other officer of the University as such.

Persons in *status pupillari* to apply to the Principal for any favor, redress, etc., by written English letter, only.

No dogs in college.

No disturbance in *studying hours* (6:30 or 7:30 A.M. to noon, and from 2 to 6 P.M.) or *sleeping hours* (9 P.M. to 6:15 A.M. in summer or 7:15 A.M. in winter).

§ 11. *Caution Money* for a student 8*l.*, for a scholar 4*l.*

The Principal to take his *Commons* with the Tutor.* No student accepting the endowment, shall exceed the sum of 6*l.* a week for *commons* and *battels*, nor any scholar 4*l.* 6*d.* The excess of one week to be deducted from the ordinary allowance of the next.

Exceedings of 1*l.* 6*d.* apiece to be allowed on the noon of Christmas-day, Easter-day, Whitsun-day, and the commemoration of the incorporation, at the expense of non-residents as well.

The President is the proper entertainer of student's relatives. He alone may have food cooked in the kitchen in addition to the regular commons.

The gate to be shut during dinner and supper time.

[The rules for Commons have been given already and will be found on pp. 124, 125, 128, 129 in this essay.]

§ 12. Room rent to vary from 6*l.* to 3*l.* *per annum*. The out-going tenant to receive for furniture two-thirds of his original outlay, or after six years' tenure one-half; according to the common system of 'hirings' (called at *Thirde*, p. 73). He is to pay *detriments* to the college as landlords if required.

§ 13. Each of the four scholars is in his course to summon the society to *prayers*, to *meals*, to *disputations*, to public and private *lectures*, to note absences, and to be *officer* of the *gate*. Any one coming into college between 9 and 10 P.M. to be reported to the Principal. At 10 o'clock the key is to be taken to the Principal for the night; Newton thinking it proper that any one who was out of college at that late hour should lodge at an inn, or walk about all night; and if his behavior was not good, be shut up in the round-house by the Proctor. He should be subject to a fine of 1*l.* The like fine to be exacted for each stranger kept by a student in his rooms after that hour. Half the fines and a capitation of 1*d.* *per week* to be paid to the scholar.

*There is not a greater slave in *Turkey* than a college *porter*; and I pronounce that he, or his *deputy*, shall die a death immature.

§ 14. The *Butler* to attend at his office between 8 and 9 A.M., and 12 to 2 P.M., and 6 to 8 P.M. No *by-services*, *charities*, or *liberalities* to be entered to students' accounts. *Bedmakers* to be in college from 5:30 or 6:30 to 9 A.M., 10 A.M. to 2 P.M., 6 to 9 P.M. To receive 4*d.* a week from a scholar, and 7*d.* from other persons. One shall attend in turn for a week near the gate within call: so as also to receive parcels, direct strangers, 'to keep out all *beggars*, *fruiterers*, *pamphlet* sellers, and other idle and vagrant persons;' to keep the chapel, and the *greens*, *borders*, and *flowers* neat, for which a payment of 4*d.* a day shall be provided from the common public stock.

Condemning the gay clothes of some of the clergy Dr. Newton says, (p. 128), that by it a clergyman cannot 'be known to be a clergyman,' whilst the *graver* men of the order still wear *black*, and whilst a *blue* coat, waistcoat, breeches, and stockings, often worn by others of the clergy, is a dress so near a common *livery*, that it doth not distinguish them from *footmen*. The *tatuta* exception in favor of a *le* a *sombre* raiment for the sons of Barons having a vote in the House of Lords does not prove, he thinks, 'that they are therefore at liberty to expose themselves in a *green* gold-lac'd waistcoat, and *red* breeches, and in a *black* wig one day, and a *white* one another.'

Scholars (p. 150) not upon the foundation 'are admitted under the title of *Commoners*, and must stand to *Commons* of a certain value at their own expense. . . . It hath already been observed, that *Putting out of Commons* is a penalty in all colleges, and, in many, for almost all *faults*. But of this sort of penalty they could not be capable, if they were not to *stand* to *Commons* during their residence.'

There be 'masters of publick houses in *Oxford*, who, as it is well known, in their inquiries after maid-servants,' have insisted that they should be somewhat pretty.

* When his family was not with him, which was often for two or three weeks together. Newton says that he generally supped 'in the common *refectory*,' that he neither varied the meat nor exceeded the proportion which was set before the *lowest* commoner; that 10*d.* a day paid for his breakfast, dinner, and supper, even when there was *ale* in the society, which then there was not.

'In the History of the Chancellorship of Archbishop Laud, upon a representation that there were at that time *three* hundred alehouses in Oxford, he is said to have reduced them to *one* hundred at first, and afterwards to *fewer*.'

To the *Coffee-Houses* (p. 153) 'all the irregular and extravagant youth resort, as it should seem, to read the *news*, after which an inquiry is natural, and may be useful; and to drink a dish of *coffee* or *tea*, liquors neither intoxicating nor expensive; but, in deed and in truth, to dine, at much *later* than the college *hours*, upon costly varieties before bespoken, and ordered to be sent thither from the *cooks'-shops*; and to regale themselves, afterwards with *punch*, or *wine*, till they find themselves in a humor for childish, mischievous, or cruel enterprises.'

There is not 'a more piteous creature anywhere to be found, than a young scholar, who, having been *hunting* and *shooting* for four or five months in the country, can think of nothing but *hunting* and *shooting* from the moment he returns to his college.' And that not under the care of an experienced gamekeeper, but in large troops, whereby 'sad accidents . . . happen every year.' Not to mention that much of this sport is poaching.

Billiards are forbidden by the spirit of the statute against cards, dice, etc. The *Gladiators'* entertainments, condemned by the statute, have long been discontinued at Oxford. Stage players are admitted only at *the Act*, and then they are not necessary, and license has sometimes been refused. 'It is enough that our young *gentlemen* do at that time speak fine *verses*, upon well-chosen subjects, in a handsome manner; and that the *proceeders* to their degrees in the several faculties do perform their *exercises* to the satisfaction of learned men, who shall come to hear them; and that those who shall then complete their Degrees in Music, do agreeably entertain the ladies of the worthy families in the neighborhood of the place, who shall then honor us with their presence, with *harmony* vocal and instrumental. To *rope-dancers*, it seems, there is not the same exception as to *players*: these are still said to give *innocent*, and not *expensive* entertainment.'

The above regulations and commentary indicate pretty clearly the prevailing extravagances, indulgences, and irregularities of college life as it was at Oxford in 1737, and which are now to be found in every community of young men living away from their families and representing all classes of society. The follies and vices of the rich and fashionable are more contagious than the awkwardness, and vices even, of the poor.

The merits of Oxford ale has been sung by Wharton :

Nor Proctor thrice with vocal Heel alarms
Our Joys secure, nor deigns the lowly Roof
Of Pot-house snug to visit : wiser he
The splendid Tavern haunts, or Coffee-house
Of JAMES or JUGGINS, where the grateful Breath
Of loathed Tobacco, ne'er diffus'd its Balm.

Let the tender Swain

Each morn regale on nerve-relaxing Tea,
Companion meet of Languor-loving Nymph :
Be mine each Morn with eager Appetite
And Hunger undissembled, to repair
To friendly Buttery ; there on smoking Crust
And foaming ALE to banquet unrestrained,
Material Breakfast ! Thus in ancient Days
Our Ancesters robust, with liberal Cups
Usher'd the Morn, unlike the squeamish Sons
Of modern Times.

The first coffee-house was opened in London in 1652, by a Greek named Pasquet, who was a servant of an English merchant, who brought some coffee with him from Smyrna, which proved so attractive to his friends who wished to taste the new beverage, as to make it necessary to set up an establishment where it could be bought. It was first introduced into Oxford in 1654, and in Cambridge in 1658.

ADAM SMITH AT TRINITY COLLEGE—1740-1747.

The scholarship of Scotland has been greatly benefited by certain exhibitions established in 1666 in Balliol College in the University of Oxford by Dr. John Warner, Bishop of Rochester, for natives of Scotland; and by John Snell, of Ayrshire, who was educated at Glasgow, and dying in the year 1679, bequeathed a valuable estate and manor at Upton, Warwickshire, for the maintenance of certain Scotch exhibitioners, to be appointed by the principal and professors of Glasgow University. Among these exhibitioners are Adam Smith, John G. Lockhart, Sir William Hamilton, Lord Moncrieff, Dr. Tait, the Archbishop of Canterbury, etc. Oxford indirectly has been largely indebted to two of these exhibitioners, Adam Smith and Sir William Hamilton, for their timely and unanswerable exposure of the evils of the university system, to an intimate knowledge of which they were introduced by their residence in Balliol College, while the examinations and scholarships of this college, in consequence of these exposures, have risen in the last half century far beyond the average of the Oxford colleges. The tutorial system is now excellent, and the scholars of Balliol furnish an unusual large number of professors to the university, and masters to public schools. The reforms in the universities, which were effected by the Report of the Royal Commission of 1862, and the Act of Parliament of 1864, were largely due to Sir William Hamilton's trenchant articles in the *Edinburgh Review*, which made parliamentary inquiry and action imperative.

Adam Smith was born at Kirkcaldy in Fifeshire, June 5, 1723. He received his early education in the Burgh school, and entered the University of Glasgow in 1737, where he took his degree, and received the Snell exhibition in 1740. On the income of this exhibition he resided at Oxford from 1740 to 1747 in Balliol College. Of his studies there his biographers have left scant record, but in his *Wealth of Nations*, published in 1776, after he had seen something of the universities of the continent, and had reflected deeply on their system of support, instruction, and government, he pronounces that of Oxford essentially bad. "If the authority to which a teacher is subject resides in the body corporate of the college or university of which he is himself a member, and in which the greater part of the other members are, like himself, persons who either are or ought to be teachers, they are likely to make a common cause, to be all very indulgent to one another, and every man to consent that his neighbor may neglect his duty, provided he is himself allowed to neglect his own." "In the University of Oxford the greater part of the public professors have for these many years given up altogether even the pretense of teaching." And he adds, "In England the public schools are much less corrupted than the universities. In the schools the youth are taught, or at least may be taught, Greek and Latin. That is everything which the masters pretend to teach, or which it is expected they should teach. In the universities the youth neither are taught, nor can always find the means of being taught, the sciences which it is the business of these incorporated bodies to teach." And he retained through life a fixed belief that endowments for education tended only to the "ease" of the teacher, and not to the advantage of the learner. His strictures on Oxford were cited in the Report of the Royal Commission of 1862 as evidence of the low condition to which the University had fallen in the preceding century.

In 1751 he was elected to the chair of logic in the University of Glasgow, which, in 1763, was changed to that of moral philosophy. In 1759 appeared his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, and the *Dissertation on the Origin of Language*. In 1763 he became tutor of the young Duke of Buccleugh, and traveled with him on the Continent, collecting the material for his great work on the *Wealth of Nations*, which appeared in 1776. In 1778 he was made Commissioner of Customs, and died in July, 1790.

ADAM SMITH in his "Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations" devotes a chapter [II. of Book V.] to the consideration of the influences of endowments on the instructors and instruction of institutions of learning—suggested by his observations at Oxford, from 1740 to 1747.

The Expense of Institutions for the Education of Youth.

Through the greater part of Europe, accordingly, the endowment of schools and colleges makes either no charge upon that general revenue, or but a very small one. It everywhere arises chiefly from some local or provincial revenue, from the rent of some landed estate, or from the interest of some sum of money, allotted and put under the management of trustees for this particular purpose, by the sovereign himself, or by some private donor.

Have those public endowments contributed, in general, to promote the end of their institution? Have they contributed to encourage the diligence, and to improve the abilities, of the teachers? Have they directed the course of education towards objects more useful, both to the individual and to the public, than those to which it would naturally have gone of its own accord? It should not seem difficult to give at least a probable answer to each of those questions.

In every profession the exertion of the greater part of those who exercise it is always in proportion to the necessity they are under of making that exertion. This necessity is greatest with those to whom the emoluments of their profession are the only source from which they expect their fortune, or even their ordinary revenue and subsistence. In order to acquire this fortune, or even to get this subsistence, they must in the course of a year execute a certain quantity of work of a known value; and where the competition is free, the rivalry of competitors, who are all endeavoring to jostle one another out of employment, obliges every man to endeavor to execute his work with a certain degree of exactness. The greatness of the objects which are to be acquired by success in some particular professions may, no doubt, sometimes animate the exertions of a few men of extraordinary spirit and ambition. Great objects, however, are evidently not necessary in order to occasion the greatest exertions. Rivalship and emulation render excellency, even in mean professions, an object of ambition, and frequently occasion the very greatest exertions. Great objects, on the contrary, alone and unsupported by the necessity of application, have seldom been sufficient to occasion any considerable exertion. In England success in the profession of the law leads to some very great objects of ambition; and yet how few men born to easy fortunes have ever in this country been eminent in that profession!

The endowments of schools and colleges have necessarily diminished, more or less, the necessity of application in the teachers. Their subsistence, so far as it arises from their salaries, is evidently derived from a fund altogether independent of their success and reputation in their particular professions.

In some universities the salary makes but a part, and frequently but a small part, of the emoluments of the teacher, of which the greater part arises from the honoraries or fees of his pupils. The necessity of application, though always more or less diminished, is not in this case entirely taken away. Reputation in his profession is still of some importance to him, and he still has some dependency upon the affection, gratitude, and favorable report, of those who have attended upon his instructions; and these favorable sentiments he is likely to gain in no way so well as by deserving them, that is, by the abilities and diligence with which he discharges every part of his duty.

In other universities the teacher is prohibited from receiving any honorary or fee from his pupils, and his salary constitutes the whole of the revenue which he derives from his office. His interest is, in this case, set as directly in opposition to his duty as it is possible to set it. It is the interest of every man to live

as much at his ease as he can; and if his emoluments are to be precisely the same, whether he does or does not perform some very laborious duty, it is certainly his interest, at least as interest is vulgarly understood, either to neglect it altogether, or, if he is subject to some authority which will not suffer him to do this, to perform it in as careless and slovenly a manner as that authority will permit. If he is naturally active, and a lover of labor, it is his interest to employ that activity in any way from which he can derive some advantage, rather than in the performance of his duty, from which he can derive none.

If the authority to which he is subject resides in the body corporate, the college or university of which he is himself a member, and in which the greater part of the other members are, like himself, persons who either are or ought to be teachers, they are likely to make a common cause, to be all very indulgent to one another, and every man to consent that his neighbor may neglect his duty, provided he himself is allowed to neglect his own. In the University of Oxford the greater part of the public professors have, for these many years, given up altogether even the pretence of teaching.

If the authority to which he is subject resides, not so much in the body corporate of which he is a member, as in some other extraneous persons, in the bishop of the diocese, for example, in the governor of the province, or, perhaps, in some minister of state; it is not, indeed, in this case, very likely that he will be suffered to neglect his duty altogether. All that such superiors, however, can force him to do is to attend upon his pupils a certain number of hours, that is, to give a certain number of lectures in the week, or in the year. What those lectures shall be must still depend upon the diligence of the teacher; and that diligence is likely to be proportioned to the motives which he has for exerting it. An extraneous jurisdiction of this kind, besides, is liable to be exercised both ignorantly and capriciously. In its nature it is arbitrary and discretionary; and the persons who exercise it, neither attending upon the lectures of the teacher themselves, nor perhaps understanding the sciences which it is his business to teach, are seldom capable of exercising it with judgment. From the insolence of office, too, they are frequently indifferent how they exercise it, and are very apt to censure or deprive him of his office wantonly, and without any just cause. The person subject to such jurisdiction is necessarily degraded by it, and instead of being one of the most respectable, is rendered one of the meanest and most contemptible persons in the society. It is by powerful protection only that he can effectually guard himself against the bad usage to which he is at all times exposed; and this protection he is most likely to gain, not by ability or diligence in his profession, but by obsequiousness to the will of his superiors, and by being ready at all times to sacrifice to that will, the rights, the interest, and the honor of the body corporate of which he is a member. Whoever has attended for any considerable time to the administration of a French university, must have had occasion to remark the effects which naturally result from an arbitrary and extraneous jurisdiction of this kind.

Whatever forces a certain number of students to any college or university, independent of the merit or reputation of the teachers, tends more or less to diminish the necessity of that merit or reputation.

The privileges of graduates in arts, in law, physic, and divinity, when they can be obtained only by residing a certain number of years in certain universities, necessarily force a certain number of students to such universities, independent of the merit or reputation of the teachers. The privileges of graduates are a sort of statutes of apprenticeship, which have contributed to the improvement of education, just as the other statutes of apprenticeship have to that of arts and manufactures.

The charitable foundations of scholarships, exhibitions, bursaries, etc., nec-

essarily attach a certain number of students to certain colleges, independent altogether of the merit of those particular colleges. Were the students upon such charitable foundations left free to choose what college they liked best, such liberty might perhaps contribute to excite some emulation among different colleges. A regulation, on the contrary, which prohibited even the independent members of every particular college from leaving it, and going to any other, without leave first asked and obtained of that which they meant to abandon, would tend very much to extinguish that emulation.

If, in each college, the tutor or teacher who was to instruct each student in all arts and sciences, should not be voluntarily chosen by the student, but appointed by the head of the college; and if, in case of neglect, inability, or bad usage, the student should not be allowed to change him for another, without leave first asked and obtained; such a regulation would not only tend very much to extinguish all emulation among the different tutors of the same college, but to diminish very much in all of them the necessity of diligence and of attention to their respective pupils. Such teachers, though very well paid by their students, might be as much disposed to neglect them as those who are not paid by them at all, or who have no other recompense but their salary.

If the teacher happens to be a man of sense, it must be an unpleasant thing to him to be conscious, while he is lecturing his students, that he is either speaking or reading nonsense, or what is very little better than nonsense. It must, too, be unpleasant to him to observe that the greater part of his students desert his lectures; or, perhaps, attend upon them with plain enough marks of neglect, contempt, and derision. If he is obliged, therefore, to give a certain number of lectures, these motives alone, without any other interest, might dispose him to take some pains to give tolerably good ones. Several different expedients, however, may be fallen upon, which will effectually blunt the edge of all those incitements to diligence. The teacher, instead of explaining to his pupils himself the science in which he proposes to instruct them, may read some book upon it; and if this book is written in a foreign and dead language, by interpreting it to them in their own, or, what would give him still less trouble, by making them interpret it to him, and by now and then making an occasional remark upon it, he may flatter himself that he is giving a lecture. The slightest degree of knowledge and application will enable him to do this without exposing himself to the contempt or derision of saying anything that is really foolish, absurd, or ridiculous. The discipline of the college, at the same time, may enable him to force all his pupils to the most regular attendance upon his sham lecture, and to maintain the most decent and respectful behavior during the whole time of the performance.

The discipline of colleges and universities is in general contrived not for the benefit of the students, but for the interest, or, more properly speaking, for the ease, of the masters. Its object is in all cases to maintain the authority of the master, and, whether he neglects or performs his duty, to oblige the students in all cases to behave to him as if he performed it with the greatest diligence and ability. It seems to presume perfect wisdom and virtue in the one order, and the greatest weakness and folly in the other. Where the masters, however, really perform their duty, there are no examples, I believe, that the greater part of the students ever neglect theirs. No discipline is ever requisite to force attendance upon lectures which are really worth the attending, as is well known wherever any such lectures are given. Force and restraint may, no doubt, be in some degree requisite in order to oblige children, or very young boys, to attend to those parts of education which it is thought necessary for them to acquire during that early period of life; but after twelve or thirteen years of age, provided the master does his duty, force or restraint can scarce ever be neces-

sary to carry on any part of education. Such is the generosity of the greater part of young men, that so far from being disposed to neglect or despise the instructions of their master, provided he shows some serious intention of being of use to them, they are generally inclined to pardon a great deal of incorrectness in the performance of his duty, and sometimes even to conceal from the public a good deal of gross negligence.

Those parts of education, it is to be observed, for the teaching of which there are no public institutions, are generally the best taught. When a young man goes to a fencing or a dancing school, he does not, indeed, always learn to fence or to dance very well; but he seldom fails of learning to fence or to dance. The good effects of the riding school are not commonly so evident. The expense of a riding school is so great that in most places it is a public institution. The three most essential parts of literary education, to read, write, and account, it still continues to be more common to acquire in private than in public schools; and it very seldom happens that anybody fails of acquiring them to the degree in which it is necessary to acquire them.

In England the public schools are much less corrupted than the universities. In the schools the youth are taught, or at least may be taught, Greek and Latin; that is, everything which the masters pretend to teach, or which it is expected they should teach. In the universities the youth neither are taught, nor always can find any proper means of being taught, the sciences which it is the business of those incorporated bodies to teach. The reward of the school-master, in most cases, depends principally, in some cases almost entirely, upon the fees or honoraries of his scholars. Schools have no exclusive privileges. In order to obtain the honors of graduation it is not necessary that a person should bring a certificate of his having studied a certain number of years at a public school. If, upon examination, he appears to understand what is taught there, no questions are asked about the place where he learnt it.

The parts of education which are commonly taught in universities, it may perhaps be said, are not very well taught. But had it not been for those institutions, they would not have been commonly taught at all; and both the individual and the public would have suffered a good deal from the want of those important parts of education.

The present universities of Europe were originally, the greater part of them, ecclesiastical corporations, instituted for the education of Churchmen. They were founded by the authority of the Pope; and were so entirely under his immediate protection that their members, whether masters or students, had all of them what was then called the benefit of clergy, that is, were exempted from the civil jurisdiction of the countries in which their respective universities were situated, and were amenable only to the ecclesiastical tribunals. What was taught in the greater part of those universities was suitable to the end of their institution, either theology, or something merely preparatory to it.

When Christianity was first established by law a corrupted Latin had become the common language of all the western parts of Europe. The service of the Church, accordingly, and the translation of the Bible which was read in churches, were both in that corrupted Latin, that is, in the common language of the country. After the irruption of the barbarous nations who overturned the Roman empire, Latin gradually ceased to be the language of any part of Europe. But the reverence of the people naturally preserves the established forms and ceremonies of religion long after the circumstances which first introduced and rendered them reasonable are no more. Though Latin, therefore, was no longer understood anywhere by the great body of the people, the whole service of the Church still continued to be performed in that language. Two different languages were thus established in Europe in the same manner as in

ancient Egypt; a language of the priests and a language of the people; a sacred and a profane, a learned and an unlearned language. But it was necessary that the priests should understand something of that sacred and learned language in which they were to officiate, and the study of the Latin language, therefore, made from the beginning an essential part of university education.

It was not so with that either of the Greek or of the Hebrew language. The infallible decrees of the Church had pronounced the Latin translation of the Bible, commonly called the Latin Vulgate, to have been equally dictated by Divine inspiration, and, therefore, of equal authority with the Greek and Hebrew originals. The knowledge of those two languages, therefore, not being indispensably requisite to a Churchman, the study of them did not for a long time make a necessary part of the common course of university education. There are some Spanish universities, I am assured, in which the study of the Greek language has never yet made any part of that course. The first reformers found the Greek text of the New Testament, and even the Hebrew text of the Old, more favorable to their opinions than the Vulgate translation, which, as might naturally be supposed, had been gradually accommodated to support the doctrines of the Catholic Church. They set themselves, therefore, to expose the many errors of that translation, which the Roman Catholic clergy were thus put under the necessity of defending or explaining. But this could not well be done without some knowledge of the original languages, of which the study was, therefore, gradually introduced into the greater part of the universities; both of those which embraced, and of those which rejected, the doctrines of the Reformation. The Greek language was connected with every part of that classical learning, which, though at first principally cultivated by Catholics and Italians, happened to come into fashion much about the same time the doctrines of the Reformation were set on foot. In the greater part of universities, therefore, that language was taught previous to the study of philosophy, and as soon as the student had made some progress in the Latin. The Hebrew language having no connection with classical learning, and, except the Holy Scriptures, being the language of not a single book in any esteem, the study of it did not commonly commence till after that of philosophy, and when the student had entered upon the study of theology.

Originally the first rudiments, both of the Greek and Latin languages, were taught in universities, and in some universities they still continue to be so. In others it is expected that the student should have previously acquired at least the rudiments of one or both of those languages, of which the study continues to make everywhere a very considerable part of university education.

The ancient Greek philosophy was divided into three great branches: physics, or natural philosophy, ethics, or moral philosophy, and logic. This general division seems perfectly agreeable to the nature of things.

The great phenomena of nature, the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, eclipses, comets, thunder, lightning, and other extraordinary meteors; the generation, the life, growth, and dissolution of plants and animals, are objects which, as they necessarily excite the wonder, so they naturally call forth the curiosity, of mankind to inquire into their causes. Superstition first attempted to satisfy this curiosity by referring all those wonderful appearances to the immediate agency of the gods. Philosophy afterwards endeavored to account for them from more familiar causes, or from such as mankind were better acquainted with than the agency of the gods. As those great phenomena are the first objects of human curiosity, so the science which pretends to explain them must naturally have been the first branch of philosophy that was cultivated. The first philosophers, accordingly, of whom history has preserved any account, appear to have been natural philosophers.

In every age and country of the world men must have attended to the characters, designs, and actions of one another; and many reputable rules and maxims for the conduct of human life must have been laid down and approved of by common consent. As soon as writing came into fashion, wise men, or those who fancied themselves such, would naturally endeavor to increase the number of those established and respected maxims, and to express their own sense of what was either proper or improper conduct, sometimes in the more artificial form of apologues, like what are called the fables of *Æsop*, and sometimes in the more simple one of apophthegms or wise sayings like the proverbs of *Solomon*, the verses of *Theognis* and *Phocylides*, and some part of the works of *Hesiod*. They might continue in this manner for a long time merely to multiply the number of those maxims of prudence and morality without even attempting to arrange them in any very distinct or methodical order, much less to connect them together by one or more general principles, from which they were all deducible, like effects from their natural causes. The beauty of a systematical arrangement of different observations, connected by a few common principles, was first seen in the rude essays of those ancient times towards a system of natural philosophy. Something of the same kind was afterwards attempted in morals. The maxims of common life were arranged in some methodical order, and connected together by a few common principles, in the same manner as they had attempted to arrange and connect the phenomena of nature. The science which pretends to investigate and explain those connecting principles is what is properly called moral philosophy.

Different authors gave different systems, both of natural and moral philosophy. But the arguments by which they supported those different systems, far from being always demonstrations, were frequently at best but very slender probabilities, and sometimes mere sophisms, which had no other foundation but the inaccuracy and ambiguity of common language. Speculative systems have, in all ages of the world, been adopted for reasons too frivolous to have determined the judgment of any man of common-sense in a matter of the smallest pecuniary interest. Gross sophistry has scarce ever had any influence upon the opinions of mankind except in matters of philosophy and speculation, and in these it has frequently had the greatest. The patrons of each system of natural and moral philosophy naturally endeavored to expose the weakness of the arguments adduced to support the systems which were opposite to their own. In examining those arguments they were necessarily led to consider the difference between a probable and a demonstrative argument, between a fallacious and a conclusive one; and logic, or the science of the general principles of good and bad reasoning, necessarily arose out of the observations which a scrutiny of this kind gave occasion to. Though in its origin posterior both to physics and to ethics, it was commonly taught, not indeed in all, but in the greater part of the ancient schools of philosophy previously to either of those sciences. The student, it seems to have been thought, ought to understand well the difference between good and bad reasoning before he was led to reason upon subjects of so great importance.

This ancient division of philosophy into three parts was, in the greater part of the universities of Europe, changed for another into five.

In the ancient philosophy whatever was taught concerning the nature either of the human mind or of the Deity made a part of the system of physics. Those beings, in whatever their essence might be supposed to consist, were parts of the great system of the universe, and parts, too, productive of the most important effects. Whatever human reason could either conclude or conjecture concerning them made, as it were, two chapters, though no doubt two very important ones, of the science which pretended to give an account of the origin and revolutions of the great system of the universe. But in the univer-

sities of Europe, where philosophy was taught only as subservient to theology, it was natural to dwell longer upon those two chapters than upon any other of the science. They were gradually more and more extended, and were divided into many inferior chapters, till at last the doctrine of spirits, of which so little can be known, came to take up as much room in the system of philosophy as the doctrine of bodies, of which so much can be known. The doctrines concerning those two subjects were considered as making two distinct sciences. What are called metaphysics or pneumatics were set in opposition to physics, and were cultivated not only as the more sublime, but, for the purposes of a particular profession, as the more useful science of the two. The proper subject of experiment and observation, a subject in which a careful attention is capable of making so many useful discoveries, was almost entirely neglected. The subject in which, after a few very simple and almost obvious truths, the most careful attention can discover nothing but obscurity and uncertainty, and can consequently produce only subtleties and sophisms, was greatly cultivated.

When those two sciences had thus been set in opposition to one another, the comparison between them naturally gave birth to a third, to what was called ontology, or the science which treated of the qualities and attributes which were common to both the subjects of the other two sciences. But if subtleties and sophisms composed the greater part of the metaphysics or pneumatics of the schools, they composed the whole of this cobweb science of ontology, which was likewise sometimes called metaphysica.

Wherein consisted the happiness and perfection of a man, considered not only as an individual, but as the member of a family, of a state, and of the great society of mankind, was the object which the ancient moral philosophy proposed to investigate. In that philosophy the duties of human life were treated of as subservient to the happiness and perfection of human life. But when moral as well as natural philosophy came to be taught only as subservient to theology, the duties of human life were treated of as chiefly subservient to the happiness of a life to come. In the ancient philosophy the perfection of virtue was represented as necessarily productive, to the person who possessed it, of the most perfect happiness in this life. In the modern philosophy it was frequently represented generally, or rather as almost always inconsistent with any degree of happiness in this life; and heaven was to be earned only by penance and mortification, by the austerities and abasement of a monk, not by the liberal, generous, and spirited conduct of a man. Casuistry, and an ascetic morality, made up in most cases the greater part of the moral philosophy of the schools. By far the most important of all the different branches of philosophy became in this manner by far the most corrupted.

Such, therefore, was the common course of philosophical education in the greater part of the universities in Europe. Logic was taught first; ontology came in the second place; pneumatology, comprehending the doctrine concerning the nature of the human soul and of the Deity, in the third; in the fourth followed a debased system of moral philosophy, which was considered as immediately connected with the doctrines of pneumatology, with the immortality of the human soul, and with the rewards and punishments which, from the justice of the Deity, were to be expected in a life to come; a short and superficial system of physics usually concluded the course.

The alterations which the universities of Europe thus introduced into the ancient course of philosophy were all meant for the education of ecclesiastics, and to render it a more proper introduction to the study of theology. But the additional quality of subtlety and sophistry, the casuistry and the ascetic morality which those alterations introduced into it, certainly did not render it more for the education of gentlemen or men of the world, or more likely either to improve the understanding or to mend the heart.

This course of philosophy is what still continues to be taught in the greater part of the universities of Europe, with more or less diligence, according as the constitution of each particular university happens to render diligence more or less necessary to the teachers. In some of the richest and best endowed universities the tutors content themselves with teaching a few unconnected shreds and parcels of this corrupted course; and even these they commonly teach very negligently and superficially.

The improvements which in modern times have been made in several different branches of philosophy have not, the greater part of them, been made in universities, though some, no doubt, have. The greater part of universities have not even been very forward to adopt those improvements after they were made; and several of those learned societies have chosen to remain, for a long time, the sanctuaries in which exploded systems and obsolete prejudices found shelter and protection, after they had been hunted out of every other corner of the world. In general, the richest and best endowed universities have been slowest in adopting those improvements, and the most averse to permit any considerable change in the established plan of education. Those improvements were more easily introduced into some of the poorer universities, in which the teachers, depending upon their reputation for the greater part of their subsistence, were obliged to pay more attention to the current opinions of the world.

But though the public schools and universities of Europe were originally intended only for the education of a particular profession—that of Churchmen; and though they were not always very diligent in instructing their pupils, even in the sciences which were supposed necessary for that profession, yet they gradually drew to themselves the education of almost all other people, particularly of almost all gentlemen and men of fortune. No better method, it seems, could be fallen upon of spending, with any advantage, the long interval between infancy and that period of life at which men begin to apply in good earnest to the real business of the world, the business which is to employ them during the remainder of their days. The greater part of what is taught in schools and universities, however, does not seem to be the most proper preparation for that business.

In England it becomes every day more and more the custom to send young people to travel in foreign countries immediately upon their leaving school, and without sending them to any university. Our young people, it is said, generally return home much improved by their travels. A young man, who goes abroad at seventeen or eighteen, and returns home at one-and-twenty, returns three or four years older than he was when he went abroad; and at that age it is very difficult not to improve a good deal in three or four years. In the course of his travels he generally acquires some knowledge of one or two foreign languages; a knowledge, however, which is seldom sufficient to enable him either to speak or write them with propriety. In other respects he commonly returns home more conceited, more unprincipled, more dissipated, and more incapable of any serious application, either to study or to business, than he could well have become in so short a time had he lived at home. By travelling so very young, by spending in the most frivolous dissipation the most precious years of his life, at a distance from the inspection and control of his parents and relations, every useful habit which the earlier parts of his education might have had some tendency to form in him, instead of being riveted and confirmed, is almost necessarily weakened or effaced. Nothing but the discredit into which the universities are allowing themselves to fall could ever have brought into repute so very absurd a practice as that of travelling at this early period of life. By sending his son abroad a father delivers himself, at least for some time, from so disagreeable an object as that of a son unemployed, neglected, and going to ruin before his eyes.

COLLEGE LIFE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

A traveler, who visits Oxford or Cambridge, is surprised and edified by the apparent order and tranquillity that prevail in the seats of the English muses. In the most celebrated universities of Holland, Germany, and Italy, the students, who swarm from different countries, are loosely dispersed in private lodgings at the houses of the burghers: they dress according to their fancy and fortune; and in the intemperate quarrels of youth and wine, their *swords*, though less frequently than of old, are sometimes stained with each other's blood. The use of arms is banished from our English universities; the uniform habit of the academies, the square cap and black gown, is adapted to the civil and even clerical profession; and from the doctor in divinity to the under-graduate, the degrees of learning and age are externally distinguished. Instead of being scattered in a town, the students of Oxford and Cambridge are united in colleges; their maintenance is provided at their own expense, or that of the founders; and the stated hours of the hall and chapel represent the discipline of a regular, and, as it were, a religious community. The eyes of the traveler are attracted by the size or beauty of the public edifices; and the principal colleges appear to be so many palaces, which a liberal nation has erected and endowed for the habitation of science. My own introduction to the University of Oxford forms a new era in my life; and at the distance of forty years I still remember my first emotions of surprise and satisfaction. In my fifteenth year I felt myself suddenly raised from a boy to a man: the persons, whom I respected as my superiors in age and academical rank, entertained me with every mark of attention and civility; and my vanity was flattered by the velvet cap and silk gown, which distinguish a gentleman commoner from a plebeian student. A decent allowance, more money than a school-boy had ever seen, was at my own disposal; and I might command, among the tradesmen of Oxford, an indefinite and dangerous latitude of credit. A key was delivered into my hands, which gave me the free use of a numerous and learned library; my apartment consisted of three elegant and well-furnished rooms in the new building, a stately pile, of Magdalen College; and the adjacent walks, had they been frequented by Plato's disciples, might have been compared to the Attic shade on the banks of the Ilissus. Such was my entrance (April 3, 1752), into Oxford.

To the University of Oxford I acknowledge no obligation; and she will as cheerfully renounce me for a son, as I am willing to disclaim her for a mother. I spent fourteen months at Magdalen College; they proved the fourteen months the most idle and unprofitable of my whole life: the reader will pronounce between the school and the scholar; but I can not affect to believe that Nature had disqualified me for all literary pursuits. The specious and ready excuse of my tender age, imperfect preparation, and hasty departure, may doubtless be alledged; nor do I wish to defraud such excuses of their proper weight. Yet in my sixteenth year I was not devoid of capacity or application; even my childish reading had displayed an early though blind propensity for books; and the shallow flood might have been taught to flow in a deep channel and a clear stream. In the discipline of a well-constituted academy, under the guidance of skillful and vigilant professors, I should gradually have risen from translations to originals, from the Latin to the Greek classics, from dead languages to living science: my hours would have been occupied by useful and agreeable studies, the wanderings of fancy would have been restrained, and I should

have escaped the temptations of idleness, which finally precipitated my departure from Oxford.

In all the universities of Europe, excepting our own, the languages and sciences are distributed among a numerous list of effective professors: the students, according to their taste, their calling, and their diligence, apply themselves to the proper masters; and in the annual repetition of public and private lectures, these masters are assiduously employed. Our curiosity may inquire what number of professors has been instituted at Oxford? (for I shall now confine myself to my own university;) by whom are they appointed, and what may be the probable chances of merit or incapacity? how many are stationed to the three faculties, and how many are left for the liberal arts? what is the form, and what the substance of their lessons? But all these questions are silenced by one short and singular answer, 'That in the University of Oxford, the greater part of the public professors have for these many years given up altogether even the pretense of teaching.' Incredible as the fact may appear, I must rest my belief on the positive and impartial evidence of a master of moral and political wisdom, who had himself resided at Oxford. Dr. Adam Smith assigns as the cause of their indolence, that, instead of being paid by voluntary contributions, which would urge them to increase the number, and to deserve the gratitude of their pupils, the Oxford professors are secure in the enjoyment of a fixed stipend, without the necessity of labor, or the apprehension of control. It has indeed been observed, nor is the observation absurd, that, excepting in experimental sciences, which demand a costly apparatus and a dextrous hand, the many valuable treatises, that have been published on every subject of learning, may now supersede the ancient mode of oral instruction. Were this principle true in its utmost latitude, I should only infer that the offices and salaries, which are become useless, ought without delay to be abolished. But there still remains a material difference between a book and a professor; the hour of the lecturer enforces attendance; attention is fixed by the presence, the voice, and the occasional questions of the teacher; the most idle will carry something away; and the more diligent will compare the instructions, which they have heard in the school, with the volumes, which they peruse in their chamber. The advice of a skillful professor will adapt a course of reading to every mind and every situation; his authority will discover, admonish, and at last chastise the negligence of his disciples; and his vigilant inquiries will ascertain the steps of their literary progress. Whatever science he professes he may illustrate in a series of discourses, composed in the leisure of his closet, pronounced on public occasions, and finally delivered to the press.

Our colleges are supposed to be schools of science as well as of education; nor is it unreasonable to expect that a body of literary men, devoted to a life of celibacy, exempt from the care of their own subsistence, and amply provided with books, should devote their leisure to the prosecution of study, and that some effects of their studies should be manifested to the world. The shelves of their library groan under the weight of the Benedictine folios, of the editions of the fathers, and the collections of the middle ages, which have issued from the single abbey of St Germain des Prés at Paris. A composition of genius must be the offspring of one mind; but such works of industry as may be divided among many hands, and must be continued during many years, are the peculiar province of a laborious community. If I inquire into the manufactures

of the monks of Magdalen, if I extend the inquiry to the other colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, a silent blush, or a scornful frown, will be the only reply. The fellows or monks of my time were decent easy men, who supinely enjoyed the gifts of the founder: their days were filled by a series of uniform employments; the chapel and the hall, the coffee-house and the common room, till they retired, weary and well satisfied, to a long slumber. From the toil of reading, or thinking, or writing, they had absolved their conscience; and the first shoots of learning and ingenuity withered on the ground, without yielding any fruits to the owners or the public. As a gentleman commoner, I was admitted to the society of the fellows, and fondly expected that some questions of literature would be the amusing and instructive topics of their discourse. Their conversation stagnated in a round of college business, Tory politics, personal anecdotes, and private scandal: their dull and deep potations excused the brisk intemperance of youth; and their constitutional toasts were not expressive of the most lively loyalty for the house of Hanover.

The silence of the Oxford professors, which deprives the youth of public instruction, is imperfectly supplied by the tutors, as they are styled, of the several colleges. Instead of confining themselves to a single science, which had satisfied the ambition of Burman or Bernoulli, they teach, or promise to teach, either history or mathematics, or ancient literature, or moral philosophy; and as it is possible that they may be defective in all, it is highly probable that of some they will be ignorant. They are paid, indeed, by private contributions; but their appointment depends on the head of the house: their diligence is voluntary, and will consequently be languid, while the pupils themselves, or their parents, are not indulged in the liberty of choice or change.

The first tutor into whose hands I was resigned was one of the best of the tribe. . . . As soon as he had sounded the insufficiency of his disciple in school learning, he proposed that we should read every morning from ten to eleven the comedies of Terence. The sum of my improvement in the University of Oxford is confined to three or four Latin plays: and even the study of an elegant classic, which might have been illustrated by a comparison of ancient and modern theaters, was reduced to a dry and literal interpretation of the author's text. During the first weeks I constantly attended these lessons in my tutor's room; but as they appeared equally devoid of profit and pleasure, I was once tempted to try the experiment of a formal apology. The apology was accepted with a smile. I repeated the offense with less ceremony; the excuse was admitted with the same indulgence: the slightest motive of laziness or indisposition, the most trifling avocation at home or abroad, was allowed as a worthy impediment; nor did my tutor appear conscious of my absence or neglect. Had the hour of lecture been constantly filled, a single hour was a small portion of my academic lesson. No plan of study was recommended for my use; no exercises were prescribed for his inspection; and, at the most precious season of youth, whole days and weeks were suffered to elapse without labor or amusement, without advice or account. I should have listened to the voice of reason and of my tutor; his mild behavior had gained my confidence. I preferred his society to that of the younger students; and in our evening walks to the top of Heddington Hill, we freely conversed on a variety of subjects. Since the days of Pocock and Hyde, oriental learning has always been the pride of Oxford, and I once expressed an inclination to study Arabic. His prudence

discouraged this childish fancy; but he neglected the fair occasion of directing the ardor of a curious mind.

After the departure of [his first tutor] to a college living, I was transferred with his other pupils, to his academical heir, whose literary character did not command the respect of the college. Dr. — well remembered that he had a salary to receive, and only forgot that he had a duty to perform. Instead of guiding the studies and watching the behavior of his disciples, I was never summoned to attend even the ceremony of a lecture; and excepting one voluntary visit to his rooms, during the eight months of his titular office, the tutor and pupil lived in the same college as strangers to each other. The want of experience, of advice, and of occupation, soon betrayed me into some improprieties of conduct, ill-chosen company, late hours, and inconsiderate expense. My growing debts might be secret; but my frequent absence was visible and scandalous; and a tour to Bath, a visit into Buckinghamshire, and four excursions to London in the same winter, were costly and dangerous frolics. They were, indeed, without a meaning, as without an excuse. The irksomeness of a cloistered life repeatedly tempted me to wander; but my chief pleasure was that of traveling; and I was too young and bashful to enjoy, like a manly Oxonian in town, the pleasures of London. In all these excursions I eloped from Oxford; I returned to college; in a few days I eloped again, as if I had been an independent stranger in a hired lodging, without once hearing the voice of admonition, without once feeling the hand of control. Yet my time was lost, my expenses were multiplied, my behavior abroad was unknown; folly as well as vice should have awakened the attention of my superiors, and my tender years would have justified a more than ordinary degree of restraint and discipline.

Gibbon's connection with his college and the university was severed by his 'becoming bewildered in the dangerous mazes of religious controversy,' because, as he alledges, 'our venerable mother was often remiss in the spiritual education of her own children. According to the statutes of the university, every student, before he is matriculated, must subscribe his assent to the thirty-nine articles of the church of England, which are signed by more than read, and read by more than believe them. My insufficient age excused me, however, from the immediate performance of this legal ceremony; and the vice-chancellor directed me to return, as soon as I should have accomplished my fifteenth year; recommending me, in the mean while, to the instruction of my college. My college forgot to instruct: I forgot to return, and was myself forgotten by the first magistrate of the university. Without a single lecture, either public or private, either Christian or Protestant, without any academical subscription, without any Episcopal confirmation, I was left by the dim light of my catechism to grope my way to the chapel and communion table, where I was admitted, without a question how far, or by what means, I might be qualified to receive the sacrament.' In this condition of things he became a convert to the Roman Catholic faith, and the gates of his college were closed to him.

BALLIOL SCHOLARS—A REMEMBRANCE

BY J. C. SHARPE, PRINCIPAL OF ST. ANDREW'S UNIVERSITY

- I. WITHIN the ancient College-gate I passed,
 Looked round once more upon the well-known square:
 Change had been busy since I saw it last,
 Replacing crumbled walls by new and fair;
 The old chapel gone—a roof of statelier show
 Soared high—I wondered if it sees below
 As pure heart-worship, as confiding prayer.
- II. But though walls, chapel, garden, all are changed,
 And through these courts quick generations fleet,
 There are whom still I see round table ranged,
 In chapel snowy-stoled for mistins meet;
 Though many faces since have come and gone,
 Changeless in memory these still live on,
 A Scholar brotherhood, high-souled and complete.
- III. From old foundations where the nation rears
 Her darlings, came that flower of England's youth,
 And here in latest teens, or riper years,
 Stood drinking in all nobleness and truth.
 By streams of Isle 'twas a fervid time,
 When zeal and young devotion held their prime,
 Whence not unrecaptive these in sooth.
- IV. The voice that weekly from St. Mary's spake,
 As from the unseen world oracular,
 Strong as another Wesley, to re-awake
 The sluggish heart of England, near and far,
 Voice so intense to win men, or repel,
 Piercing yet tender, on these spirits fell,
 Making them other, higher than they were.
- V. Foremost one stood, with forehead high and broad,
 Sculptor ne'er molded grander dome of thought
 Beneath it, eyes dark-lustered rolled and glowed,
 Deep wells of feeling where the full soul wrought;
 Yet lithe of limb, and strong as shepherd boy,
 He reared the wastes and drank the mountain joy,
 To cool a heart too cruelly distraught.
- VI. The voice that from St. Mary's thrilled the hour,
 He could not choose but let it in, though loath;
 Yet a far other voice with earlier power
 Had touched his soul and won his first heart-troth,
 In school-days heard; not far from Avon's stream:
 Anon there dawned on him a wilder dream,
 Opening strange tracts of thought remote from both.
- VII. All travail pangs of thought too soon he knew,
 All currents felt, that shake these anxious years,
 Striving to walk to tender conscience true,

* In *MacMillan's Magazine* for March, 1872. p. 350-352.

And bear his load alone, nor vex his peers.
 From these, alas! too soon he moved apart;
 Sorrowing they saw him go, with loyal heart,
 Such heart as greatly loves, but more reveres.

VIII. Away o'er Highland Bens and glens, away
 He roamed, rejoicing without let or bound.
 And, yearning still to vast America,
 A simpler life, more freedom, sought, not found.
 Now the world listens to his lone soul-songs;
 But he, for all its miseries and wrongs
 Sad no more, sleeps beneath Italian ground.

IX. Beside that elder scholar one there stood,
 On Sunday mornings 'mid the band white-stoled,
 As deep of thought, but chastened more of mood,
 Devout, affectionate, and humble-souled.
 There, as he stood in chapel, week by week,
 Lines of deep feeling furrowed down his cheek
 Lent him, even then, an aspect strangely old.

X. Not from the great foundations of the land,
 But from a wise and learned father's roof,
 His place he won amid that scholar band,
 Where finest gifts of mind were put to proof;
 And if some things he missed which great schools teach,
 More precious traits he kept, beyond their reach,—
 Shy traits that rougher world had scared aloof.

XI. Him early prophet souls of Oriel
 A boy-companion to their converse drew,
 And yet his thought was free, and pondered well
 All sides of each, and gave to each its due.
 O pure wise heart, and guileless as a child!
 In thee, all jarring discords reconciled,
 Knowledge and reverence undivided grew.

XII. Ah me! we dreamed it had been his to lead
 The world by power of deeply-pondered books,
 And lure a rash and hasty age to heed
 Old truths set forth with fresh and winsome looks;
 But he those heights forsook for the low vale
 And sober shades, where dwells misfortune pale,
 And sorrow pines in unremembered nooks.

XIII. Where'er a lone one lay and had no friend,
 A son of consolation there was he;
 And all life long there was no pain to tend,
 No grief to solace, but his heart was free;
 And then, his years of pastoral service done,
 And his long suffering meekly borne, he won
 A grave of peace by England's southern sea.

XIV. More than all arguments in deep books stored,
 Than any preacher's penetrative tone,
 More than all music by rapt poet poured,

To have seen thy life, thy converse to have known,
Was witness for thy Lord—that thus to be
Humble, and true, and loving, like to thee—
This was worth living for, and this alone.

XV. Fair-haired and tall, slim, but of stately mien,
Inheritor of a high poetic name,
Another, in the bright bloom of nineteen,
Fresh from the pleasant fields of Eton came:
Whate'er of beautiful or poet sung,
Or statesman uttered, round his memory clung;
Before him shone resplendent heights of fame.

XVI. With friends around the board, no wit so fine,
To wing the jest, the sparkling tale to tell;
Yet oftentimes listening in St. Mary's shrine,
Profounder moods upon his spirit fell:
We heard him then, England has heard him since,
Uphold the fallen, make the guilty wince,
And the hushed Senate have confessed the spell.

XVII. There too was one, broad-browed, with open face,
And frame for toil compacted—him with pride
A school of Devon from a rural place
Had sent to stand these chosen ones beside;
From childhood trained all hardness to endure,
To love the things that noble are, and pure,
And think and do the truth, whate'er betide.

XVIII. With strength for labor, 'as the strength of ten,'
To ceaseless toil he girt him night and day;
A native king and ruler among men,
Plowman or Premier, born to bear true sway;
Small or great duty never known to shirk,
He bounded joyously to sternest work,
Less buoyant others turn to sport and play.

XIX. Comes brightly back one day—he had performed
Within the Schools some more than looked-for feat,
And friends and brother scholars round him swarmed
To give the day to gladness that was meet:
Forth to the fields we fared,—among the young
Green leaves and grass, his laugh the loudest rung;
Beyond the rest his bound flew far and fleet.

XX. All afternoon o'er Shotover's breezy heath
We ranged, through bush and brake instinct with spring,
The vernal dream-lights o'er the plains beneath
Trailed, overhead the skylarks carolling;
Then home through evening-shadowed fields we went,
And filled our College rooms with merriment,—
Pure joys, whose memory contains no sting.

XXI. And thou wast there that day, my earliest friend
In Oxford! sharer of that joy the while!
Ah me, with what delightful memories blend

'Thy pale calm face, thy strangely-soothing smile ;'
 What hours come back, when, pacing College walks,
 New knowledge dawned on us, or friendly talks,
 Inserted, long night-labors would beguile.

XXII. What strolls through meadows mown of fragrant hay,
 On summer evenings by smooth Cherwell stream,
 When Homer's song, or chant from Shelley's lay,
 Added new splendor to the sunset gleam :
 Or how, on calm of Sunday afternoon,
 Keble's low sweet voice to devout commune,
 And heavenward musings, would the hours redeem.

XXIII. But when on crimson creeper o'er the wall
 Autumn his finger beautifully impressed,
 And came, the third time, as October's call,
 Cheerily trooping to their rooms the rest,
 Filling them with glad meetings and young glee,
 His room alone was empty—henceforth we
 By his sweet fellowship no more were blest.

XXIV. Too soon, too quickly from our longing sight,
 Fading he passed, and left us to deplore
 From all our Oxford day a lovely light,
 Gone, which no after morning could restore.
 Through his own meadows Cherwell still wound on,
 And Thames by Eton fields as glorious shone—
 He who so loved them would come back no more.

XXV. Among that scholar band the youngest pair
 In hall and chapel side by side were seen,
 Each of high hopes and noble promise heir,
 But far in thought apart—a world between.
 The one wide-welcomed for a father's fame,
 Entered with free bold step that seemed to claim
 Fame for himself, nor on another's name.

XXVI. So full of power, yet blithe and debonair,
 Ballying his friend, with pleasant banter gay,
 Or half a dream chanting with jaunty air
 Great words of Goethe, catch of Beranger—
 We see the banter sparkle in his prose,
 But knew not then the undertone that flows,
 So calmly and, through all his stately lay.

XXVII. The other of an ancient name, erst dear
 To Berkeley Hills, though thence too long exiled,
 In lore of Helles scholar without peer,
 Reared in gray halls on banks of Severn piled :
 Reserved he was, of few words and slow speech,
 But dwelt strange power, that beyond words could reach,
 In that sweet face by no rude thought defiled.

XXVIII. Oft at the hour when round the board at wine,
 Friends met, and others' talk flowed fast and free,
 His listening silence and grave look benign

More than all speech made sweet society,
But when the rowers, on their rivals gaining,
Close on the goal bent, every sinew straining—
Then who more stout, more resolute than he!

XXIX. With that dear memory come back most of all
Calm days in Holy Week together spent;
Then brightness of the Easter Festival
O'er all things streaming, as a-field we went
Up Hinksey vale, where gleamed the young primroses,
And happy children gathered them in posies,
Of that glad season meet accompaniment.

XXX. Of that bright band already more than half
Have passed beyond earth's longing and regret;
The remnant, for grave thought and pleasant laugh,
Can meet no longer as of old they met:
Yet, O pure souls! there are who still retain
Deep in their hearts the high ideal strain
They heard with you, and never can forget.

XXXII. Since then, through all the jars of life's routine,
All that down-draws the spirit's loftier mood,
I have been soothed by fellowship serene
Of single souls with heaven's own light endued.
But look where'er I may—before, behind—
I have not found, nor now expect to find,
Another such high-hearted brotherhood.

ADVANTAGES OF ENGLISH UNIVERSITIES.—*Dr. Parr's Spital Sermon, 1800.*

This, I am aware, is not precisely the fittest opportunity for me to enter into a formal defense of them (the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford), or to expatiate upon their peculiar and indisputable advantages, upon those powerful correctives of singularity and frowardness which are found in the attrition of mind against mind on a spot where different classes live together under a system of general discipline,—upon the force of established rules in producing early habits of regularity and decorum,—upon the strong though easy yoke that is thrown over the impetuosity of youth,—upon the salutary influence among well impressed and well disposed young men, of that *spécies* (*youthful comradeship*) which is so beautifully described, and so frequently extolled by the writers of antiquity,—upon the propensity of the heart unassailed by care and untainted by selfishness, to form the best friendships from the best motives,—upon the generous sense of shame that must prevail among enlightened equals, observing the conduct of equals, and cultivating honor, not as a showy and artificial fashion, but as a natural sentiment, and even an indispensable duty,—upon the goodly effects that are wrought on the temper as well as taste, by the daily and hourly view of edifices, agreeable from convenience, or striking from magnificence, or venerable from antiquity, upon the desire which pictures, statues, inscriptions, public harangues, and other local circumstances, may excite in men of vivid conceptions and glowing ambition, not merely to admire but to perpetuate and to share in the celebrity of places adorned through many successive ages by many bright luminaries of the schools, the pulpit, the bar, and the senate,—upon the tendency of well-regulated amusements, and well directed studies, to plant within our bosoms those attachments to the seat of our education, which may afterward expand into the love of our country,—upon the facility of access to well stored libraries,—upon the efficacy

of oral instruction, judiciously and diligently communicated,—upon the competitions that will arise among numbers, whose judgments on the qualifications of each other are too frequent to be eluded, too impartial to be resisted, and too weighty to be slighted,—upon the institution of prizes for compositions to be recited in the Halls of Colleges, or the Theatres of the Universities,—upon the distribution of literary distinctions in seasons of general examination,—or, upon the connection of other academical rewards, lucrative or honorary, with moral and intellectual excellence. Waving, therefore, all such pertinent and interesting topics, I would only request that the usefulness of these seminaries, like that of every human institution, may be judged by their fruits.

Dr. Parr quotes passages from Dr. Johnson, Sir William Jones, and Dr. Lowth, to support his favorable estimate of English University Education. Dr. Johnson in the *Idler* (No. 21), says :

The number of learned persons in these celebrated seats is still considerable; and more conveniences and opportunities for study still subsist in them than in any other place. There is at least one powerful incentive to learning—I mean the genius of the place. This is a sort of inspiring duty, which every youth of quick sensibility and ingenuous disposition creates to himself, by reflecting that he is placed under those venerable walls where a Hooker and a Hammond, a Bacon and a Newton, once pursued the same course of science, and from whence they soared to the most elevated heights of literary fame. This is that incitement, which Tully, according to his own testimony, experienced at Athens, when he contemplated the portico where Socrates sat, and the laurel-groves where Plato disputed. But there are other circumstances, and of the highest importance, which make our colleges superior to all places of education. These institutions, though somewhat fallen from their primary simplicity, are such as influence in a particular manner the moral conduct of their youths; and, in this general depravity of manners and laxity of principles, pure religion is no where more strongly inculcated.

Sir William Jones in an oration intended to have been spoken in Oxford, July 9, 1773, says :

There is no branch of literature, there is no liberal art, no sublime or useful science which may not here be learned to perfection. All nature lies open to our inspection. The surprising fabric of this visible world has been explained to us, not by conjectures or opinions, but by demonstration; the works of poets, critics, rhetoricians, historians, philosophers, the accumulated wisdom of all nations and all ages, are here made accessible and familiar to the students of every class, in whose minds they are preserved as in a curious repository, whence they may at any time be extracted for the honor and benefit of the human species.

Dr. Lowth, in vindicating himself from the implied aspersion of Bishop Warburton in contrasting his own self-education with his (Dr. L's) opportunities of academical culture, confesses :—that

He had been educated in the University of Oxford; he had enjoyed all the advantages, both public and private, which that famous seat of learning so largely affords; that he had spent many years in that illustrious society, in a well regulated course of discipline and studies, and in the agreeable and improving commerce of gentlemen and scholars; in a society where emulation without envy, ambition without jealousy, contention without animosity, incited industry and awakened genius; where a liberal pursuit of knowledge, and a genuine freedom of thought was raised, encouraged, and pushed forward, by example, by commendation, and by authority; that he had breathed there the same atmosphere which the Hookers, the Chillingworths, and the Lockes had breathed before,

ROBERT LOWE.

ROBERT LOWE was born in Bingham in 1811, and educated at Winchester, and at University College, Oxford, where he graduated in high honors in 1833; was elected Fellow of the Magdalen in 1835, and became tutor at Oxford. After being called to the Bar, by the Society of Lincoln's Inn in 1842, he practiced law in Australia, where he sat in the council of that colony from 1843 till 1850, when he returned to England. In 1852 he became joint Secretary of the Board of Control from 1852 to 1855; Vice-President of the Board of Trade and Paymaster General in 1855, and Vice-President of the Education Board from 1859 to 1884. He was elected member from Kidderminster in 1852 and for Calne in 1859. He was made Chancellor of the Exchequer under Gladstone in 1868. He was the author, or at least the main advocate, of the policy of paying out the appropriations for primary education according to results in teaching the elementary branches, ascertained by the examination of the schools by authorized inspectors. In Parliament, and with his pen, he ranks with the advocates of a modern curriculum.

CLASSICAL EDUCATION.*

It seems to me, if one can form an abstract idea of what ought to be taught, that it is to teach a person every thing important to know, and, at the same time, to discipline his mind. But as the period during which education can be communicated is very short, we must qualify that view, I think, by saying that the business of education is to teach persons as much of that which it is important they should know as can be taught within a limited time, and with reference to the ordinary faculties of mankind, and that also in so doing care should be taken to discipline the mind of the pupil as far as possible. That is what I conceive to be the object of education. Well, that being so, you see a question arises of very great difficulty—What is it most important that persons should know?—and till we can answer that question, we can not satisfactorily solve the question which I am now proposing to consider—What is the education that ought to be given to the middle and upper classes of this country? We must invent for ourselves a sort of new science—a science of weights and measures; of ponderation, if I may coin a word—in which we shall put into the scales all the different objects of human knowledge, and decide upon their relative importance. All knowledge is valuable, and there is nothing that it is not worth while to know; but it is a question of relative importance—not of degrading this branch of knowledge, and praising and puffing that—but of taking as far as possible the whole scale of human knowledge, and deciding what should have priority, which should be taught first, and to which our attention should be most urgently directed. That is a problem, you will allow, of most enormous difficulty. I can only suggest one or two considerations

* *Primary and Classical Education: An Address at Edinburgh, November 1, 1867.* By Rt. Hon. Robert Lowe, M. P.

which may assist us in solving it. I think it will be admitted by all who hear me that as we live in a universe of things, and not of words, the knowledge of things is more important to us than the knowledge of words. The first few months and the first few years of a child's existence are employed in learning both, but a great deal more in making itself acquainted with the world than with the knowledge of language. What is the order of Nature? Nature begins with the knowledge of things—then with their names. It is more important to know what a thing is, than what it is called. To take an easy illustration, it is more important to know where the liver is situated, and what are the principles which affect its healthy action, than to know that it is called *jegar* in Latin or *iesg* in Greek. I go a little farther. Where there is a question between true and false, it is more important to know what is true than what is false. It is more important to know the history of England than the mythologies of Greece and Rome. I think it more important that we should know those transactions out of which the present state of our political and social relations have arisen, than that we should know all the lives and loves of all the gods and goddesses that are contained in Lempriere's dictionary. And yet, according to my experience—I hope things are better managed now—we used to learn a great deal more about the Pagan than the Christian religion in the schools. The one was put by to Sunday, and dismissed in a very short time; the other was every day's work, and the manner in which it was followed out was by no means agreeable. The slightest slip in the name or history of any of the innumerable children of the genealogy of Jupiter or Mars was followed by a form and degree of punishment which I never remember being bestowed upon any one for any slip in divinity. Then, gentlemen, I venture to think, as we can not teach people every thing, it is more important that we should teach them practical things than speculative things. There must be speculation, and there must be practice, but I think if we can not do both, we should rather lean to the practical side. For instance, I think it more important that a man should be able to work out a sum in arithmetic, than that he should be acquainted with all the abstract principles of Aristotle's logic, and that the moods of a syllogism are not so important as the rule of three, practice, and keeping accounts. If we must choose in the matter, we should lean to the practical side. One more rule I will venture to submit—they are four in all—if we must choose in these matters, the present is more important to us than the past. Institutions, communities, kingdoms, countries, with which we are daily brought into contact, are more important than institutions, kingdoms, and countries that have ceased to exist for upwards of 2,000 years. I will pursue this topic no farther.

Having made these general observations as my little contribution towards the new science of ponderation or measurement which I am anxious to found, to enable us to compare one branch of knowledge with another, I will proceed, with your permission, to inquire how far the education of the middle and upper classes corresponds with this idea. Without going into detail, I may say the principal subjects of education—I don't say in Scotch Universities, for you are more liberal than we are in England, though even in your universities not quite sufficiently so—in Oxford and Cambridge are analytical mathematics, and what are called the learned languages—viz, Latin and Greek.

Now I admit that mathematics are a most admirable study, and are calcu-

lated to train the mind to strict habits of reasoning, and habits of close and sustained attention. But these are the synthetical, not the analytical mathematics. Consider to what this form of study trains a man. It educates him to approach a subject analytically. He takes his conclusion for granted, and then investigates the conditions upon which it rests. Well, that is not a good way of reasoning. The best way of reasoning is to fix upon principles and facts and see what conclusion they give you, and not to begin with a conclusion and see what principles or facts you may be able to pick up in order to support it. Then any one who has gone through this training, knows that you go by steps. One understands step by step, but the whole very often eludes our grasp, and we find ourselves landed in a conclusion without knowing how. We see each step we have taken, but we see not how we arrived at the conclusion. This is a system in one sense too easy, because each step is easy; and in the other it is too difficult, because it is an immense strain on the mind to grasp the whole effect of what is done. Then you are aware of this also, that perhaps the most useful lesson a man can learn is the estimation of probabilities and sifting of evidence. But this is wholly excluded from mathematics, which deal purely with necessary truth. Therefore, it has often been observed, and by no one more forcibly than your own Sir William Hamilton, that a mind formed upon this kind of study is apt to oscillate between the extreme of credulity and scepticism, and is little trained to take those sensible and practical views of the probabilities and the possibilities affecting our daily life, upon which, far more than upon abstract reasoning, the happiness of mankind depends. I may here mention in illustration what was said by a great judge of men and ability—Napoleon Buonaparte. He took for one of his ministers La Place—one of the greatest, perhaps the greatest of mathematicians, and he said of him—"He was a geometer of the first rank; but whose only idea of transacting the business of his department was with reference to the differential and integral calculus."

Now, I pass on to the other study that is the principal occupation of our youth, and that is the study of the Latin and Greek languages, and the history, science, geography, and mythology connected with them—the principal study being language, and the rest only accessories to it. Now, it strikes one, in the first instance, it is rather a narrow view of education that it should be devoted mainly—I had almost said exclusively—to the acquisition of any language whatever. Language is the vehicle of thought, and when thought and knowledge are present, it is desirable as the means of conveying it. It is not a thing to be substituted for it—it is not its equivalent. It pre-supposes knowledge of things, and is only useful where that knowledge is attained for the purpose, namely, of communicating it. I will venture to read a few lines from Pope in illustration of what I say; I should only weaken the thought if I attempted to state the effect of them. They are 140 or 150 years old, and that only shows you how abuses and mistakes may be pointed out in the most vigorous language, and with the most conclusive reasoning, and yet they may remain utterly uncared for:—

Since man from beasts by words is known,
Words are man's province; words we teach alone,
When reason doubtful, like the Samian letter,
Points him two ways, the narrower is the better,
Placed at the door of learning youth to guide,
We never suffer it to stand too wide.

To ask, to guess, to know, as they commence,
 As fancy opens the quick springs of sense,
 We ply the memory, we load the brain,
 Bind rebel wit, and double chain on chain,
 Confine the thought, to exercise the breath,
 And keep them in the pale of words till death.

I think it is a poor and imperfect conception of education that should limit it to the learning of any languages whatever; but surely if we are to make language the whole or a part of education, it should be the language which we are most concerned with; and I must be permitted to say that in my science of ponderation I think English has a prior claim over Latin and Greek. I do not disparage Latin or Greek; but I am speaking of what is most important to be taken first; and I think it is melancholy to consider the ignorance of our own language in which the best educated of our young men are brought up. Latin is, of course, of great use. It is the only means of opening up a great store of information which is locked up in it, and which is not to be found elsewhere. It has a noble literature of its own, and it is the key to most of the modern languages, and therefore it is a study of very great importance. But we must remember that those persons who spoke a language which was the most marked by felicity of expression, and which is the model of all literature—the inhabitants of Greece, I mean—knew no language but their own. The Romans knew just enough Greek to make them neglect their Latin, and the consequence is their literature is inferior to that of the race that came before them who knew one language. And only see how you set about learning these languages. Learning the language is a joke compared with learning the grammar. The grammar is one thing, and the language another. I agree with the German wit, Heine, who said—"How fortunate the Romans were that they had not to learn the Latin grammar, because if they had done so they never would have had time to conquer the world." Montaigne, 300 years ago, saw this, and pointed it out most forcibly, and by learning the language colloquially, "without a lash, without a tear," he became able to speak it by being talked to in Latin. But that would not answer the purpose. Because it is said "you must discipline the mind," therefore a boy is put through torture of elaborate grammars, which he is forced to learn by heart, and every syllable of which he forgets before he is twenty years of age. There seems something like a worship of inutility in this matter; it seems to be considered very fine to learn something that can not by possibility do any body any thing of good—

The languages, especially the dead,
 The sciences, especially the abstruse—
 The arts, at least all such as could be said
 To be the most remote from common use.

It is an idea that a thing can not be good discipline for the mind unless it be something that is utterly useless in future life. Now, I do not think so. There is no doubt that Greek is a language of wonderful felicity of expression; but what is more beautiful, more refined, or will exercise taste better than to study the best modern French prose to be found in M. Prevost Paradol, Sainte Beuve, and other French writers? There is nothing that can approach it in the English language. If a man wishes to exercise himself in these things he can not possibly have a better subject than French prose. The discipline of the mind is quite as good, and it has this advantage, that when he goes to Paris he will be

able to go to a hotel and make known his wants without becoming a laughing-stock to everybody; but this would be too useful, and therefore this must be put aside for some discipline in the Greek language, which he is sure to forget before he is thirty. It depends upon what you mean to make men. If you want to make them a race of sophists, poetasters, and schoolmasters, we are going about it in the right way; but for the business of life we have a little too much Latin and Greek, and if we are to have them taught, they ought to be taught on a very different system. There is nothing more absurd than to attempt to untie knots that have never been tied. If language had been made on a set of general principles—if it had been laid down by the wise men of all nations that the nominative should always agree with the verb, and a verb should always govern the accusative—and language had been made like Euclid—every one of these rules which had been tied we could untie, and a language having been put together in that way we could analyze it into rules. But, gentlemen, language was not so made. Language grew we know not how—like a tree or a plant; it was not made under general rules, and therefore, when you are trying to form general rules for it, you are sowing the sand—you will never attain to what you want; and the result is that when you come to reflect, you will find that you have wasted much time, and the best years of your life have been made miserable by studying rules, whose exceptions are often as numerous as their illustrations, and of which you never know whether they apply or not.

Latin Versification.

There is another thing I enter my protest against, and that is Latin verses. I do not think the history of poets is so prosperous that the end and object of mankind should be to make as many young people as possible poetasters. One of the least profitable of the little talents that a man can have is that of scribbling verses, and yet years of our lives are taken up in the attempt to teach us to write Latin verses, which, after all, are a mere cento of expressions stolen from different authors, the meaning of which we may not ourselves know. I know that I have been highly commended for verses I could not construe myself. This of course gives a most unfair predominance to boys who have been early taught how to use a gradus. The knack is so absurd and repulsive that no one ever acquired it late in life. It must be taught early if at all. I have known men of high classical attainments who have not got honors because they have not had the knack of stringing words together, called doing Latin verses. There is a movement going on against the system, and I hope we shall get rid of it. Another absurd thing is this—I think that a man knows a language when he can read with fluency and ease a good, plain, straightforward author, who writes grammatically and sensibly. This may very soon be done in Latin and Greek; but that is not half enough. There is no torture in that—that is very simple. But what you must do is to take a place that is hopelessly corrupt, where the amanuensis has gone to sleep, or has been tipsy, or has dropped a line, or something or other; you must read two or three pages of notes by everybody who has read at these places, written in bad Latin, stating their idea of how they ought to be reformed and translated. If Æschylus came to life again he would be easily plucked in one of his own choruses; and as for Homer, I am quite certain he did not know the difference between the nominative and accusative case; and yet the best hours of our lives are spent

in this profitless analysis of works produced by men utterly unconscious of the rules we are endeavoring to draw from them.

Ancient History.

Ancient history is a very important matter, and a very beautiful study; but it is not so important as modern history, and it does not bear nearly so much upon our transactions. Consider what it is. Ancient history has but two phases—the one is a monarchy, the other is a municipality. The notion of a large community existing by virtue of the principle of representation—of a popular government extended beyond the limits of a single town—is a thing that never entered into the minds of the ancients, so that the best years of our lives are spent in studying history in which that which makes the difference between modern history and ancient—the leading characteristic of our society—that principle of representation which has made it possible in some degree to reconcile the existence of a large country with the existence of a certain amount of freedom—was utterly unknown. The Roman Empire was established, from the necessity of the case, because when Rome became too large to be a municipality, the ancients knew of no other means than to place a Caesar—a tyrant—over the whole of it, and the idea of sending, as we should do, representatives of the different provinces to meet in Rome, and consult upon the general welfare of the Empire, never occurred to them. That was not known at that time. That was a discovery of many hundred years later. And yet to study all this history, which wants the one thing that is the leading characteristic of modern history, the best time of our life is devoted. I do not say that the time is thrown away, but it is melancholy to reflect that this history is taught, not as an adjunct but as a substitute for modern history. If a man has a knowledge of modern and mediæval history, it is important that he should have this knowledge of ancient history with which he has to compare it; but if he has no modern history he has not the means of comparison. It is useless then by itself. That state of things has utterly passed away. It perished, never to return, with the fall of the Roman Empire, and on its ruins sprung up a new state of things—the feudal system and the polity of the Middle Ages, which ripened into the present state of things. Of all that our youth are taught nothing—they know nothing of it. The subject is never brought before them, and their study is limited and confined to the wars and intrigues of petty republics, the whole mass of which would hardly, perhaps, amount to as many people as are in this great city. There is a well-known passage in a letter by Servius Sulpicius, one of Cicero's friends, in which he endeavors to console him for the death of his daughter Tullia. This is a translation of it:—"Behind me lay Ægina, before me Megara, on my right Piræus, on my left Corinth; these cities, once so flourishing, now lie prostrate and demolished before my eyes. I thought, 'Are we little mortals afflicted when one of us perishes, whose life must at any rate be brief, when in one place lie the corpses of so many towns?'" Well, that is one way of looking at the question. I have been in the same place, and also had my thoughts, and I thought how many irretrievable years of my life have I spent in reading and learning the wars, and the intrigues, and the revolutions of these little towns, the whole of which may be taken in at a single glance from the Acropolis of Athens, and would not make a decently-sized English county. I think that reflection must force itself on the mind of any one who has gone to Greece, and has seen the wonderfully

small scale on which these republics are laid out, to which the earlier years of his life were almost exclusively devoted.

Idea of Progress Wanting.

There is another great fault in this exclusive direction of the mind of youth to antiquity, and that is, that their conception of knowledge wants entirely that which is our leading conception in the present day. I do not think that you will find any where in the study of antiquity that which is now in everybody's mouth—the idea of progress. The notion of the ancients was that knowledge was a sort of permanent fixed quantity—that it could not be increased—that it was to be sought for; and if a man wanted to seek for knowledge he did not sit down and interrogate Nature, and study her phenomena, and also analyze and inquire, but he put on his seven-leagued boots and traveled to Egypt or Persia, or as far as he possibly could, in the expectation of finding some wise man there who could tell him all about it. That was the case with Plato, and almost all the great men of antiquity. Now it is no small fault of the modern system of education that it withholds that conception, the key of modern society—that is, not to look at things as stationary, but to look at the human race as, like a glacier, always advancing, always going on from good to better, from better to worse, as the case may be—an endless change and development that never ceases, although we may not be able to mark it every day. That conception is entirely wanting in the antique world; and therefore it is not too much to ask that that idea should be imparted to youth before we give so much time to study the state of society in which it is wholly wanting. I won't detain you with any discussion in this place on the morals and metaphysics of the ancients. I suspect that they knew as much of the mental sciences as we do now—neither much more nor much less; and, without speaking disrespectfully of them, we may say this, that no two of them had the same opinion on the same subject. Then we are dosed with the antiquities of the ancients. Every man is expected to know how many Archons there were at Athens, though he does not know how many Lords of the Treasury there are in London; he must know all the forms of their courts, though he knows hardly the names of our own. He must be dosed with their laws and institutions—things excessively repulsive to the young mind—things only valuable for comparing with our own institutions, of which he is kept profoundly ignorant.

Ancient Geography.

A large portion of time is spent in studying divisions of countries that have long ceased to exist, or have any practical bearing on the world. Of course, if you are to study the language of the ancients, these things must be learned; but is it not melancholy to think how much modern geography is sacrificed to this knowledge? There is nothing in which young men are more deficient than in geography. I shall just mention my own knowledge. Take, for instance, Australia. It is very rare to find a person who knows where the colonies of Australia are. The island of Java is said to have been given up by Lord Castlereagh at the Treaty of Vienna to the Dutch because he could not find it in the map, and was ashamed to confess his ignorance. I remember a very eminent member of the House of Commons indeed—I will not mention his name—who made a speech in which it was quite

manifest to me that he thought that Upper Canada was nearest the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and Lower Canada was higher up the river. If I were to elicit you his name you would be astonished. Well, we are going to make an expedition to Abyssinia. The whole thing depends upon the nature of the country. Now, what do we know about it? There is a great deal to be known about it. A great many men have traveled there, and a great deal has been written about it. It is as much as most men can do to find it on the map, and very few know a single town in it. I have amused myself trying to see how few men know where Gondar, the capital of this country, is situated on the map; and as the prisoners we are going to attempt to rescue can probably only be reached by going there, and so to Magdala, it is nearly as important to know where it is as to know that Halicarnassus was the capital city of Caria, or that there were twenty-three cities of the Volscians in the Campagna of Rome. There is another illustration I may give. The name of the place is in the Bible, and we might have hoped better things. You will remember that Mr. Bright in last session of Parliament denominated certain gentlemen by a name derived from a cave. Well, I assure you, gentlemen, there was not one person in twenty whom I met who knew any thing about the Cave of Adullam, and I was under the melancholy and cruel necessity of explaining it to them, and of pointing the arrow that was aimed against my own breast. After all, gentlemen, education is a preparation for actual life, and I ask you—though no doubt the memory is exercised and the faculties are sharpened by these studies in some degree—whether they really in any degree fulfill that condition. I say there is nothing so valuable for a man as to avoid credulity. If he discounts a man's bill, he should inquire before he does it. But what we are taught by this kind of study, our attention being so much placed upon words, is to take every thing for granted. We find a statement in Thucydides, or Cornelius Nepos, who wrote 500 years afterwards, and we never are instructed that the statement of the latter is not quite as good as the former. And so with other things. The study of the dead languages precludes the inquiring habit of mind which measures probability, which is one of the most important that a man can acquire.

Deficiencies in the Education of a Public School or University Man.

I will now give you a catalogue of things which a highly-educated man—one who may have received the best education at the highest public schools, or at Oxford—may be in total ignorance of. He probably will know nothing of the anatomy of his own body. He will not have the slightest idea of the difference between the arteries and the veins, and he may not know whether the spleen is placed on the right or the left side of his spine. He may have no knowledge of the simplest truths of physics, and would not be able to explain the barometer or thermometer. He knows nothing of the simplest laws of animal or vegetable life. He need not know, he very often does not know, any thing about arithmetic, and that ignorance sticks to him through life; he knows nothing of accounts, he does not know the meaning of double entry, or even a common debtor and creditor account. He may write an execrable hand; good clear writing—perhaps the most important qualification a gentleman or man of business can possess—is totally neglected. He may be perfectly deficient in spelling. I knew an eminent person who got a first-class honor, and in his essay—a most excellent English essay—there were forty-six

mis-spellings. He may know nothing of the modern geography of his own country; he may know nothing of the history of England. I knew an instance not long ago of a gentleman who had attained high honors at the University, and who became a contributor to a periodical, in which it was suggested he should illustrate some fact by reference to Lord Melbourne's Ministry. He said he had never heard of Lord Melbourne. He need know nothing whatever of modern history—how the present polity of Europe came into effect. He need know nothing of mediæval history, and that is a matter of serious importance, because important results have flowed from ignorance of that history. Great schisms have arisen in the Church of England from absurdly-exaggerated ideas of the perfection of every thing in that dreadful period; and the state of gross ignorance in which people are left as to these times seems almost to lead them to suppose that the best thing that modern society could aim at would be to return to the state of things which existed when the first crusade was projected. He may be in a state of utter ignorance of the antiquities or the law of England; he knows the laws and antiquities of Greece and Rome. The English laws and antiquities are bound up with our freedom and history, and are important to every day's business; but he knows about them nothing whatever. We have, I here say boldly, a literature unparalleled in the world. Which of our great classical authors is a young man required to read in order to attain the highest honors our educational institutions can give him? He studies in the most minute manner the ancient writings of Rome or Greece. But as for Chaucer and Spenser, or the earlier classics, the old dramatists, or the writers of the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and Charles I, he knows nothing of them; and the consequence is that our style is impoverished, and the noble old language of our forefathers drops out of use, while the minds of our young men are employed instead in stringing together scraps of Latin poets learned by heart, and making them into execrable hexameters. Then as for modern languages:—There is some feeble sort of attempt to teach them, but nothing effective; and yet surely, if English is to have a preference over modern languages, as it ought to have, modern languages ought to have a preference, as far as the practical affairs of life are concerned, over ancient languages. I have been with a party of half-a-dozen first-class Oxford gentlemen on the Continent, and not one spoke a word of French or German; and if the waiter had not been better educated than we, and known some other language than his own, we might all have starved. That is not nearly all, but that is enough. I think you will agree with me that, as Dr. Johnson said of the provisions of the Highland inn, the negative catalogue is very copious, and I therefore sum up what I have to say on this point by making this remark, that our education does not communicate to us knowledge, that it does not communicate to us the means of obtaining knowledge, and that it does not communicate to us the means of communicating knowledge.

These three capital deficiencies are undoubted; and what makes these so painful is the thought of the enormous quantities of things eminently worth knowing in this world. I have spoken only of modern history, of modern languages; but what are modern history and languages compared with the boundless field that nature opens out—with the new world which chemistry is expanding before us—with the old world that geology has called again into existence—with the wonderful generalization with regard to plants and ani-

mals, and all those noble studies and speculations which are the glory and distinction and life-blood of the time in which we live, and of which our youth remain, almost without exception, totally ignorant? It is not too much to say, that the man who becomes really well educated must begin his education after it has closed. After all had been done for him that the present miserable, contracted, and poor system can do, he has to begin and educate himself over again, with a feeling that he has wasted the best and most precious years of his life on things neither useless nor unprofitable in themselves, but which were the mere by-paths or appanages to the knowledge which constitutes the mental stock of a man of erudition.

Influence of Educational Endowments.

How are we to account for this phenomenon—how, with physical science in the state that it is, with such a history as ours, with such a literature as ours, with such a literature as that of modern Europe before us, we should turn aside from this rich banquet, and content ourselves with gnawing at mouldy crusts of speculations which have passed away upwards of two thousand years? How are we to account for this? It is easily accounted for. It is mainly the fault of educational endowments. When the educational endowments of Universities were made, there really existed no English literature. Modern history had not begun; mediæval history was only to be found in meagre annals of monkish chroniclers. Physical science was not in existence at all; and there really was nothing to direct the mind except Latin and Greek, and Aristotelian logic. No blame, therefore, attaches to those noble and philanthropic persons who made these foundations. The blame is in those who, after the immense expansion of knowledge, have not found means to expand the objects to which these endowments may apply in a similar proportion. Nor does any blame attach to our Universities, considered strictly as such—meaning by a University a body that ought to examine and test the advancement of its pupils; because our Universities do give examinations, and are willing, I am sure, to give them on any subject on which pupils can be found. But the blame lies with the Government of this country, because these endowments which are now exclusively given to Latin, Greek, and mathematics, are really, in my opinion; public property, for the use of which the State, as representing the public, is responsible. So long as they answer the end that endowments should answer, they should be let alone. When they do not, it is our business to reform them. Now what end do they answer? The end that they answer is this—they give an enormous bounty, an enormous premium, on the study of the dead languages, and of pure mathematics. Well, the studies of the dead languages, and of pure mathematics, are noble and valuable studies, and if that was all I would not object. But you know very well you can not give a premium to one study without discouraging another, and though their first effect is to give a premium to these studies, their collateral and far more important effect is to discourage, and, I would say, prevent, all those other studies which appear to me infinitely more worthy of a place in education. If a young man has talent, and is in want of money, as any young man is apt to be, and wants to turn his talent to advantage, suppose he devotes himself to physical science in Oxford; he can gain a first-class, whatever good that will do him. But there is hardly an endowment open to him; whereas, if he gave the same trouble to Latin and

Greek, he might be a Fellow of half a dozen different colleges with the most perfect ease. How can you expect these studies to get fair play, when they are so handicapped, when the whole weight of these endowments, amounting to about half a million annually, is thrown into the scale of the dead languages, and the study of pure mathematics? The fault lies, therefore, with the Government, which has not reformed these endowments; and the remedy, as it appears to me, is that these endowments should be emancipated from this narrow application, so that the emoluments that are to be obtained for learning, may be impartially distributed among all the branches of human knowledge—not proscribing the subjects to which I have alluded, but not giving them these invidious preferences over all the rest.

The same thing applies to our public schools. They are really adventure schools, kept by masters for their own profit. There is a foundation which forms the nucleus, and that foundation is generally for the purpose of teaching Latin and Greek, and that overrules and dominates the schools. The remedy is in the hands of parents; but these schools have got a good-will such as no other institution in the country has got. A man that has been at a school, however badly taught he has been, however much he has been flogged, always goes away with an affection for it. He forgets his troubles. It is a time that appears to us all very pleasant in the retrospect; and as these troubles are to be undergone not again by himself, but by his son, he always sends him there. No doubt, if we could only secure a fair stage and no favor for all the different branches of instruction, the thing would remedy itself. Do not misunderstand me. I do not think it is any part of the duty of Government to prescribe what people should learn, except in the case of the poor, where time is so limited that we must fix upon a few elementary subjects to get any thing done at all. I think it is the duty of the parents to fix what their children should learn. But then the State should stand impartial, and not by endowments necessarily force education into these channels, and leave those others dry. And, therefore, what I would press is, that somehow or other the endowments should be so recast as to give all subjects—physical science, modern history, English history, English law, ancient languages, ancient literature, ancient history, ancient philosophy, all a fair and equal start.

You will say, How is it possible for this to be done? I don't presume to say what is the best way of doing it, but I can tell you one way it can be done, because I have done it myself. I was Secretary to the India Board at the time when the writerships were thrown open to public competition. We had of course the problem to solve then, because if we had restricted them to Latin and Greek, of course we should have excluded a great number of very meritorious candidates—gentlemen, for instance, coming from the Scotch Universities, who, though very well versed in the philosophy of mind, and many other valuable studies, would not have been able to compete perhaps successfully in classics with boys trained in the English public schools. And therefore we had to attempt to do something of the kind that I have endeavored to point out to you as being necessary to do. In order to solve the problem of education, I, with the assistance of Lord Macaulay and other eminent men, prepared a scale which has since, with very little change, been the scale upon which these offices have been distributed; that is, we took every thing that we could think of that a well-educated man could learn. We took all the languages: we took

Latin and Greek, we took French and English, and all the modern languages of Europe; we took the principal branches of physical science, we took history, English literature, philosophy of mind as taught in Scotland, and at Oxford, and at other places; we took every thing, and we gave marks to each according to their relative importance, as near as we could arrive to it; and under that system all persons have been admitted equally and fairly to the benefits of those offices, whatever their line of study may have been. Instead of loading the dice in favor of the dead languages, we gave them all a fair start, and the thing, so far as I know, has worked perfectly smoothly and with perfect success. Now, I say something of that kind should be done if we are to reform endowments so as to place all studies on a level, and then let the best study win. I won't pretend to influence the decision of parents, but I should give to them no bribe, no inducement, to choose one study more than another, but allow them to take whatever they like best. And I think you would find that the public appetite for Latin verses, the difficult parts of Greek choruses, and the subtler rules of grammar, such as are given in the Latin Primer recently issued for the use of public schools, would begin to abate; and the people would think it is better to know something of the world around them, something about the history of their own country, something about their own bodies and their own souls, than it is to devote themselves entirely to the study of the literature of the republics of Greece and Rome.

The time has gone past evidently when the higher classes can hope by any indirect influence, either of property or coercion of any kind, to direct the course of public affairs. Power has passed out of their hands, and what they do must be done by the influence of superior education and superior cultivation; by the influence of mind over mind—"the sign and signet of the Almighty to command," which never fails being recognized wherever it is truly tested. Well, then, gentlemen, how is this likely to be done? Is it by confining the attention of the sons of the wealthier classes of the country to the history of these old languages and those Pagan republics, of which working men never heard, with which they are never brought in contact in any of their affairs, and of which, from the necessity of the case, they know nothing? Is it not better that gentlemen should know the things which the working men know, only know them infinitely better in their principles and in their details, so that they may be able, in their intercourse and their commerce with them, to assert the superiority over them which greater intelligence and leisure is sure to give, and to conquer back by means of a wider and more enlightened cultivation some of the influence which they have lost by political change? I confess, for myself, that whenever I talk with an intelligent workman, so far from being able to assert any such superiority, I am always tormented with the conception, "What a fool a man must think me when he finds me, upon whose education thousands of pounds have been spent, utterly ignorant of the matters which experience teaches him, and which he naturally thinks every educated man ought to know." I think this ought easily to be managed. The lower classes ought to be educated to discharge the duties cast upon them. They should also be educated that they may appreciate and defer to a higher cultivation when they meet it; and the higher classes ought to be educated in a very different manner, in order that they may exhibit to the lower classes that higher education to which, if it were shown to them, they would bow down and defer.

PRESENT CONSTITUTION OF THE UNIVERSITY.

By the act 'to make provision for the good government and extension of the University of Oxford' of 1854, and the action of the Commissioners appointed to administer its provisions, a new Governing Body was created, and a series of measures have been inaugurated by which the independent and even antagonistic action and large revenues of several Colleges are in the way of being subordinated to the general advancement of all liberal studies, and this oldest institution of learning in the British Isles, instead of remaining a mere aggregation of narrow scholarship and private interests, is becoming a truly National University.

GOVERNMENT.

THE UNIVERSITY is a corporate body known for ages by the style of *The Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University of Oxford*, and in its palpable form embraces twenty Colleges and five Halls, all the Colleges being corporate bodies, governed each by its own Head and statutes in matters relating to its own society.

By the Act of 1854 the affairs of the University are administered by

1. *The House of Congregation*: This consists of Regents, either *necessarii* *Regentes* or *Regentes ad placitum*. All Doctors of every Faculty and all Masters of Arts are *necessarii Regentes* for two years from the end of the Term in which they are admitted to their respective degrees.

All the following, if members of Convocation, are *Regentes ad placitum*: Professors; Doctors of every Faculty resident in the University; Heads of Colleges and Halls, or in their absence their deputies; Masters of the Schools; Censors and Deans of Colleges.

To make a House, the presence of the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor or one of his Deputies, and of the two Proctors or their respective Deputies, and of nine other Regents, is required.

The business of this House is confined almost exclusively to ratifying the nomination of Examiners by the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, and to the granting of ordinary Degrees.

2. *The House of Convocation*: This consists of both Regents and Non-Regents, i. e. of all who have been admitted to Regency, provided their names have been constantly kept on the books of some College or of some Hall or of the Delegates of the Non-Ascripti, and provided they have paid all statutable fees.

To make a House, the presence of the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor or one of his Deputies, and of the two Proctors or their respective Deputies, is required.

In this House is transacted all the formal business of the University as a Corporate body, except what is above named as belonging to the House of Congregation.

No Statute is binding until it has received the assent of Convocation.

Matters of special and individual concern, anything which requires immediate provision, payments of money from the University Chest, are settled by Decree of Convocation.

The House of Convocation confers Honorary Degrees and others granted out of the usual course by Diploma or by Decree.

It also decides whether the Seal of the University shall be affixed to any document for whose validity the Seal is requisite.

In Convocation nearly all Elections to offices in the gift of the University take place.

In the Election of Burgesses Members of Convocation may vote by means of voting papers without being personally present at the Poll. In other Elections each must deliver his own voting paper in person to the Vice-Chancellor or his Deputy at the Table.

In both the House of Congregation and the House of Convocation the Chancellor or the Vice-Chancellor or his Deputy singly, and the two Proctors together, have the right of veto in all matters except elections; otherwise every question is decided by the majority of votes.

3. *The Congregation of the University of Oxford*: This consists of the regular officers of the University, and of all members resident during the year in the precinct of the University.

The Chancellor or the Vice-Chancellor or one of his Deputies, and the two Proctors or their respective Deputies, preside. No quorum is specified in order to constitute a meeting.

The business of this body is almost entirely confined to legislation. When the Hebdomadal Council has framed any new Statute, it must first be promulgated, after due notice, in this assembly, and the question that the principle of the Statute as stated in the Preamble be approved must be then submitted to Congregation. Any members of Congregation may propose amendments at the time of promulgation; and such amendments, provided that they have been seconded by another member of Congregation, and that they are not in the judgment of the Chancellor or his Deputy inconsistent with or irrelevant to the principle of the Statute as stated in the Preamble, must be printed and taken into consideration at a subsequent meeting of Congregation. The Council may at the same time and on the same paper print any amendments which they may think fit to propose. If any such amendments, whether proposed by the Council or by individual members of Congregation, are adopted by Congregation, it is in the power of either the Council or any twelve members of Congregation to propose further amendments. If no amendment be proposed, or when all the proposed amendments and further amendments, if any, have been considered in Congregation, the question that the Statute do pass is submitted to Congregation on a subsequent day, of which not less than three clear days' notice must be given. Whenever it may seem expedient to the Council, resolutions containing the chief points of a proposed Statute may be submitted to Congregation before the Statute itself is framed; and in event of such Resolutions being approved, Congregation may refer them to a select Committee for the purpose of drawing up a Statute. No right of negative is allowed to the Vice-Chancellor or the Proctors in this assembly, but every question is decided by the majority of votes. A Statute approved by Congregation is to be submitted to Convocation, after an interval of seven entire days for final adoption or rejection.

4. *The Hebdomadal Council* consists of certain official and of certain elected members.

The official members are the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, the late Vice-Chancellor for one year after he has ceased to hold office or until the next triennial election, and the two Proctors.

The elected members are six Heads of Colleges or Halls, six Professors (who may be also Heads of Houses), and six members of Convocation of not less than five years' standing (who may be either Heads of Houses or Professors). These are elected by the Congregation of the University of Oxford for six years, in such a way that one-half of each of the three classes vacate their seats every three years, being however re-eligible. This Council meets every Monday in Term time, and whenever convoked by the Vice-Chancellor, and has the initiative in all the legislation of the University.

OFFICERS OF THE UNIVERSITY.

The Chancellor of the University of Oxford is elected by the Members of Convocation. The office is holden for life; no stipend is assigned to it. The Chancellor, who was originally an ecclesiastic, and a resident member, is now elected from the most eminent of the nobility. He never resides, and visits only on special occasions Oxford, but always acts through the Vice-Chancellor.

The Seneschallus, or High Steward, is appointed by the Chancellor, and approved by Convocation. There is also a Deputy Steward, appointed in like manner. The ancient stipend of the High Steward is £5 a year; the Deputy Steward has £2. These offices are holden for life.

The Vice-Chancellor is annually nominated by the Chancellor from the Heads of Colleges. The Letters of nomination are read in Convocation, shortly before the beginning of Michaelmas Term, by the Senior Proctor; and the new Vice-Chancellor then immediately makes the requisite declarations, and enters upon his office. The Vice-Chancellor appoints four deputies, or Pro-Vice-Chancellors, from the Heads of Colleges, who are to exercise his power in case of his illness or necessary absence from the University. The office of late has been generally holden for four years. The annual income is made up to £2000 from the University Chest.

The two Proctors of the University are elected annually by the several Colleges and by the Halls conjointly according to a cycle of thirty years, beginning from 1559. The electors are all those members of the several Societies who, being members of Convocation, are also or have at any time been Members of the Congregation of the University, and all those Fellows and Scholars of a College who are Members of Convocation. Any such elector may be elected to the office, provided he has completed four and has not completed fifteen years from his admission to Regency in Arts. The election is made on the Wednesday after the first Sunday in Lent; and on the second (or occasionally on the first) Wednesday after Easter the new Proctors are admitted to their offices in Convocation, and take their seats. Each nominates two Masters of Arts, of three years' standing at the least, to be his deputies or Pro-Proctors. Each Proctor receives an annual stipend of £350, each Pro-Proctor £80. Their powers, which are magisterial and summary, and sustained by a constabulary force, extend over three miles beyond the walls of the city.

The two Burgesses, who represent the University in Parliament, are elected by Members of Convocation—no matter where they may reside.

The Chancellor has jurisdiction in almost all causes, whether civil, spiritual, or criminal, in which scholars or privileged persons resident within the precinct of the University are parties. For the exercise of it a Court is holden every Friday during Term in the Apodyterium of the Convocation House, in which the Vice-Chancellor is the presiding Judge, and the two Proctors of the University may, if they please, sit as assessors. But for the better despatch of business the Vice-Chancellor appoints some Doctor or Bachelor of Civil Law to sit with him as Assessor and to act as Judge for him in his absence. The annual stipend of such Assessor is £40.

The Registrar of the Court is appointed by the Chancellor. He must be a Master of Arts or a Bachelor of Civil Law. Besides the duty of registering the several Acts and Orders of the Court, it is part of his office to attend at and to record the admissions of Principals to the several Halls, and to perform all manner of business, whether of contentions or voluntary jurisdiction, arising from the authority of the Chancellor.

Proctors *ad litem*, three in number at the least, who must be Masters of Arts or Bachelors of Civil Law, or else either Barristers or Attorneys at Law, are appointed and admitted by the Vice-Chancellor to practice in Court.

The Public Orator is elected by Convocation, of which he must be a member. It is his business to write letters and addresses and to make orations in the name of the University upon public occasions, to present those on whom the honorary degree of Master of Arts is to be conferred, and to deliver the annual (rewelian) Oration alternately with the Professor of Poetry. He is one of those appointed to adjudge several of the University Prizes.

For the earliest examinations known as Responsions there are four *Masters of the Schools*, who are nominated yearly in Convocation, two on the first day of Act Term, by the two Proctors severally, and two on the first day of Michaelmas Term by the Vice-Chancellor. They must be Masters of Arts who have been admitted to Regency. No Pro-Proprietor can hold the office. No one who has held it for two years together can be nominated again till after a year's interval, and no Master of the Schools can be either a Moderator or a Public Examiner at the same time. The stipend for each is £60 a year.

For the First Public Examination there are ten Moderators, divided between two Schools, seven in Classics (namely, four to examine Candidates for Honors, three to examine other Candidates) and three in Mathematics; who are nominated by the Vice-Chancellor and the two Proctors severally in succession, subject to the approval of Convocation and of Convocation. They must be at least Masters of Arts who have been admitted to Regency or Bachelors of Civil Law or Medicine. There must not be two from the same College or Hall in the same School (or section of School) at the same time, and no one who has held the office for two years together can be nominated again for the same School (or section) until after a year's interval. The yearly stipend for each Moderator in Classics examining for Honors is £80, not for Honors £60; for each in Mathematics £50.

For the Second Public Examination there are nineteen *Public Examiners*, divided among five Schools, seven in Classics (namely, four to examine Candidates for Honors, three to examine other Candidates), three in Mathematics, three in Natural Science, three in Law and Modern History, and three in Theology. For each of the first four Schools they are nominated in the same way, from among persons of the same standing, and under the same conditions as the Moderators, with the exception that a person who has held the office for two years together in the School of Mathematica, or of Natural Science, or of Law and Modern History, may be nominated again for the same School after an interval of only half a year. The Examiners in Theology must be Members of Convocation in Priest's Orders. They are nominated (subject to the approval of Convocation and of Convocation) by a Board consisting of the Vice-Chancellor, the Proctors, and three of the following Professors: the Regius and the Margaret Professors of Divinity, the Regius Professors of Hebrew, Pastoral Theology, and Ecclesiastical History, and the Professor of the Exegesis of Holy Scripture. The yearly stipend for each Examiner in Classics examining for Honors is £90, not for Honors £60; for each in Mathematics or in Law and History £70, in Natural Science or in Theology £50.

In addition to the *ex-officio* members, whose appointment and functions are briefly stated above, the University Registrar, the Keeper of the Archives, the Legal Counsel, the Librarians of the Bodley and Radcliffe, the Radcliffe Observer, and the Professors and other University Teachers are members of the Congregation of the University.

PROFESSORSHIPS AND OTHER UNIVERSITY TEACHERSHIPS

The following tabulated statement presents:

- I. The Title of each Professorship and University Teachership, with the date of its foundation.
- II. The Income attached to each paid out of University Funds.
- III. The Income drawn from College Funds.
- IV. Total Income, exclusive of Residence.

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
1543. Divinity, Regius.....	224	224	\$1,959	\$1,224
1546. Civil Law, Regius.....	351	351	.....	134
1546. Medicine, Regius.....	197	197	.....	436
1546. Hebrew, Regius.....	40	1,500	.....	1,540
1546. Greek, Regius.....	.....	800	.....	602
1502. Divinity, Margaret.....	.....	1,000	.....	1,510
1619. Geometry, Savilian.....	294	129	.....	444
1619. Astronomy, Savilian.....	254	150	.....	380
1621. Natural Philosophy, Bodleian.....	200	.....	.....	200
1631. Moral Philosophy, Taylor.....	400	.....	.....	400
1652. Ancient History, Camden.....	600	.....	.....	610
1655. Music.....	100	.....	.....	100
1636. Arabic, Landian.....	300	.....	.....	300
1639. Botany and Rural Economy.....	380	.....	.....	380
1798. Poetry, Birkhead.....	60	.....	.....	100
1634. Arabic, Lord Almoner's.....	41	.....	.....	41
1794. Modern History, Regius.....	323	373	.....	713
1749. Experimental Philosophy.....	300	.....	.....	300
1755. English Law, Vinian.....	300	.....	.....	300
1795. Anglo-Saxon.....	300	.....	.....	300
1813. Mineralogy, Prince Regent.....	100	.....	.....	100
1818. Geology, Prince Regent.....	400	.....	.....	400
1825. Political Economy, Drummond.....	400	.....	.....	400
1891. Sanskrit, Boden.....	284	.....	.....	284
1889. Logic.....	450	.....	.....	450
1889. Natural Theology, Regius.....	.....	1,500	.....	1,500
1843. Ecclesiastical History, Regius.....	.....	1,500	.....	1,500
1847. Exegesis, Ireland.....	318	.....	.....	318
1854. Latin Literature, Corpus.....	.....	600	.....	619
1854. International Law, Chichele.....	.....	604	.....	604
1854. Modern History, Chichele.....	.....	601	.....	601
1854. Moral Philosophy, Wynniate.....	.....	600	.....	600
1798. Chemistry, Wynniate.....	.....	700	.....	700
1888. Physiology, Linacre.....	.....	700	.....	700
1861. Zoology, Hope.....	.....	700	.....	700
1863. Comparative Philology.....	600	.....	.....	600
1869. Jurisprudence.....	.....	600	.....	600
1869. Fine Arts, Bladen.....	393	.....	.....	393
1760. Clinical Medicine.....	210	.....	.....	210
1893. Law Readership, Vinian.....	350	.....	.....	350
1890. Ancient History Readership.....	8	300	.....	300
1890. English History, Ford.....	61	.....	.....	61
1870. Indian Law Readership.....	250	.....	.....	250
..... Hindustani Readership.....	200	.....	.....	200
1899. Grinfield, Hebrew Scriptures.....	45	.....	.....	45
1896. Choragus, with Mastership in Music.....	13	.....	.....	13
1900. Slavonic Readership.....	49	.....	.....	49
1896. French Teachership, Taylor.....	154	.....	.....	154
1892. German " ".....	150	.....	.....	150
1896. Italian " ".....	150	.....	.....	150
1896. Spanish " ".....	150	.....	.....	150
Total.....	\$3,951	\$14,137	\$24,975	

Prior to the great changes in the management and examinations of the University which took place under Henry VIII., and the Laudian Statutes of 1636, the effective teaching was done by the Masters of the Schools, who were actual Regents of the University. By degrees the property of the Halls and Hostels, and the teaching of their Regents were absorbed by the Colleges.

* Special Income of \$250 from Ewings Hospital.

from Ecclesiastical Commissioners, in lieu of the profits of a lay prebend in the Cathedral Church of Salisbury.

‡ Special Income from Fees, to the aggregate of £400. These Fees are mainly paid by students of Medicine (£40), Modern History (£77), Experimental Philosophy (£46), Chemistry (£100), and Hindustani (£66).

The regular salaries have been largely increased within a few years, but are yet insufficient to secure the permanent residence, and the entire time and energy of the incumbents, either in teaching or original research, or in both. A majority of the present professors hold profitable livings, some of them in parishes so distant as to destroy the influence of their personal presence on the University society.

All of the existing Professorships in their present form and endowments, as compared with the foundation of the University, are of recent origin; more than one half are the institution of this century, and the most important of these—all which touch on the sciences of observation and experiment, and on modern thought—are the creations of the last twenty years. Numerous and varied as the Public Teacherships now are, eminent as individual incumbents may be held, the real teaching of the undergraduate members is done by College Tutors and Prelectors, and by a class of special trainers known as Private Tutors, who have no recognized position in either the University or College organization, and are paid by their pupils for work which College endowments and fees are designed to provide.

The College Tutor was originally the academical guardian, the adviser as to studies and conduct of the Undergraduate assigned to his special care when he came from his home into college residence and discipline. By degrees this special function was only partially discharged, and the Colleges came into the practice of employing these Tutors for instructing their junior members in the first stage of their academical course, and thus converted a portion of their Fellows, who were in the original society provided with residence and commons, that they might be learners in the more advanced professional courses, and qualified to become University Regents—into College prelectors and teachers.

Under the pressure of public opinion, and the changes introduced by the Oxford University Act of 1854, and the modified statutes of the Colleges, the Professoriate is gradually being restored to its original and normal position, and the lectures are now so arranged as to cover, with tutorial class training and college readers, the whole field of academical learning. By a scheme of Public Lectures issued in 1874 very essential help is now given to students preparing in the Classical School for the First Public Examination, and for all in their Second Public Examination in the schools—there being 6 courses in the School of *Literæ Humaniores*; 3 in the School of Mathematics; 3 in the School of Natural Science; 5 in the School of Jurisprudence; 4 in the School of History; and 6 in the School of Theology. To these are added 3 courses in the Fine Arts (Poetry, Music, and Fine Art), and 8 in Languages (Arabic, Sanskrit, Anglo-Saxon, Hindustani, French, German, Italian and Spanish). Side by side with this extension of the public teaching of the University, there has been an extension of the teaching of the Colleges and Halls—made efficient by regard had to individual needs and aspirations, and by a recognition of the principle of division of labor in the assignment of tutorial work. Several Colleges have opened their lectures to members of other Colleges; and groups of Colleges have combined together for the purposes of instruction in such a way that the special attainments and qualities of certain college lecturers are now made available to any and all members of the Colleges in union. This is an important modification of the College system in the direction of a large University organization of the entire teaching force, which in the aggregate of the Colleges is large, and is capable of being still further utilized, in connection with, and in subordination to, the University Professoriate and Examinations.

UNIVERSITY INSTITUTIONS.

The Bodleian Library, founded by Sir Thomas Bodley, and opened in 1602, is under the control of a Board of Curators, and is administered by a Librarian and two Under-Librarians, nominated by him, and approved by the Curators and Convocation. It is open to all graduate members of the University from 9 A. M. to 4 P. M., and the Reading Room from 10 A. M. to 10 P. M. In the gallery is the Hope Collection of Engraved Portraits. It numbers 200,000 vols.

The Clarendon Building was erected in part from the profits of Lord Clarendon's 'History of the Rebellion,' and presented to the University by his son, the second Earl. It was used for more than one hundred years for the printing press of the University, but is now devoted to various University purposes—mainly in the department of Chemistry.

The Sheldonian Theatre was erected at the expense of Gilbert Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, from designs by Sir Christopher Wren, and opened in 1660. Comitia, Encenia, and Commemoration are celebrated here.

The Ashmolean Museum was erected in 1679-83, to receive a collection of natural and artificial curiosities begun by Tradescant and his son, and by them left to Elias Ashmole, who added a collection of antiquities, and assigned the whole to the University. It was the first museum of its kind in England. A portion of the building is used for Examinations; another for the Arundel Marbles, and a third for the Museum of Antiquities.

The Radcliffe Library was founded by Dr. John Radcliffe, who died in 1714, and was opened by his trustees in 1749. It numbers 30,000 volumes.

The Radcliffe Observatory was erected by the trustees under the will of Dr. John Radcliffe, in 1773, and has recently received a grant of £2,500.

The Taylor Institution was erected in 1848, from a bequest of Sir Robert Taylor, for the encouragement of Modern European Languages.

The University Galleries occupy a portion of the Taylor buildings—the sculpture a room of 180 feet by 28, and a wing of 90 by 28 feet, and the picture gallery a room nearly as spacious; the whole is fire proof. The Oxford School of Art is located here.

The University Museum was begun in 1835 for the promotion of the study of Natural History, and contains Lecture Rooms, with Work Rooms and Laboratories for all the Professors in the different departments of the natural sciences, with a spacious Library and Reading Room, and a working Observatory for students. A new wing has just been added with ample accommodations for the department of Experimental Philosophy, including a Physical Cabinet. The amount expended in building and equipment thus far exceed £100,000. The Botanic Garden and Herbarium, begun in 1622, is now receiving special attention. The new University Park of 96 acres will become an Arboretum as well as afford pleasant views and walks.

UNIVERSITY SERMONS AND LECTURES.

The University provides for

1. Morning sermons throughout the year by the Heads of Colleges, the Deans and Canons of Christ Church, the five Divinity Professors, and the Professors of Hebrew, in certain order, subject to exchanges.
2. Other sermons by other graduates in the order in which they were admitted to the Regency as Master of Arts, or to the degree of B. C. L.
3. Substitutes, or Select Preachers, to supply the places of those who decline to preach in their own turns.
4. Bampton Lectures, in pursuance of the will of Rev. John Bampton, "to confirm and establish the Christian Faith"—the lecturer receiving £200 for his preparation.

UNIVERSITY SCHOLARSHIPS AND FELLOWSHIPS.

Craven Scholarships, founded in 1647 by Lord Craven, now consist at Oxford of 6, of £20 per annum each, tenable 3 years. Two scholars are elected in Act Term, who must have passed the Second Public Examination in Greek and Latin at least in one school, and not have gone beyond their twenty-fourth term since matriculation.

Radcliffe's Travelling Fellowships, founded by Dr. Radcliffe (founder of the Radcliffe Library), in 1714, now consist of 3 scholarships of £300 per annum, tenable for 3 years. Candidates must have passed all the examinations required for B. A. degree, must have been placed in the First Class in School of Natural Science, must declare they intend to graduate in Medicine at Oxford University, and must travel abroad for the study of Medicine. They must also have obtained, after completion, some University Prize or Scholarship.

Vinerian Fellowships and Scholarships, founded in 1735, now consist of one Fellowship of £100 per annum, and 3 scholarships of £80 per annum each, all elected for three years—the Fellows by Convocation, the Scholars by a Board appointed for the purpose. A Candidate for the Fellowship must be unmarried, a member of the University, a M. A. or B. C. L., and be or have been called to the bar. A Candidate for the Scholarship must be unmarried, a member of the University for 24 calendar months previously, and not have matriculated more than 6 years.

Dean Ireland's Scholarships, founded in 1835, now consist of 4 of £30 per annum each, of which one is bestowed annually in Lent Term, after an examination in Classics, upon an undergraduate who has not exceeded his sixteenth Term.

Eldon Law Scholarship, founded in 1860 by public subscription, in honor of Lord Eldon, consists of one Scholarship of — per annum, for 3 years. Candidates must be members of the University and of Church of England, have obtained B. A. degree, have been rated in the First Class in one branch at least of B. A. examination, and must intend to follow legal profession.

Boden Scholarships, founded by Col. Boden, 1830, consist of 4 of £50 per annum, one awarded yearly in Lent. Candidates must be under 25, and show some proficiency in Sanscrit language and literature.

Mathematical Scholarships, founded in 1831, now consist of 2 of £30 per annum each, tenable for 3 years, and £20 extra from the Johnson fund to senior scholars for one year.

Kennicott Scholarship, founded by the widow of Dr. Kennicott, in 1803, for the promotion of study of Hebrew, consists of but one Scholarship of £144 for one year. Candidates must be B. A., and not have exceeded 28 terms from matriculation.

Pusey and Ellerton Scholarships, founded in 1882 to promote "sound theology through a solid and critical knowledge of Hebrew," consist of 3 Scholarships of £50 per annum each (one elected annually); tenable for 3 years. Candidates must be members of University, and under 25 years old.

Denyer and Johnson Scholarships consist of 3 (in all £110) annually for one year, awarded to B. A.'s, between their nineteenth and twenty-seventh Term, who are the three best who pass examinations in Divinity.

Hartford Scholarship, founded in 1834, consists of one Scholarship of £23, tenable for one year, by the student who obtains it by free competition and public examination, for proficiency in Latin. Candidates must not have completed their second year from matriculation.

Taylor Scholarships, founded in 1857, consist of 1 Scholarship worth

£50, and 1 Exhibition worth £35 per annum, each tenable for 1 year, for proficiency in one or more Modern Languages, and the literature of the same. Candidates must not be over 24 years.

Burdett-Coutts Scholarships, founded in 1890, consist of 2 of £75 per annum each, tenable for 2 years. Candidates must have passed Examination in School of Natural Science, have not completed sixth year from matriculation, and be proficient in Geology and Natural Science bearing on Geology.

PRIZES.

The Chancellor's Prizes, instituted by the Earl of Lichfield, Chancellor of the University, 1763-72, consist of 3 prizes of £20 each, given annually for Latin Verse, Latin Prose, and English Prose, to members who have not exceeded 4 years since matriculation.

Sir R. Newdegate's Prize, founded in 1806, consists of £21, given annually for the best composition in English Verse, under same restrictions as the Chancellor's Prize.

Ellerton Prize Essay, instituted in 1825 by Dr. Ellerton, consists of an annual gift of £31 for the best Theological Essay to B. A.'s between their sixteenth and twenty-eighth Term.

Sacred Prize Poem, in English. A prize is awarded triennially to the best composition of this kind, relating to some subject previously announced by the authorities. Open to B. A.'s.

Arnold Prize Essay, founded in 1850, in memory of Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, has awarded to it annually a sum of £42. The subject, announced previously, relates to some incident in Ancient and Modern History, and is open to all graduates who have not exceeded their eighth year.

Stanhope Prize Essay, instituted in 1855 by Earl Stanhope, relates to some historical incident between 1800-1815, indicated by the authorities. Open to all undergraduates who have not entered their seventeenth Term. The prize is given in books to the value of £20.

Galsford Prizes, founded in memory of Dr. Galsford, in 1856, are awarded to the best compositions in Greek prose and verse,—of about £18 to each.

Johnson Prize, founded in 1862, in memory of M. J. Johnson, M. A., consists of a gold medal, value Ten Guinea, awarded once in 4 years for an essay on some Astronomical or Meteorological subject announced 2 years previously. Open to all members of University.

Hall and Hall-Houghton Prizes. In 1668 and 1670, the Rev. John Hall, B. D., Canon of Bristol Cathedral, and the Rev. John Houghton, M. A., of Pembroke College, presented a sum of £4,500, as a fund for 4 Prizes—one of £20 and one of £30, called "Canon Hall Greek Testament Prizes," and two, one of £25 and one of £15, called the "Hall-Houghton Septuagint Prizes."

Marquis of Lothian's Historical Prize. In 1870, this prize of £40 annually was instituted for the best essay on any point of Ancient Foreign History, whether secular or ecclesiastical. Open to all members who have not exceeded the twenty-seventh term from their matriculation.

A Prize has recently been instituted for the best essay on International Law. The Conington Prize—for dissertation on subject pertaining to Classical Learning. Open to all members of the University.

CHURCH PATRONAGE.

The University possesses certain ecclesiastical benefices to the annual value of £1,000, and has the right of presentation to many ecclesiastical benefices, and of nomination to several Free Schools in 27 different counties, which were formerly possessed by Roman Catholics, who were disabled by Act of Parliament in the reign of James I.

UNIVERSITY DEGREES.

The Degrees conferred by the University upon Students are those of Bachelor and Master of Arts, and of Bachelor and Doctor in Music, and in the three superior faculties of Civil Law, Medicine, and Divinity.

Sometimes, but very rarely, degrees are granted out of the ordinary course, by Decree of Convocation, or by Diploma, to persons who have not, as well as to persons who have, been previously Members of the University; and less rarely they are given *honoris causa*.

The conditions required for degrees in the ordinary course, yet not for all alike, are Residence, Time or Standing (as it is commonly called), Examination or Exercises, and, at the time of taking a degree, certain Declarations, and the payment of Fees, besides the Grace or consent of the Candidate's College or Hall or of the Censors of Unattached Students, and of Congregation, which depend upon his conduct and character.

Residence.

Twelve Terms of Residence are required for the degree of Bachelor of Arts and for the position of Student of Civil Law or of Medicine. No further residence is necessary for any degree.

Time Required or Standing.

Arts. 1. For the degree of Bachelor of Arts twelve Terms are required, which must be Terms of residence.

2. A Bachelor of Arts can proceed to the degree of Master in the twenty-seventh Term from his Matriculation, provided he has had his name on the Books of some College or Hall, or upon the Register of the Delegates of Unattached Students for a period of twenty-six Terms.

Music. 1. No residence is required for the degree of Bachelor of Music.

2. A Bachelor of Music wishing to proceed to the degree of Doctor, must produce a certificate signed by two or more trustworthy persons that he has been studying or practising Music, whether at Oxford or elsewhere, for five years from his admission to his present degree.

Civil Law. For the position of Student of Civil Law twelve Terms are required, which must be Terms of residence.

1. A Student of Civil Law, or a Bachelor or Master of Arts, may be admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Civil Law in the twenty-seventh Term, (or, if the Statutes of his College require it, in the twenty-third,) from his Matriculation.

A Bachelor of Civil Law may be admitted to the degree of Master of Arts in the twenty-seventh Term from his Matriculation.

2. A Bachelor of Civil Law may proceed to the degree of Doctor at the end of five years from his admission to the degree of Bachelor.

Medicine. For the position of Student of Medicine twelve Terms are required, which must be Terms of residence.

1. A Student of Medicine, or a Bachelor or Master of Arts or a Bachelor of Civil Law, may be admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Medicine in the twenty-eighth Term from his Matriculation.

A Bachelor of Medicine may be admitted to the degree of Master of Arts, and yet retain his former degree.

2. A Bachelor of Medicine may proceed to the degree of Doctor at the end of three years from his admission to the degree of Bachelor.

Divinity. 1. A Master of Arts may be admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Divinity at the end of three years from his admission to Regency.

2. A Bachelor of Divinity may proceed to the degree of Doctor at the end of four years from his admission to the degree of Bachelor.

Examinations and Exercises for Degrees in Arts.

Candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Arts must pass three distinct Examinations: 1. Responsions before the Masters of the Schools; 2. The First Public Examination before the Moderators; 3. The Second Public Examination before the Public Examiners.

1. *Responsions.* This examination, sometimes called *Little-go*, is held three times every year, and begins in Michaelmas Term on the 5th of December, in Lent Term on the Monday following the third or fourth Sunday in Lent (according to the time of commencement), and in Act Term on the second Friday before the Commemoration Day, or on the day following any one of these days which falls upon a Holy Day. Each candidate must put his name (in person or by his tutor) with the Junior Proctor six days before the examination begins, and must at the same time give in a list of the subjects and books in which he prefers to be examined.

The examination is conducted partly in writing and partly orally. In the written part, questions are given in Grammar (Greek and Latin), in Arithmetic, and in Euclid or Algebra; a passage is set for translation from English prose into Latin; and passages must be read and questions answered from the Latin and Greek author, in which he has offered to be examined. The oral examination is conducted at the same time, in two different places within the precincts of the school, by two Masters of the Schools conducting it in each. Each successful candidate receives a certificate to that effect (called a *Testamur*) from the Examiners.

2. *Moderations, or First Public Examination.*—There are ten Moderators, viz., in the Classical Schools seven (four to examine Candidates for Honors, and three to examine those who do not seek Honors), in the Mathematical School three. These are nominated by the Vice-Chancellor and the two Proctors severally in succession, subject to the approval of Congregation and Convocation. If members of the University, they must be at least M. A. or B. C. L. or B. M.; or they may be persons not members of the University.

The Moderators who examine Candidates for Honors hold office for two years; those who examine Candidates in the Pass School hold office for three Examinations.

No Moderator who has served the full time may conduct the same part of the Examination till after a year's interval; and no two members of the same College or Hall may serve in the same part of the Examination at the same time.

In the Pass School Candidates are admitted in their fourth Term; in the Honor Schools only from their fifth Term to their eighth inclusively.

The Examination, held twice a year, begins on the 23d of November (or if this be Sunday, on the 24th), and on the third Friday before the Commemoration. On the eighth or on the seventh day before either of these dates each Candidate in person or by his Tutor must put down his name with the Junior Proctor, and give in a list of his subjects and books, together with his Matriculation paper, and his *Testamur* for Responsions, or for the Previous Examination at Cambridge. Any Candidate who does not go up for Examination at his earliest opportunity, or who fails to satisfy the Moderators, may afterwards offer the same subjects and books which he then offered or might have offered.

Pass-men.

A. Candidates who do not seek Honors are examined in—(a) The Greek Text and the contents of the Holy Gospels; (b) Portions of at least three Greek and Latin Authors of the best age (two Greek and one Latin, or one Greek and two Latin), one at least being a portion of a historical or a

philosophical work; (c) *Higher Logic*, or the Elements of Geometry and of Algebra.

They are required to show a competent knowledge both of the text and of the contents of the books which they offer, and to answer not only questions relating to Grammar and Literature, but also any questions directly arising out of the matters treated in these books. Translation from English into Latin is required of all, as well as translation of short passages from Greek and Latin books not specially offered.

No Candidate is allowed to offer any of the same books, or a portion of any of the same authors, in which he satisfied the Masters of the Schools, except in the following cases:

(i) Candidates who have offered a portion of the *Odyssey* at Responses may offer the specified portion of the *Iliad* at Moderations.

(ii) Candidates who have offered the *Georgics* of Virgil at Responses may offer the specified portion of the *Æneid* at Moderations.

(iii) Candidates who have offered any portion of Cicero other than his *Orations* at Responses may offer *Orations* of Cicero at Moderations, and *vice versa*.

For Candidates who offer Mathematics the subjects of examination will be—

In Algebra, Addition, Subtraction, Multiplication, and Division of Algebraical Quantities (involving Fractional as well as Integral Indices), Greatest Common Measure and Least Common Multiple, Fractions, Extraction of Square Root, Simple Equations containing one or two unknown quantities, Quadratic Equations containing one unknown quantity, Questions producing such Equations, and the simplest properties of Ratio and Proportion.

In Geometry, the Geometry of the Circle, viz., Euclid, Book III., and the first nine Propositions of Book IV.

For Candidates who offer Logic the subjects of examination will be the Elements of Logic Deductive and Inductive.

The subjects may be studied either in Fowler's Elements of Deductive Logic and the first five chapters of Fowler's Elements of Inductive Logic (omitting the sections on Classification, Nomenclature, and Terminology, and the notes appended at the end of each chapter) or in Jevons' Elementary Lessons in Logic.

Honour-men.

B. All Candidates who seek Honors in Classics are examined in—(a) The Greek Text and the contents of the Holy Gospels; (b) Translation of unprepared passages, both Greek and Latin; (c) Latin Prose; (d) Not less than five Greek and Latin Authors, to be selected from the subjoined list under the conditions published therewith.

Grammar questions, and questions directly bearing upon the contents, style, and literary history of the books offered, will be considered an essential part of the examination.

Papers will also be set in the following subjects:—(1) Greek Prose; (2) Latin Verse; (3) Greek Verse; (4) The elements of Comparative Philology applied to the illustration of Greek and Latin inflections; (5) The history of the Greek Drama, with Aristotle's Poetics; or as an alternative, the literary history of the Augustan Age, with Quintil. Inst. Book X., and Horace, Ars Poetica; (6) The elements of Deductive Logic, with Magrath's Selections from the Organon, §§ 29-33, 36-40, 113-128.

Candidates will have the opportunity of doing all these papers, but deficiency in or omission of one or more of them will be no bar to the attainment of the highest Honors, if compensated by the quantity of the other work offered or the general excellence of their papers.

But Candidates for the highest Honors are recommended not to omit more than one of the papers numbered 4, 5, 6, nor any of these if they omit any of the Composition papers.

The following Rules must be observed in the selection of Books:

1. All Candidates for Honors must offer the following authors: (1) Homer; (2) Demosthenes; (3) Virgil; (4) Cicero.
2. The number of Greek and Latin authors offered must be as nearly as possible equal.
3. Of the authors within which the selection lies, not more than two must be offered unless the Candidate offers more than eight books.
4. If two Greek Dramatists are offered, one of the two must be either *Æschylus* or *Sophocles*.

C. The Examination of Candidates for Honors in Mathematics begins in Michaelmas Term on the 18th of December (or if this be Sunday, on the 19th) and in Trinity Term on the day after the Commemoration.

Candidates may offer themselves in a different Term from that in which they are examined in Classics.

The subjects of Examination are:—1. Algebra and the Theory of Equations. 2. Trigonometry, Plane and Spherical. 3. Plane Geometry, including the Conic Sections, treated both geometrically and analytically. 4. Geometry of Three Dimensions, including the straight line, plane, and sphere, treated both geometrically and analytically, and the surfaces of the second order referred to their principal axes. 5. The Differential Calculus, including its applications to plane geometry; and to the determination of tangents and normals to surface and lines in space. 6. The Integration of Differential Expressions, with Geometrical applications. 7. The Elements of the Calculus of Finite Differences.

3. *Class, or Second Public Examination.*—This Examination is held twice every year, and begins in Michaelmas Term on the 18th of November, in Easter Term on the Friday in the third week before the Commemoration Day, or on the day following either of these days which falls upon a holiday. Each Candidate, in person or by his Tutor, must put down his name with the Senior Proctor, give in a list of his books and subjects, and exhibit his *Tetramur* for the First Public Examination, eight days before the Examination is to begin.

The twenty-two Public Examiners for the Second or Class Examination are divided into six Schools, viz., seven in the School of Classics (four for Candidates for Honors, and three for the Pass-Candidates), three to each of the Schools of Mathematics, Natural Science, Jurisprudence, Modern History, and Theology.

Candidates who obtain Honors are assigned to one of four classes, according to their standing, and their names are printed alphabetically in each class. The names of all who pass the Second Examination, as well as those who obtain Honors, are printed and are known as Classmen. The Lists of Classmen issued by the Public Examiners are printed from year to year in the University Calendar, extending back twenty years.

In every School the Examination is conducted partly in writing, partly *à voce*. No Examiner may examine any Candidate from his own College or Hall, or one who has read with him as a Private Pupil within the preceding two years.

As a general rule, every one is required to pass the Examination both in the Classical School and also in some one of the other four Schools. But, provided a Candidate has previously satisfied the Moderators in three books at least, it is sufficient to gain a Class in any one of the Final Schools and to

pass the Examination in Divinity or in the permitted substitute. The ordinary Examination in Divinity is not, however, required from those who obtain a class in the School of Theology.

School of Classics.

In the Classical School every Candidate must be examined in Divinity (except those who are Candidates for Honors in the School of Theology) and in one Latin and one Greek author at the least. The term 'Divinity' comprises the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles in Greek, the History contained in the Books of the Old and New Testaments and the subjects of the Books, the Thirty-nine Articles, and the Evidences of Religion. Of the two authors one must be a philosopher, the other an historian, and neither may be the same with either of the two which the Candidate brought in for Responsions, unless he now brings in as many as four authors. The Examination consists of passages set for translation into English and for construing, and of questions to be answered both on paper and orally.

Candidates for Honors may bring in one or more of the Apostolical Epistles with or without some part of Ecclesiastical History, and any classical writers on History, Rhetoric, the Art of Poetry, and Ethical or Political Science, which subjects may be illustrated by Modern Authors; in connection with Ancient History they are examined in Chronology, Geography, and Antiquities; and they may be called upon to compose in Latin and Greek as well as in English. With Candidates for the first two Classes Logic is indispensable.

Candidates for the highest Honors in Classics usually bring in most of the following books. Of Aristotle, the Nicomachean Ethics, the Politics. Of Plato, the Republic. Herodotus. Thucydides. Of Livy, ten Books. Of Tacitus, the first six Books of the Annals, or the Histories. Bacon's Novum Organon. Butler's Sermons, or Analogy.

School of Mathematics.

In the Mathematical School all must offer *either* the first six books of Euclid or the first part of Algebra. Candidates for Honors must offer mixed as well as pure Mathematics.

Candidates for Honors are examined in the following subjects: Algebra, Trigonometry Plane and Spherical, Geometry of two and three Dimensions, Differential and Integral Calculus, Calculus of Variations and Finite Differences, Theory of Chances; Mechanics of Solid and Fluid Bodies, Optics Geometrical and Physical, Newton's Principia, sections 1, 2, 3, with parts of 9 and 11, Astronomy.

Natural Science.

In the School of Natural Science every Candidate for a Pass must be examined in the principles of two out of these three branches of Natural Science, viz., Mechanical Philosophy, Chemistry, Physiology, and further in some one of the particular Sciences dependent on Mechanical Philosophy, which includes the Sciences of Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Pneumatics, Acoustics, Light, Heat, Electricity, and Magnetism.

Candidates for Honor have to pass both a Preliminary and a Final Examination; these need not be passed in the same Term, and a candidate may offer himself for the Preliminary Examination as soon as he has passed the First Public Examination.

The Preliminary Examination is compulsory upon all in this School, and is restricted to the more elementary parts of (1) Mechanics and Physics, (2) Chemistry, with a simple practical examination in this subject at least.

In the Final Examinations a candidate may offer one or more of the three subjects, Physics, Chemistry, Biology; and in each the Examination will be partly practical.

School of Law and Modern History.

In the School of Law and Modern History every Candidate must offer himself for examination either in English History from the Conquest to the Accession of Henry VIII., together with that part of English Law which relates to Things Real, or in English History from the Accession of Henry VIII. to the death of William III., together with that part of English Law which relates to Persons and Things Personal; being at liberty however to substitute Adam Smith's 'Wealth of Nations' or some other approved work on Political Economy together with the History of British India for either portion of English Law.

In the School of Jurisprudence the Examination includes the following subjects: (1) General Jurisprudence, (2) History of English Law, (3) Roman Law, (4) International Law.

In the School of Modern History the Examination includes the following subjects: 1. The History of England to the Accession of Queen Victoria. 2. One of the following periods of general History, to be studied in the best modern writers: (1) A. D. 476-1272, (2) A. D. 1000-1550, (3) A. D. 1400-1648, (4) A. D. 1600-1815. 3. (In the case of those Candidates who aim at a place in the First or Second Class) a special portion of History or Historical subject, carefully studied with reference to original authorities.

School of Theology.

In the School of Theology the Examination includes the following subjects: The Holy Scriptures; Dogmatic and Symbolic Theology; Ecclesiastical History and the Fathers; The Evidences of Religion; Liturgies; Sacred Criticism, and the Archaeology of the Old and New Testaments.

The Books of the New Testament are to be studied in the Greek text. The history of the Church and of the Liturgies is to be studied with reference to original authorities.

Elementary knowledge of Hebrew has some weight, advanced knowledge great weight, in the distribution of Honors.

Candidates are permitted to offer portions of the Septuagint Version, including the Apocryphal Books of the Old Testament.

No Candidate will be placed in the First Class in this School unless he shall have proved himself well acquainted with the contents of the Old and New Testaments, with Dogmatic Theology, and with the Exegesis of the New Testament, and shall have also shown a good knowledge of two at least of the remaining subjects enumerated above.

And no Candidate will obtain Honors unless, in addition to a knowledge of the Rudiments of Faith and Religion, he shall have given proof of diligent study of the Epistles of Saint Paul, and also of either Dogmatic Theology, or Ecclesiastical History, or the Evidences of Religion, or Liturgies, or Hebrew.

Degree of Master of Arts.

After obtaining the degree of Bachelor, no further examination or exercise is required for the degree of Master of Arts, but any B. A. of three years' standing may proceed to this degree on payment of certain fees.

Degree in Music.

1. Candidates for the degree of B. Mus. are required to pass two Examinations and to compose a piece of Music. The first Examination is held once a year in Michaelmas Term, and is conducted partly in writing, partly *ad libitum*, in four-part harmony. The second Examination is held also once a year in Easter or in Act Term, and is conducted partly in writing, partly *ad libitum*, in five-part harmony, in the history of music, in the use of musical instruments, and in the form and structure of the works of such distinguished

composers as shall be designated by the Professor of Music. Before any candidate can present himself for this second Examination, he must not only produce the *Tetramus* of having passed the first Examination, but must also have submitted for the approval of the Examiners a piece of Music in five-part harmony with an accompaniment for at least five stringed instruments; together with a written assurance that the whole of this piece of Music is of his own composition, a copy of which must be deposited in the Music School.

The Examiners are the Professor of Music, the Choragus, and some other Graduate nominated by the Vice-Chancellor and proctors, and approved by Convocation.

2. A Bachelor of Music wishing to proceed to the degree of Doctor is required to pass an Examination conducted wholly in writing by the Examiners above mentioned, and to compose a piece of Vocal Music of eight parts with an accompaniment for a full orchestra, which, when approved, is to be performed in public, and a copy of it is to be deposited in the Music School.

Degree in Civil Law.

No one may be admitted a Student in Civil Law until he shall have passed all the Examinations required for the degree of B. A.

1. Candidates for the degree of B. C. L. must pass an Examination which is held once a year in Trinity Term, and conducted by a Board of Studies consisting of the Regius Professor of Civil Law, the Vinerian Professor, the Chichele Professor of International Law, the Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence (or some or one of them), and the Examiners in the Honor School of Jurisprudence. The Examination includes (1) Jurisprudence, general or comparative, (2) Roman Law, (3) English Law, (4) International Law; it is partly in writing, partly *vis et voce*; Honors may be obtained in it by any who have not exceeded the twenty-fourth Term from their matriculation.

The Board of Studies may require that any Candidate who has not been classed in the Honor School of Jurisprudence, or who has not obtained a certificate as hereinafter provided, shall take in such additional books or subjects recognized in the Honor School of Jurisprudence as they may prescribe, or produce such evidence as they may think fit to require of acquaintance with such books or subjects.

Any person wishing to proceed to the Degree of Bachelor of Civil Law, who has passed all the Examinations necessary for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, but is disqualified by his standing from becoming a Candidate in the Honor School of Jurisprudence, shall nevertheless be permitted to offer himself for examination in that School, and shall be examined as if he were a Candidate for Honors; and, if in the judgment of the Examiners his work be of sufficient merit to entitle him (but for such disqualification) to a place in the Class-list, he shall receive a certificate to that effect.

No Candidate shall be admitted to Examination unless he shall have given in his name to the Superior Bedel of the Faculty of Law seven days at least before the Examination, together with certificates of his Matriculation and of his having been admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts or to the position of Student in Civil Law.

2. A Bachelor of Civil Law wishing to proceed to the degree of Doctor is required to read publicly within the precinct of the Schools in the presence of the Regius Professor a Dissertation composed by himself on some subject pertaining to Civil Law approved by the Professor, and to deliver to him a copy of it.

Degree in Medicine.

No one may be admitted a Student in Medicine until he has passed all the Examinations required for the degree of B. A.

1. Candidates for the degree of B. M. are required to pass two Examinations, each of which is held yearly in full Michaelmas Term, usually in November, the first by the Regius Professor of Medicine and three persons who have been admitted to Regency either as Masters of Arts or as Doctors, and who are nominated yearly by the Vice-Chancellor subject to the approval of Convocation, the second by the Regius Professor and two Doctors of Medicine nominated in like manner. Each Examination is conducted partly in writing, partly *visd voce*, and part of each is practical. The subjects of the first Examination are Human Anatomy and Physiology, Comparative Anatomy and Physiology to a certain extent, and those parts of Mechanical Philosophy, Botany, and Chemistry which illustrate Medicine. The subjects of the second Examination are the Theory and Practice of Medicine (including diseases of women and children), the *Materia Medica*, Therapeutics, Pathology, the principles of Surgery and Midwifery, Medical Jurisprudence, and General Hygiene. Every Candidate at this second Examination is to be examined in two of the ancient authors, Hippocrates, Aretaeus, Galen, and Celsus, or in one of those four and in some modern author approved by the Regius Professor.

Before a Candidate is admitted to the first of these two Examinations, he must have completed eight Terms from the date of his *Testamur* in one of the Schools at the Second Public Examination for the degree of B. A.; unless he was placed in the First or Second Class in the School of Natural Science, in which case, if he received from the Public Examiners a special certificate of his attainments in Mechanical Philosophy, Chemistry, or Botany, he may be admitted to this Examination at once, and need not then be examined again in any science specified in such certificate. Before a Candidate is admitted to the second Examination, he must have completed sixteen Terms from the date of the same *Testamur* and two years from the date of his *Testamur* in the First Medical Examination, and must deliver to the Regius Professor satisfactory certificates of his attendance at some Hospital of good repute. Every one intending to be a Candidate at either Examination is required to give the Professor notice of his intention a fortnight at least before the week in which the Examination is to be held.

No one from another University can be incorporated as a Graduate in Medicine without passing these two Examinations.

2. A Bachelor of Medicine wishing to proceed to the degree of Doctor is required to read publicly within the precinct of the Schools in the presence of the Regius Professor a Dissertation composed by himself on some Medical subject approved by the Professor, and to deliver to him a copy of it.

Degree in Divinity

1. A Candidate for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity is required to read two Dissertations before the Regius Professor in the Divinity School upon subjects previously approved by the Professor.

No one can be admitted to the degree without exhibiting his Letters of Priest's Orders, or a Certificate from the Registrar of the diocese where he was ordained stating that he had obtained them.

2. A Bachelor of Divinity wishing to proceed to the degree of Doctor is to read in the Divinity School three exgetical Lectures upon portions of Holy Scripture.

A Master of Arts who has completed fifteen years from his admission to Regency may, with the consent of Convocation, take the two degrees in Divinity by accumulation, that is, both at the same time, doing the Exercises for one of the two only, whichever he may choose.

Declaration on Taking Degrees.

No subscription or declaration of any kind is required from any person upon being admitted to the position of S. C. L. or S. M., or to any of the degrees of B. A., B. C. P., B. M., or of B. Mus. or D. Mus.

Before admission to the degree of Master of Arts, Bachelor of Divinity, or Doctor of any of the three superior faculties, every person is required to make and subscribe a Declaration of Assent to the Thirty-nine Articles and to the Book of Common Prayer, taken from the 36th Canon, and to promise that he will observe the Statutes, Privileges, Customs, and Liberties of the University, and will act faithfully, creditably, and honestly in the two Houses of Congregation and Convocation, especially in all that concerns Graces for degrees and in Elections.

Degrees Granted to Absent Persons.

A Bachelor of Arts, or of Civil Law, or of Medicine, resident in any British colony, may have the degree of Master of Arts, or of Doctor of any of the three superior faculties, conferred upon him in his absence. For this purpose he must of course attain the standing requisite for each degree, and obtain the Grace of his College or Hall or of the Censors of unattached Students; he must transmit letters testimonial of his good conduct and character, signed, if he be in Holy Orders, either by the Bishop or the Archdeacon of the colony, or, if he be a layman, by either the Bishop, the Archdeacon, or the Governor of the colony, or by a Judge in the Supreme Court of it; he must also transmit to the Vice-Chancellor satisfactory proof that he has subscribed the Declaration of Assent before mentioned; and, if he desires the degree of Doctor of Civil Law or of Medicine, he must compose the requisite Dissertation and send it to the Regius Professor of the Faculty; or, if he desires the degree of Doctor of Divinity, he must compose two Disputations on some theological subject proposed to him by the Regius Professor of Divinity, and his Disputations must be approved by the Professor.

Degrees by Incorporation.

Members of the Universities of Cambridge or Dublin may be incorporated, that is, received as Members of this University at their own standing or degree, provided they have kept as much residence in their own University as would have been required of them here. An Undergraduate can count no Term but what he has kept by a residence of six weeks. A Graduate must have kept nine Terms by a residence of at least the greater part of each of them before he was admitted to his first degree. Masters of Arts, Bachelors of Divinity, and Doctors of the three superior faculties are required to subscribe the Declaration of Assent and to promise that they will observe the Statutes, &c., of the University. But no Doctor of any of the three faculties can be incorporated without the express consent of the Vice-Chancellor, the Regius Professor and three other Doctors of the Faculty, and the two Proctors, on or the greater part of them.

Costume of the Different Degrees.

On Presentation Day, and on all public occasions, the different degrees are distinguished by marked peculiarities of dress, of which, as they enter largely into the outward aspects of Oxford University life, we give a description from the *Guide to Oxford*.

Dress of University Officers.

The dress of the Chancellor is of black damask silk, richly ornamented with gold embroidery, a rich lace band, and square velvet cap, with a large gold tassel.

The Proctors wear gowns of prince's stuff, the sleeves and facings of black velvet; to the left shoulder is affixed a small tippet. To this is added, as a dress, a large ermine hood.

The Pro-Proctor wears a Master of Arts' gown, faced with velvet, with a tippet attached to the left shoulder.

The Collectors wear the same dress as the Proctors, with the exception of the hood and tippet.

The Esquire Bedels wear silk gowns, similar to those of Bachelors of Law, and round velvet caps. The Yeoman Bedels have black stuff gowns, and round silk caps.

The dress of the Verger is nearly the same as that of the Yeoman Bedel.

Bands at the neck are considered as necessary appendages to the academic dress, particularly on all public occasions.

Dress of Graduates.

The Doctor of Divinity has three dresses: the first consists of a gown of scarlet cloth, with black velvet sleeves and facings, a cassock, sash, and scarf. This dress is worn on all public occasions in the Theatre, in public processions, and on those Sundays and holidays marked (*) in the *Oxford Calendar*. The second is a habit of scarlet cloth, and a hood of the same color lined with black, and a black silk scarf: the Master of Arts' gown is worn under this dress, the sleeves appearing through the arm-holes of the habit. This is the dress of business; it is used in Convocation, Congregation, at Morning Sermons at St. Mary's during the term, and at Afternoon Sermons at St. Peter's during Lent, with the exception of the Morning Sermon on Quinquagesima Sunday, and the Morning Sermons in Lent. The third, which is the usual dress in which a Doctor of Divinity appears, is a Master of Arts' gown with cassock, sash, and scarf. The Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Colleges and Halls have no distinguishing dress, but appear on all occasions as Doctors in the faculty to which they belong.

The dresses worn by Graduates in Law and Physic are nearly the same. The Doctor has three. The first is a gown of scarlet cloth, with sleeves and facings of pink silk, and a round black velvet cap. This is the dress of state. The second consists of a habit and hood of scarlet cloth, the habit faced and the hood lined with pink silk. The habit, which is perfectly analogous to the second dress of the Doctor in Divinity, has lately grown into disuse; it is, however, retained by the Professors, and is always used in presenting to Degrees. The third or common dress of a Doctor in Law or Physic nearly resembles that of the Bachelor in these faculties; it is a black silk gown richly ornamented with black lace; the head of the Bachelor of Laws (worn as a dress) is of purple silk, lined with white fur.

The dress worn by the Doctor of Music on public occasions is a rich white damask silk gown, with sleeves and facings of crimson satin, a hood of the same material, and a round black velvet cap. The usual dresses of the Doctor and of the Bachelor in Music are nearly the same as those of Law and Physic.

The Master of Arts wears a black gown, usually made of prince's stuff or crape, with long sleeves which are remarkable for the circular cut at the bottom. The arm comes through an aperture in the sleeve, which hangs down. The hood of a Master of Arts is black silk lined with ermine.

The gown of a Bachelor of Arts is also usually made of prince's stuff or crape. It has a full sleeve, looped up at the elbow, and terminating in a point; the dress hood is black, trimmed with white fur. In Lent, at the time of *determining* in the Schools, a strip of lamb's-wool is worn in addition to the hood. Noblemen and Gentlemen-Commoners, who take the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts, wear their gowns of silk.

Dress of Undergraduates.

The Nobleman has two dresses; the first, which is worn in the Theatre, in processions, and on all public occasions, is a gown of purple damask silk, richly ornamented with gold lace. The second is a black silk gown, with full sleeves; it has a tippet attached to the shoulders. With both these dresses is worn a square cap of black velvet, with a gold tassel.

The Gentleman-Commoner has two gowns, *both of black silk*; the first, which is considered as a dress gown, although worn on all occasions, at pleasure, is richly ornamented with tassels. The second, or undress gown, is ornamented with plaits at the sleeves. A square black velvet cap, with a silk tassel, is worn with both.

The dress of Commoners is a gown of black prince's stuff, without sleeves; from each shoulder is appended a broad strip, which reaches to the bottom of the dress, and towards the top is gathered into plaits. The cap is square, of black cloth, with silk tassel.

The dress of the Servitor is the same as that of the Commoner, but it has no plaits at the shoulder, and the cap is without a tassel.

The student of Civil Law, or Civilian, wears a plain black silk gown, and square cloth cap, with silk tassel.

Scholars and Demies of Magdalene, and students of Christ Church who have not taken a degree, wear a plain black gown of prince's stuff, with round, full sleeves half the length of the gown, and a square black cap, with silk tassel.

Students 'unattached' wear the dress of Commoners.

Notes.—The Undergraduate members of the University of Oxford are enrolled in one of the following classes as:

1. Noblemen, being Peers in their own right, who enjoy certain privileges and exemptions not accorded to others, in the choice of rooms, paying higher fees, doing less work, and keeping fewer lessons.

2. Gentlemen Commoners, being eldest sons, or only sons, or men already in possession of estates, or else are heirs of newly acquired wealth. They have a better choice of rooms, associate at meals with the Fellows and other authorities of the College, pay double caution money at entrance, and are charged more for tithorage than the usual fee.

3. Commoners, who pay for their board or commons, and all other charges, and are not dependent on the endowments for support. They correspond to *Pensioners* at Cambridge.

4. Servitors, who are supported wholly or partly by the College funds, and correspond to *Sub-students* at Cambridge. They were formerly required to wait at dinner on those of higher rank and perform other menial services, besides being the butt of practical jokes.

5. Bible Clerks, who enjoy certain scholarships, and were formerly required to attend all chapel services, and deliver in a list of the absent Undergraduates to the officer charged with discipline. In its original institution at Cambridge the student who held this office was required to read aloud the Bible at meals.

6. Students unattached to any College or Hall.

Degree of Associate in Arts—Local or Middle Class School Examinations.

Out of a movement inaugurated in 1857 mainly by Mr. Thomas Dyke Acland, and Dr. Temple (then Head Master of Rugby School, and since Bishop of Exeter) the Convocation in 1868 established, under a Delegacy or Board of its own members, Local Examinations at places outside of Oxford, of persons who have been in no direct way subjects of its teaching, but who voluntarily come together to have their attainments in certain branches of knowledge tested by competent and impartial judges, and to receive such stamp or signs of success as should at once inform parents as to the value of the teaching of a large number of schools subject to no official inspection; encourage deserving teachers by the approval of their work by a body whose capacity to judge they could not question; and advance the claims of deserving candidates for positions of public or private trusts requiring special knowledge, or faculties trained by special studies.

The Degree of Associate in Arts is given on the result of a second examination, and is confined to those who have taken Honors at the first. The value of the Degree in the office or money-market has not yet been fully tested.

The Candidates are classified into Seniors and Juniors, according to age—the lowest age being fifteen on the first day of January preceding the examination. The examination is conducted mainly by means of printed papers and written answers, and occupies five working days. No candidate can be admitted to the examination proper without answering satisfactorily certain preliminary questions.

The scheme is self-supporting, the expense for Examiners and University management, including printing and stationery, being met by a fee paid by each candidate to the Secretary of the Delegacy. A fee is also charged by the Local Committee for incidental expenses.

Experience alone will show to what extent this voluntary scheme of examination, undertaken by several Universities in different parts of the kingdom, for schools in no other way officially visited, can be made uniform, efficient and progressive.

The example of Oxford has been followed by Cambridge, and other Universities with various modifications, and thus the Superior Institutions are brought into direct association with the Elementary and Secondary, and a system of inspection and test of results instituted by general consent, and without any sacrifice of the teacher's independence, or of parental authority.

Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board.

This Board was formed in 1873, in accordance with Articles of Agreement by representatives of the two Universities, to examine such schools as have a regularly constituted governing body, or prepare a fair proportion of their boys for the Universities. It also grants certificates to boys from similar schools who are examined under its authority at a few convenient centres. The Certificate Examination may also form a part of a School Examination.

The School Examinations are: (1) Such as will enable the Board to report generally upon the school work. (2.) Such as will enable the Examiners to report on the standard reached in a special subject or subjects. (3.) Such as will enable the Examiners to report on the general work of the highest division, and to place the boys in order of merit, and to award exhibition scholarships and prizes.

This scheme may prove even without any Parliamentary legislation, an efficient Leaving Examination for the Grammar and other Secondary Schools, and by the action of the Universities may become a uniform Entrance and Matriculation Examination.

UNIVERSITY TERMS.

There are four Terms for academical exercise in each year, but for many purposes Easter and Trinity Terms together count as only one.

1. Michaelmas Term begins on the 10th of October, and ends on the 17th of December.

2. Hilary (or Lent) Term begins on the 14th of January, and ends on the day before Palm-Sunday.

3. Easter Term begins on the Wednesday after Easter Day, and ends on the Friday before Whit-Sunday.

4. Trinity (or Act) Term begins on the day before Whit-Sunday, and usually ends on the Saturday after the first Tuesday in July, but may be continued beyond that day by Congregation.

If the day fixed for the beginning or end of any Term happen to be a festival, the beginning or end of such Term is deferred till the day after, except only that Easter Term in such case ends the day before.

Full Term begins on the Sunday after the first day of Term.

Michaelmas and Hilary Terms are kept by six weeks' residence in each, Easter and Trinity Terms either by three weeks' in each, or by forty-eight days' residence in the two Terms jointly.

UNIVERSITY FEES AND DUES.

Students are required to pay Fees to the University on various occasions.

1. At Matriculation,

A Bible-Clerk pays	£	s.	d.
Every other person, if attached to some College or Hall	0	10	0
" " if not attached	5	0	0

2. On putting down a name for Examination,

At Responses	1	0	0
Before Moderators	1	1	0
In the Radcliffe Hall of Faith and Religion at the Second Public Examination for the degree of B. A.	1	0	0
Also, in any School at ditto	0	10	0
In Music (at the two examinations), Civil Law, or Medicine	1	0	0
After passing both Examinations in Medicine	9	0	0
After passing both Examinations in Music	9	0	0

3. Before admission to the

Position of S. C. L. or S. M.	7	10	0
Degree of B. A.	7	10	0
" " if S. C. L. or S. M.	2	0	0
Degree of M. A.	12	0	0
" " if B. C. L. before Sept. 29, 1835	4	5	0
" " if B. C. L. since Sept. 29, 1835	7	0	0
" " if B. M.	7	0	0
Degree of B. Mus.	5	0	0
" D. Mus.	10	0	0
" B. C. L. or B. M.	6	10	0
" B. D.	14	0	0
" D. C. L., D. M., or D. D.	40	0	0

Degrees by Accumulation	additional	5	0	0
Any degree granted in absence or by Decree of Convocation	additional	5	0	0
" " by Diploma	additional	10	10	0

4. Before recovery of the right of voting in Convocation

With 31 days' residence	10	0	0
With at least residence	30	0	0

5. Before incorporation,

A. B. A.	8	0	0
" M. A., B. C. L., B. M., or B. D.	15	0	0
" D. C. L., D. M., D. D.	40	0	0
" B. Mus.	5	0	0
" D. Mus.	10	0	0

6. Besides these Fees, which are paid in money on the several occasions above mentioned, every Member of the University is charged, in the Buttery Book of his College or Hall, with the sum of £1 yearly as University Dues, or the payment at one time of a sum (from £15 to £25) according to age.

COLLEGES AND HALLS.

THE COLLEGES are distinct corporate bodies, founded at various times for the purpose of study, and nearly (if not quite) all of them for the purpose of education also; within the University, but independent of it; governed, as to their own concerns, by their respective Statutes; each having a mansion for the residence of Members of the Foundation and for the reception of academical students; and holding property of various kinds through the munificence of Founders and Benefactors. In common use the word 'College' signifies the mansion of each Society as well as the Society itself.

The corporation of every College, except three, comprises a Head, Fellows and Scholars in various numbers, and a few other Members, whose numbers, offices, and titles differ in different Societies. All these are Members of the Foundation, and receive stipends from the corporate revenues. The three exceptions are All Souls' College, Christ Church, and Keble College. At All Souls' College there are no Scholars; at Christ Church, which is a cathedral establishment as well as an academical institution, there is, besides the Dean, a capitular body of Canons, while those who answer in other respects to Fellows and Scholars are called Senior and Junior Students; at Keble College there are neither Fellows nor Scholars. At Merton the Scholars are called Postmasters, at Magdalen Demies (in Latin *Semi-Scholi*).

The Heads of Colleges have not all the same title. The title is 'Master' at University, Balliol, and Pembroke Colleges; 'Warden' at Merton, New College, All Souls', Wadham, and Keble; 'Rector' at Exeter and Lincoln; 'Provost' at Oriel, Queen's, and Worcester; 'President' at Magdalen, Corpus Christi, Trinity, and St. John's; 'Principal' at Brasenose and Jesus; and 'Dean' at Christ Church.

In Christ Church the Dean, Canons, and Senior Students are the governing body; in Keble College the Warden and Council; in every other College the Head and Fellows. Discipline over the Junior Members of each Society is exercised by the Head, his Vicegerent, and certain Officers of the College, who are commonly appointed from the Fellows.

In almost every College the Head is elected by the Fellows. But the Dean of Christ Church is appointed by the Crown, the Provost of Worcester by the Chancellor of the University, and the Warden of Keble by the Council of that College. Headships are tenable for life.

Fellows and Scholars are mostly elected by the Heads and Fellows, or by the Head and certain Fellows, after a competitive examination. Fellowships, with few exceptions, are vacated by marriage and by ecclesiastical preferment or accession to property of a certain amount. Otherwise they are tenable for life. Scholarships, since 1854, are generally tenable for five years.

Halls.

The Academical Halls now existing in Oxford are mansions for the reception of students, who live in them under discipline and instruction, and pass through the course of study to their several degrees, precisely in the same way as other students who reside in Colleges. But the term 'Hall' implies also the society of students belonging to each; and in this sense there is a very important difference between Halls and Colleges, inasmuch as Halls are not corporate bodies, and have no endowments for Fellows, and all the property which they own is held in trust for them by the University.

The Heads of Halls are styled 'Principals.' In four of the five which still remain the Principal is appointed by the Chancellor of the University; in the fifth, St. Edmund Hall, the appointment is made by the Provost and Fellows of Queen's College. The Chancellor is the Visitor of all.

In the following list the several Colleges and Halls are placed in the order of their foundation.

THE University of Oxford, in 1873, included 20 Colleges and 5 Halls, viz. :

COLLEGES.

ALL SOULS' COLLEGE, founded in 1437, by Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, possesses 30 Fellowships, the 2 Chichele Professorships, and 4 Bible Clerkships. It has 19 benefices in its gift, and 121 members in 1871. Warden : The Rev. Francis K. Leighton, D.D., elected 1858.

BALLIOL COLLEGE, founded about 1265 by the parents of John Balliol, King of Scotland, possesses 11 Fellowships, 13 Scholarships of about 75. per ann., and 5 of 60. per ann., besides many Exhibitions. 30 benefices in gift. 461 members in 1871. Master : The Rev. B. Jowitt, M.A., elected 1870.

BRASENOSE COLLEGE, founded in 1500 by William Smith, Bishop of Lincoln, and Sir Richard Sutton, possesses 20 Fellowships, all open, besides numerous Scholarships and Exhibitions, mostly tenable for 5 years, and ranging in value to upwards of 60. per ann. It has also upwards of 50 benefices under its patronage and influence, and about 438 members in 1871. Principal : The Rev. Edward H. Cradock, D.D., elected 1853.

CHRIST CHURCH, founded originally by Cardinal Wolsey in 1526; in 1546 made the seat of the Episcopal See of Osney, by Henry VIII., and constituted the Cathedral Church of Christ in Oxford. It possesses 6 Canonries and 80 Studentships, 28 of which are called Senior and 52 Junior Studentships, the former being equivalent to Fellowships, the latter to Scholarships; and of these latter 31 are confined to Westminster School, all the others being open. It has nearly 100 benefices in its gift, and had 1093 members in 1871. Dean : The Very Rev. Henry George Liddell, D.D., elected 1855.

CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, founded in 1516 by Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, possesses 30 Fellowships and 34 Scholarships, all open, the latter of the value of 80. per ann., besides rooms, and tenable for 5 years. It has 23 benefices in its gift, and 244 members in 1871. President : The Rev. James Norris, D.D., elected 1843.

EXETER COLLEGE, founded in 1314, by Walter de Stapledon, Bishop of Exeter, now possesses 15 Fellowships, all open, and 23 Scholarships, 10 open, besides numerous Exhibitions, chiefly connected with Public Schools, and described herein therewith. Exeter College has 16 benefices in its gift, and 708 members in 1871. Rector : The Rev. John Prideaux Lightfoot, D.D.

JESUS COLLEGE, founded in 1571, by Queen Elizabeth, on the petition of Dr. Hugh Price, Treasurer of St. David's, its first endower, consists of 16 Fellowships, to be reduced to 13, whereof a part will consist of Welsh Fellowships, and the rest be open. It will have 23 Scholarships, 30 Welsh and 2 open, and numerous Exhibitions of 40. per ann., tenable for 5 years. 30 benefices in gift; 203 members in 1871. Principal : The Rev. C. Williams, D.D.

LINCOLN COLLEGE, founded in 1427 by Richard Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln, consists of a Rector, 10 Fellows, and 16 Scholars, nearly all of whom are now elected by open competition. 9 benefices in gift. 253 members in 1871. Rector : The Rev. Mark Pattison, B.D., elected 1861.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE, founded in 1453 by William of Waynflete, Lord High Chancellor, consists of a President, 30 Fellows, 40 Scholars, called Demies, all elected by open competition. It has also 20 Exhibitions, and supports the 4 Waynflete Professors. 41 benefices in gift. 346 members in 1871. President : The Rev. Frederic Bailey, D.D.

MERTON COLLEGE, founded in 1264 at Malden, in 1274 at Oxford, by Walter de Merton, Bishop of Rochester, consists of a Warden, 18 Fellowships, all open, 14 Postmasterships, and 4 Scholarships. 18 benefices in gift. 245 members in 1871. Warden : Robert Bullock Marsham, D.C.L., elected 1853.

NEW COLLEGE, founded in 1386 by William of Wykeham, consists of a

Warden, 30 Fellowships, and 30 Scholarships; 15 of the former being open, and the rest with preference to Winchester School. 41 benefices in gift. 977 members in 1871. Warden: The Rev. James E. Sewel, D.D., elected 1860.

ORIEL COLLEGE, founded in 1326 by Edward II., consists of a Provost, 15 Fellows and 10 Scholarships, with 23 Exhibitions, the value of each of the Scholarships and of four of the Exhibitions being 60*l.* per ann., with rooms. 13 benefices in gift. 411 members in 1871. Provost: The Rev. Edward Hawkins, D.D., elected 1838.

PEMBROKE COLLEGE, founded in 1634, and named after William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, then Chancellor of the University, consists of a Master, 10 Fellows, and 19 Scholars, 2 of the latter to be held with Bible Clerkships. 8 benefices in gift. 279 members in 1871. Master: The Rev. E. Evans, M.A.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, founded in 1340 by the Chaplain to Queen Philippa, after whom it was named, consists of a Provost, 19 Fellows, 3 Chaplains, 15 Scholars, and 3 Bible Clerks, and has numerous Exhibitions from different Schools. 29 benefices in gift. 391 members in 1871. Prov.: W. Jackson, D.D.

S. JOHN'S COLLEGE, founded in 1555 by Alderman Sir T. White, of London, will hereafter consist of a President, 18 Fellows, and 34 Scholars. The Fellowships are tenable for life, and are all open. 6 of the Scholarships only are open, the remainder are appropriated—21 to Merchant Tailors' School, 2 to Coventry, 2 to Bristol, 2 to Reading, and 1 to Tunbridge Schools. 4 Fellowships on the Fereday Foundation, not included amongst the above 18, are partially restricted, and are tenable for 14 years. 33 benefices in gift. 423 members in 1871. President: The Rev. J. Bellamy, B.D., elected 1871.

TRINITY COLLEGE, originally founded by Edward III., was re-founded in 1554, and possesses a President, 12 Fellows, and 13 Scholars; both Fellowships and Scholarships being open; the latter worth 80*l.* per ann. It has also several Exhibitions. 10 benefices in gift. 373 members in 1871. President: The Rev. S. W. Wayte, B.D., elected 1866.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, said to have been founded by Alfred the Great in 873, and restored by William of Durham in 1249, consists of a Master, 13 Fellows, 3 Honorary Fellows, 19 Scholars. It has 5 Exhibitions; 2 of which are open. 10 benefices in gift. 384 members in 1871. Master: The Rev. George Granville Bradley, M.A., elected 1870.

WADHAM COLLEGE, founded in 1613 by Nicholas Wadham, Esq., consists of a Warden, 14 Fellows, 15 Scholars, 2 Chaplains, and 2 Clerks. Both Fellowships and Scholarships open. It has 10 Exhibitions (4 for Hebrew, 6 for Greek), besides several of smaller importance. 13 benefices in gift. 358 members in 1871. Warden: The Rev. John Griffiths, M.A., elected 1871.

WORCESTER COLLEGE, founded in 1714 by Sir Thomas Cooke, consists of a Provost, 18 Fellows, and 15 Scholars. The Fellowships nearly all open. It has 7 Exhibitions. 10 benefices in gift. 373 members in 1871. Provost: The Rev. Richard Lynch Cotton, D.D., elected 1839.

KEBLE COLLEGE.—This College was built by subscription as a memorial to the late Rev. John Keble, some time Fellow and Tutor of Oriel College, and Professor of Poetry in the University. The College was founded in 1870 for "providing persons desirous of academical education, and willing to live economically, with a college wherein sober living and high culture of the mind may be combined with Christian training, based upon the principles of the Church of England." The cost of tuition, rent, and food is about 50*l.* per annum. Warden: The Rev. E. S. Talbot, M.A. There were 36 members in 1871.

HALLS.

MAGDALEN HALL, founded by Bishop Waynflete, consists of a Principal, Vice-Principal, Tutor, and 2 Lecturers. It has 8 Scholarships, 4 open, and 4

COLLEGE RESIDENCE AND VACATION.

No member of the University is eligible for any degree (except in Music) until he has resided, under certain conditions as to time and place, within the limits of the University. This residence need not be consecutive, but it must be within the limits of the four terms into which the academic year is divided. An Undergraduate must reside either

(1.) Within the gates of a College or Hall (public or private), or of one of their annexed buildings:

(2.) Or in lodgings which have been licensed by, and which are under the supervision of, the Delegates of Lodging-houses:

(3.) Or, under special circumstances, at the discretion of the Delegates, in an unlicensed house.

For residence in a College or Hall no other consent is necessary than that of the authorities of the College or Hall, but in the two other cases, an Undergraduate, of whatever standing, must obtain the permission of the Delegates of Lodging-houses. If he takes up his residence, even in licensed lodgings, without such permission, he forfeits the privileges of the University for the time during which such residence continues; and if he persists in such residence after having been cautioned by the Delegates, he is rusticated by the Vice-Chancellor.

The necessary permission to go into lodgings is given under the following conditions:

(1.) Undergraduates, whether they are or are not attached to a College or Hall, must have the consent of their parents or guardians, unless (a) they are twenty-one years of age, (b) or have resided twelve terms within the University; in either of which cases such consent is dispensed with.

(2.) Undergraduates who are members of a College or Hall must have the consent of their College or Hall.

The consent both of the parents or guardians, and of the College or Hall, must be signified to the Delegates by the Head of the College or Hall, and must be accompanied by a certificate of good character.

A list of licensed lodgings, with the prices of the several sets of rooms annexed, is printed every year, and may be seen at the office of the Delegates of Lodging-houses. The prices vary from 7s. to 65s. per week. In order, as far as possible, to prevent misunderstanding, a form of agreement between lodging-house keepers and their tenants has been sanctioned by the University, and must be signed by both parties when lodgings are taken.

Most Colleges and Halls prefer that their Undergraduates should complete their necessary residence within the College walls, but some Colleges give an absolute option in the matter, and almost all allow residence outside the College walls under special circumstances. After the completion of twelve, and in some cases of eight, terms' residence within the College walls, Undergraduates are usually required to remove into lodgings, except in the case of scholars upon the foundation, who have usually the option of retaining their rooms in College. Those who reside outside the walls of their College or Hall are subject to various rules, of which the following are examples:

At Balliol, Undergraduates may choose before admission, subject to the necessary limitation of the number of vacant rooms in College, to reside either in College or in lodgings. Those who reside in lodgings may either *battel* (*take the regular meal*) in College, or be wholly independent of the College in respect to their meals. In the latter case they may still, at their option, on giving notice to the manciple, dine in the College hall.

At Queen's, Undergraduates may, with the consent, if they are under age, of their parents or guardians, obtain the leave of the College to reside in lodgings during their whole course. As a rule, scholars and exhibitioners may be required to go out of College after twelve terms' commoners after eight terms' residence. Residents, whether in or out of College, are allowed complete freedom in regulating their own expenses with reference to their meals.

At Corpus, Commoners may be admitted either (1) to reside in College for a period not exceeding twelve terms from matriculation; or (2) to reside in lodgings but dine in the College hall and have other meals brought from the College; or (3) to reside and *battel* wholly out of College, but attend the College chapel and lectures.

At Worcester, Undergraduates, under special circumstances, are allowed to reside in lodgings during their whole course. All Commoners, but not scholars, go out of College, unless they obtain special permission to remain in, after twelve terms' residence.

At St. Mary Hall, Undergraduates may reside either in Hall or in lodgings, and may bathe either wholly or partially in Hall, or wholly outside. All Undergraduates, as a rule, except the Dyke Scholars, go into lodgings after eight terms' residence in Hall.

Actual residence in Oxford is limited to one-half the year, and this period is so broken up by frequent and long vacations as to seriously interfere with regular courses of study.

UNIVERSITY DISCIPLINE.

The numerous minute requirements and prohibitory enactments of the University statutes have gradually been reduced substantially to the following:

1. Junior members of the University are required by the statutes to wear a proscribed academical dress "*quoties in publicum procedunt*." This regulation has gradually been narrowed in practice, but the cap and gown are still required to be worn (1) always before 1 p.m., and after sunset; (2) always within the precincts of the schools, whether a student is or is not under examination; (3) at University Sermons; (4) in calling officially upon any officer of the University.

2. They are required to abstain from frequenting hotels or taverns, except for reasons to be approved by the Vice-Chancellor or Proctors.

3. They are not allowed to keep a horse or to drive a vehicle of any kind except with the consent both of their College or Hall, and of the Proctors; nor to smoke in the streets; nor to engage in any games of chance; nor to take part in, or subscribe money for, horse-races or shooting-matches.

The punishments which are inflicted for a breach of any of these rules consist of (1) pecuniary fines, the amount of which is in some cases specified in the statutes, but is more usually left to the discretion of the Vice-Chancellor or the Proctors; (2) rustication, *i. e.* banishment from the University for a definite period; (3) expulsion from the University.

For the cognizance of graver offences, and such as would render a student amenable to the criminal law of the country, the Vice-Chancellor is armed with the powers of an ordinary Justice of the Peace.

COLLEGE DISCIPLINE.

Every College and Hall has its own special code, and its own special mode of administering it; but there are certain general regulations which are common to almost all Colleges and Halls. The Head is clothed with authority to enforce discipline, by imposition of lessons, chapels, restrictions within the gates, rustication, advice to withdraw, and expulsion.

1. All Undergraduates are required to commence their residence in each term on a certain day, to reside during the prescribed length of time (usually eight weeks), and not to leave Oxford without having obtained leave from the Head or Vicegerent of their College or Hall.

2. They are required, unless specially exempted, to attend certain lectures. The number of lectures which are thus required varies so much that no general rule can be laid down, but when once an Undergraduate has been requested to attend a particular course he must either send a valid excuse to the lecturer, or attend under pain of censure.

3. They are usually expected, but not compelled, to attend the chapel of the College or Hall at least once a day, a certain proportion of such attendances being at morning chapel. At the Halls the rules as to attendance at chapels are prescribed by the *Statuta Antiqua* of the University; they are to the effect that in every Hall prayers out of the Book of Common Prayer must be read every day, and that all members of the Hall must attend. But in both Colleges and Halls those who are not members of the Church of England are in all cases exempted; and in the following Colleges attendance is either alternative or voluntary:

At Balliol, Undergraduates must attend *either* chapel or roll call in the College Hall on five mornings in every week during term. On Sundays they are expected, but not compelled, to attend chapel.

At Merton and New College, Undergraduates are expected to attend chapel twice on Sundays, and, during the week, *either* to attend chapel or to present themselves at roll-call at 8 a.m. on at least four mornings.

At Corpus, attendance at chapel is not enforced by any penalty.

4. The gates of Colleges and Halls are usually closed at 9.10 p.m. (at Christ Church 9.15 p.m., at St. Mary Hall 10 p.m.); after that hour no one is allowed, without special permission, to leave his College or Hall, and a small fine is imposed upon those who come in. Lodging-house keepers are required to close their doors at 10 p.m., and to keep a list of all who go out or come into their houses after that hour. No Undergraduate is allowed to remain out of either College or lodgings after midnight without the special

permission of the Head of his College or Hall: and any Undergraduate who without leave passes a night away from his College or his lodgings, renders himself liable to a severe penalty.

5. Undergraduates are not allowed to enter their names for University Examinations without the consent of their Tutor: they are usually required to pass such Examinations within certain prescribed limits of time; and they are usually also required to pass certain examinations in the College or Hall itself. Here follow specimens:

At University, Responsions must be passed within the first two terms. All Undergraduate members of the College are required to read for Honors in some one Final School, and, unless specially permitted to do otherwise, for Honors in either Classics or Mathematics at Moderations.

At Balliol, all University Examinations must be passed, unless special permission be given to do otherwise, at the earliest opportunity. There is a College examination at the end of each term, at which every Undergraduate member of the College is expected to bring up a portion of his work for Moderations or one of the Final Schools, as the case may be. At each of such examinations he is also liable to be examined in the work of previous examinations: the merit of his work in each subject is denoted by a class-letter, A, B, C, or D.

At Christ Church, Responsions must be passed before the end of the second term of residence, Moderations within eight terms of standing, and all Examinations required for the Degree of B. A. by the end of their fourteenth term of standing, except in the case of Candidates for Honors. Every Undergraduate is required to pass a College examination once a year: those who pass are arranged in classes, and prizes are awarded, subject to certain regulations.

At Wadham, Undergraduates are required to pass Responsions, and (except Candidates for Honors) Moderations, at the earliest opportunity, unless from some special reason to the contrary. If any one has not passed Responsions before the end of his first year, and Moderations before the end of his second, his name will be removed from the College books. Undergraduates who are not Candidates for Honors are required to pass all Examinations necessary for the Degree of B. A. before the end of their fourteenth term.

DISCIPLINE OF UNATTACHED STUDENTS.

The following are the Disciplinary Regulations of the Delegates of Unattached Students:

1. The usual residence of students is not less than eight weeks in each of the Michaelmas and Lent terms, and eight in the Easter and Trinity terms taken together; this residence must be within dates fixed by the Delegates. If any student desires to reside a shorter period in any term; or to be entirely non-resident for a term; or to reside during any vacation; he must obtain the previous permission of the Delegates.

2. The students as soon as possible after their arrival in Oxford in each term, are expected to call on the Censors at their office (between the hours of 10 and 12 A.M.) to report themselves, and to be directed as to their studies.

3. They must also call at the end of each term in order to obtain leave to go down.

4. No student is to engage lodgings without the sanction of the Delegates first obtained.

5. All students who are out of their lodgings after 10 P.M. are reported to the Delegates by the lodging-house keepers. If out after midnight they will be required to account for themselves.

6. Any student who wishes to offer himself for any University Examination, must apply to the Censors for the necessary form, and must not give in his name to the Proctor without their approval: nor may he withdraw his name from the Proctor's list without first consulting them.

7. At the beginning of term, the dues (£1 2s. 6d.) must be paid to the Delegates; the dues for the Michaelmas quarter must be paid before the end of Act term.

Service is held in the chapel adjoining St. Mary's Church at 9.30 every Sunday morning in full term; this service concludes in time for students to go to the University Sermon at 10.30. Attendance is voluntary.

* *Terms of Residence* are those terms during which a member of the University, whether resident or not, has kept his name on the books of College or Hall, or on the list of unattached students, and has paid his terminal fees. *Terms of Standing* are those terms in which, in addition to this, he has resided in the manner, and for the length of time required by the regulation of his College or Hall.

COLLEGE EXPENSES.

The expenses of an Undergraduate at Oxford, in addition to the University Fees (of matriculation, examination, degree, membership, and registration by clerk of schools, and by registrar for copy of certificates) includes his payments to his College, viz.:

1. Admission Fee, which varies in different colleges—from no charge in 3; less than £5 in 8; £5 in 7; and £8 and upward in 5.

2. Caution Money, a deposit of £25 (or thereabouts) in the hands of the Tutor, for the prompt payments of all college dues, and is not returned till his name is taken from the books of his College, or settled by some compounding for the annual dues.

3. Tuition Fees—paid annually during each term of residence up to the last examination in any school inclusive. The tuition varies from £18 to £27, or an average of £21. The total sum returned in 1871 as collected, from 20 out of the 24 Colleges and Halls, from 1,705 paying Undergraduates, was £20,700, which sum was increased from tutorial endowments by £6,000. This does not include a large item every year to Private Tutors, although unauthorized and discountenanced by the University and College authorities. This item may be set down "at not less than £30 a year on an average for each Undergraduate, or a total sum larger than is paid to all the regular College Tutors and Lecturers."

4. College servants and general expenses of residence—viz., for porterage, shoe cleaning, bed making, cleaning rooms, and not including gratuities (which have become customary charges,—varying in different colleges from £15 to £20 per annum.

5. Room-rent and Furniture. The average is given at about £14, and generally a separate charge for the furniture when hired from the house, or taken from previous occupant on valuation. The average expense in four years' residence is stated by various authorities to be about £20 a year.

6. Battells (the old university term *patella* or *batla* for plate) or charges for meals—which vary both in the number of meals and of articles for each meal in different colleges. There is in most colleges a fixed limit of expenditure for breakfast, luncheons, and dinner, in a tariff which is posted in the hall. Accounts are paid three or four times a year. Dinner varies from 1s. to 2s.

7. Fees for Degrees, in addition to the University fees, from 10s. in Keble to £8 7s. in St. John's and Balliol.

8. There are other inevitable expenses, always classed as voluntary—such as subscription to clubs and societies; and tradesmen's bills for dress, entertainments and sports, and railroad fares, which may vary in amount, but sooner or later are incurred by minors and paid by parents.

The annual expenditure for a member of a College or Hall, who dresses and lives not above the average standard of comfort and respectability, is never less than £300, and oftener exceeds, than falls below £400.

The annual expense covers less than a half years' residence and instruction in Oxford.

MEMBERSHIP.

According to the University Calendar for 1874, there were 2,411 Undergraduate members of the 20 Colleges, 6 Halls, and students unattached. The latter number 168, more than in any one College, save Christ Church (258) and Exeter (171).

The number of members of Convocation—all Doctors of every Faculty, and all Masters of Arts, whose names are kept on the books of some College or Hall, or the Delegacy of the Unattached Students, and have paid all statutable fees—was 4,659.

SUNDRY THINGS CONCERNING THE UNIVERSITY—1659.

In the *Harleian Miscellanies* (Vol. VII.) is a pamphlet with the above title, which shows that in 1659 there were reformers at Oxford, quite as radical in educational affairs as existed there and elsewhere, although there less than elsewhere in the Commonwealth, concerning Church and State in general. One document is entitled 'A Petition from some well affected persons in the University of Oxford to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England,' humbly praying: 'for so much as the education of persons to serve in Church and State is a thing necessarily to be considered for the subsistence and continuance of a republic, that the youth may be thoroughly acquainted and possessed with the principles thereof, as well as interested in all other useful learning, we humbly beseech that you would take into your care the two Universities'—suggesting among other things 'that everything in the laws, instructions, customs, and persons which could be looked upon as monarchial, superstitious, and despotic, should be done away with; that there should be freedom of opinion, and all professorships and libraries should be ordered accordingly; that all ceremonies tending to enervate and beget pride should be abolished; that all despotic power in any officer should be revoked, and that the Chancellor and all others in ecclesiastical authority should act in strict subordination to the government, and that all degrees should be conferred only on those who deserve them, and after a more strict way suited to preserve and uphold a republic, and in the presence of patriotic Senators, that they may become thereby acquainted with the merits of scholars.'

The same pamphlet contains "A Slight Model of a College" to be erected in connection with Westminster School, and supported out of the canons of Christ College, which are now declared to be subversive of the Commonwealth. The following suggestions correspond to features in Cowley's *Plan of a Philosophical College*, and anticipate by two centuries reforms in the constitution and studies of Oxford which are only now in the progress of development.

Model College Proposed in 1659.

Let no person, professor or fellow, have any extraordinary allowances but what shall arise from their care in instructing others, and donatives to be given from time to time by the governors, accordingly as they shall find men profit in learning, and hopeful to serve the Commonwealth.

Let the novices of the foundation be provided for of such books as are prescribed them by the discipline of the house (without permission to read other) till they have perfectly laid their foundation, and accommodated in a decent way as to cloaths, diet, and chambers, and chamber furniture, and with physick in case of indisposition, at the college charge.

Let the foundation be supplied from Westminster School, not only for their better instruction, but for the preserving of uniformity; and that, upon their coming to the university, they be not enforced to one study, or general studies, but immediately put into such a society and class of students as are for this or that profession.

Let there be certain times of the year fixed in which commoners and others may be received into the college, and at no other time, to prevent disorders in studies; let that time be such as the professors shall agree upon, wherein to finish their course of lectures; and let these be distributed into classes as the other, and regulated in their diet, habits, and company, as may best suit with their intended course of life, and the being of the Commonwealth, which requires that the youth be bred up to sobriety, frugality, and knowledge.

Let the students of all sorts and faculties be obliged, before their departure, to understand the grounds of a commonwealth, and what is the particular basis of it, that so they may be more active in their persons and relations, it being their reason, and not custom, which induces them to subjection.

Let the governors make it their care that when persons shall arise to maturity, and capable of any employments, to promote them in several ways according to their several professions, and that none be permitted to refuse

any such probation employments. As for physicians, that they go with our merchants and ambassadors to remote countries, and that though the emolument be not great; and the like for such as study other faculties, and that none decline this. That, after their return, they give an account of their observations, and deposit them in the college archives, and that they be at their return maintained as before their places in their absence being supplied by others; till the state can find them employment.

Let there be established in the college one or two professors in divinity, who shall find such a course therein as shall be thought fit, especially instructing all in the several analyses of faith, and grounds of religion. Let him or they uphold disputations and such-like exercises.

Let there be a professor of civil law and politics, who may instruct all in the foundations of common right, and dispose them to prefer a commonwealth before monarchy; let him direct them in a method of particular politics and history.

Let there be one professor in Descartes's philosophy and mathematicks. Let there be one professor of Gasendus's philosophy and general geography, who may also give directions for particular geography.

Let these each have assistants, out of the fellows to be constituted, who inquire into the magnetical philosophy; let them have a school of experiments in optics and mechanicks, for the instruction of the gentry, and such as shall be found suitable to assist them in their studies; and let this be defrayed by the publick, or by levies upon each commoner that comes to study there, as they now give pieces of plate.

Let there be a professor of physick, and another on anatomy; let them read, dissect, and keep a chymist of experiments, and promoting of medicines; let this be defrayed partly at the publick charge, and partly by levy upon the students in physick, and such as shall desire to be present, and partly by the standing apothecary of the college physician.

Let there be a professor of useful logic and civil rhetoric, for the institution of such as are employed in the publick; and let them practice, not in a declamatory and light, but masculine and solid way, that is, English as well as Latin; and that they be instructed in the way of penning letters and despatches.

Let all, or any of these, teach such as are not versed in Latin in English; and let such be distributed into agreeable company, for the bettering themselves; and let the professors be severely prohibited from teaching any that shall be young, and not of their college. As for such as are grown in years, and yet would learn any or all the studies aforesaid, they may be admitted and disposed of according to discretion, without prejudicing the constant course of studies to be upheld in the college.

Let there be sixty fellows in the college, with competent allowances, to supply the quality of standing tutors, who may carry on the studies of the youth in times of lesser moment, and prepare them for lectures, examine them after lectures, see to their manners, &c.

Let twenty of these study controversial divinity and ecclesiastical history, yet so as to be able to manage the practical part for the good and credit of the nation, either at home, or in employments with ambassadors. Let a third part of these alternately reside at London, that they may not be strangers to the world, and circumstances thereof, and so to be able to direct better, in order to the education of their countrymen.

Let the twenty study after a competency of knowledge in the theory, and other qualifications, to dispose themselves for the practice and altered tutelage of such as mean to be divines: for the education of whom, and promoting them in order to the service of the nation, the said governors may take care.

The last twenty may be divided so, as one third study physick, and tutor others therein, under their professor, they having precedentiously learned one, or both, of the philosophies specified; and the rest may study general and particular politics, geography, history, and all the other armaments becoming exact virtuosos, and accordingly take care for the tutelage of others; and that part of them be obliged to go abroad at the state's employing, then return, and after that reside awhile, before they engage into any determinate course of life.

The governors of Westminster may rule the college by a vice-principal elected out of the fellows, and the fellows themselves; the power of gratifying and encouraging being reserved to them. And, further, they may constitute a censor of discipline, who may, in case of neglect, punish any fellow, professor, or student any way related to the college, arbitrarily, without being subject to any but the governors.

EXERCISES NECESSARY TO THE FIRST DEGREE IN ARTS IN 1780.

The following account of the Exercises necessary for a Degree in Arts at Oxford, appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1780:

The first Exercise necessary for a degree, is the holding a Disputation in the Public Schools on some question of Logic or Moral Philosophy. It is termed in the phrase of the University *doing Generals*. As it must be carried on in the strict forms of syllogism, and is generally on one of those abstruse and uninteresting subjects which formed the learning of the middle ages, one should imagine that much reading and of a particular kind would be requisite to form a disputant. Yet it is certain, that, within a week after his admission, any young man of moderate abilities may find himself a match for the able veteran in the schools. It may not be unentertaining to those who are unacquainted with our customs, to show how this amazing progress is made in so short a time. Be it known then, that every Undergraduate in the University, if brought to confession, has in his possession certain papers, which have been handed down from generation to generation, and are denominated *Arms*. By virtue of these papers the whole miracle is performed; and least the reader should suspect that our Academical Literati, like Aricea of old, have brought the secret power of nature into subjection, and that these papers are endued with magical influence to communicate knowledge by contact, we must assure him in vindication of our-selves, that we have every reason to imagine, both from tradition and experience, that the wisdom of those who composed them never went so far as to become suspicious to their neighbors. These *Arms* consist of two or three arguments, each on those subjects which are discussed in the schools, fairly transcribed in that syllogistical form, which alone is admitted on this occasion. The two disputants having procured a sufficient number of them, and learned to repeat them by heart, proceed with confidence to the place appointed. From one o'clock till three they must remain seated opposite to each other, entertaining themselves as well as so ridiculous a situation will admit; and if any Proctor should come in, who is appointed to preside over these exercises, they begin to rehearse what they have learned, frequently without the least knowledge of what is meant. Though the Latin style of these arguments is equally curious with the matter, yet for the benefit of those who are unacquainted with that language, I have subjoined a translation of one of them; and even they, who have been used to them in the original, may be pleased to see them in an English dress.

Opponent. What think you of this question, whether universal ideas are formed by abstraction?

Respondent. I affirm it.

Opp. Universal ideas are not formed by abstraction; therefore you are deceived.

Resp. I deny the antecedent.

Opp. I prove the antecedent—Whatever is formed by sensation alone is not formed by abstraction: but universal ideas are formed by sensation alone; therefore universal ideas are not formed by abstraction.

Resp. I deny the minor.

Opp. I prove the minor. The idea of solidity is an universal idea: but the idea of solidity is formed by sensation alone: therefore universal ideas are formed by sensation alone.

Resp. I deny the major.

Opp. I prove the major. The idea of solidity arises from the collision of two solid bodies: therefore the idea of solidity is formed by sensation alone.

Resp. The idea of solidity, I confess, is formed by sensation; but the mind can consider it as abstracted from sensation.

The Opponent upon this is to suppose himself confuted, and after a short pause thus proceeds:

Opp. I prove it otherwise: what is formed by comparison is not formed by abstraction; but universal ideas are formed by comparison; therefore universal ideas are not formed by abstractions.

Resp. I deny the minor.

Opp. I prove the minor. The idea of relation is an universal idea; but the idea of relation is formed by comparison; therefore universal ideas are formed by comparison.

Resp. I deny the major.

Opp. I prove the major. The idea of relation is formed by comparing one thing with another: therefore the idea of relation is formed by comparison.

Resp. In truth, the idea of things related is formed by comparison; but

the idea of relation itself, taken separately from the things related, is formed by abstraction.

So ends this hopeful piece of argumentation; and after the reader has perused it, let him not imagine that I have selected a ridiculous example, in order to give an unfair representation of the whole; I assure him of the contrary; for the arguments are good, and would be allowed such by any Proctor in the University.

Four times at least must this farce be performed, exactly in the manner which I have described, before the student is any way qualified for the degree of Bachelor of Arts; by which the minds of youth are to be accustomed to a readiness of invention, and an accurate discernment in the investigation of truth; how far the end is answered, let the judicious reader imagine for him self.

The remaining Exercise necessary for the first degree is an examination in five sciences. By the same kind of Academical Legerdemain is our candidate enabled to pass through this formidable trial with credit, though at the same time he may be ignorant, and frequently is so, of what is meant by the terms *Logic, Grammar, Geometry, Rhetoric, and Ethics*.

He provides what is here called a *scheme*, which contains a collection of all the questions, which will probably be asked him in each science; and having fixed this jargon in his memory, he is sure of being pronounced properly qualified for his degree: it is true, he is examined in three classical authors; but as these are in his own choice, and he has three or four years in which he may prepare himself, he will certainly take care to run no risk in this point.

Dr. Vicellinus Knox, about the same date, in his Essay — Moral and Literary, in No. 77, takes up the same subject, and after exposing the absurdity of “doing genera and answering under-bach’er, obtaining his *testimonium*, and paying a sum of money in fees, he kneels down before the Vice-Chancellor in the Convocation-house, whispers a lie, and rises up a Bachelor of Arts” — goes on to describe the process of qualifying for

Master of Arts.

And now, if he aspires at higher honors (and what emulous spirit can sit down without aspiring at them?) new labors and new difficulties are to be encountered during the space of three years. He must *determine* in Lent, he must *do quodlibets*, he must *do awains*, he must declaim twice, he must read six solemn lectures, and he must be again examined in the sciences, before he can be promoted to the degree of Master of Arts.

None but the initiated can know what *determining*, *doing quodlibets*, and *doing awains* mean, and I have not room to enter into a minute description of such contemptible minutiae. Let it suffice to say, that these exercises consist of disputations, and the disputations of syllogisms, procured and uttered nearly in the same places, time, and manner, as we have already seen them in *doing genera*. There is, however, a great deal of trouble in little formalities, such as procuring sixpenny biscuits, sticking up the names on the walls, sitting in large empty rooms by yourself, or with some poor wight as ill employed as yourself, without anything to say or do, wearing hoods, and a little piece of lambskin with the wool on it, and a variety of other particulars too tedious and trifling to enumerate.

The declamations would be an useful exercise, if it were not always performed in a careless and evasive manner. The lectures are always called *Wall Lectures*, because the lecturer has no other audience but the walls. Indeed, he usually steals a sheet or two of Latin out of some old book, no matter on what subject, though it ought to be on natural philosophy. These he keeps in his pocket, in order to take them out and read away, if a proctor should come in; but, otherwise, he sits by himself, and solaces himself with a book, not from the Bodleian but the circulating library.

The examination is performed exactly in the same manner as before described; and, though represented as very formidable, is such an one as a boy from a good school just entered, might go through as well as after a seven years’ residence. Few, however, reside; for the majority are what are called *term-traders*, that is, persons who only keep the terms for form’s sake, or spend six or eight weeks in a year in the university, to qualify them for degrees, according to the letter of the statutes.

After all these important exercises and trials, and after again taking oaths by wholesale, and paying the fees, the academic is honored with a Master’s degree, and issues out into the world with this undeniable passport to carry him through it with credit.

THE OXFORD ACT—*TERRE FILICE*.

The Act of Oxford, which came gradually to signify the Public Exercises or Commencement of the University, originally meant the special closing exercises of a candidate for a degree in any Faculty. It served to mark the different stages of academic progress, but particularly the admission of Bachelor into the Congregation of Masters, by which he was authorized to commence the delivery of Lectures, and hence the expressions of *inceptor* and *inception*. It became naturally the occasion of relaxation and festivity both to teacher and taught—and from sophister to doctor; there were presents made by those who had gained advancement to all who had in any way taken part in the exercises, from servitor to registrar. The whole ceremony was crowned by a banquet, involving in all cases considerable expense. So early as 1311 this extravagance had become so general that Pope Clement V. issued a mandate inhibiting inceptors in any faculty to expending more than *trīs milia Turonensium*, which as expressed in the silver coinage of Tours was no less than £41 English money of the period. By an early ordinance of the Chancellor of Oxford a sophister at the time of his responsions was limited to sixteen pence; bachelors *novales quadragesima* were forbidden in 'the holy season of Lent' from holding any celebrations whatever; and inceptors masters of arts were put under oath not to exceed the papal limitations. But these limitations, foreign and domestic, were not observed, as the following letter from James Howell to his brother, Dr. Howell, at Jesus College, dated London, June 30, 1628, shows:

Brother, I have sent you herewith inclosed warrant for four brace of bucks and a stag; the last Sir Arthur Mauwaring procured of the King for you, towards keeping of your Act, I have sent you a warrant also for a brace of bucks out of Waddes Chace; besides, you shall receive by this carrier a great wicker hamper, with two jouls of sturgeon, six barrels of pickled oysters, three barrels of *Boyas* olives, and some other Spanish commodities. [He then offers to present him, on the next vacancy, to the rectory of *Hambledon*, worth £500 a year *communibus annis*, 'as good as some Bishoprics.'] I thank you for inviting me to your Act, I will be with you the next week, God willing; and hope to find my father there; so with my kind love to Dr. Mansel, Mr. Watkins, Mr. Madecks, and Mr. Napier at *All-Souls*, I rest your loving brother,
J. H.

The Oxford Act in 1609—Dedication of the Theatre.

The Sheldonian Theatre was begun, after plans by Sir Christopher Wren, in 1664, and opened Friday, July 9, 1669. An account of the exercises on this occasion is given by Dr. John Wallis in a letter to Hon. Robert Boyle, dated July 17, 1669.

Friday, July 9, was the dedication of our new theatre. In the morning was held a convocation in it, for entering upon the possession of it; wherein was read, first the Archbishop's instrument of donation (sealed with his archiepiscopal seal) of the theatre, with all its furniture, to the end that St. Mary's Church may not be farther profaned by holding the act in it. Next a letter of his, declaring his intention to lay out £2,000 for a purchase to endow it. Then a letter of thanks to be sent from the university to him, wherein he is acknowledged to be both our creator and redeemer for having not only built a theatre for the act, but, which is more, delivered the Blessed Virgin from being so profaned for the future; he doth, as the words of the letter are, '*non tantum condere, hoc est creare, sed etiam redimere*'. These words, I confess, stopped my mouth from giving a placet to that letter when it was put to the vote. I have since desired Mr. Vice-Chancellor to consider, whether they are not liable to just exception. He did at first excuse it; but upon farther thoughts, I suppose he will think fit to alter them, before the letter be sent and registered. After the voting of this letter, Dr. South, as university orator, made a long oration: the first part of which consisted of satirical invectives against Cromwell, fanatics, the Royal Society, and new philosophy. The next, of encomiastics; the praise of the Archbishop, the theatre, the Vice-Chancellor, the architect, and the painter. The last of execrations; against fanatics, conventicles, comprehension and new philosophy;

damning them, *ad inferos ad gehennam*. The oration being ended, some honorary degrees were conferred, and the convocation dissolved.

The afternoon was spent in panegyric orations, and reciting of poems in several sorts of verse ('interchangeably pronounced by the young students placed in the rostrums, in Pindarics, Eclogues, Heroics, &c.,') composed in praise of the Archbishop, the theatre, &c., and crying down fanatics. The whole action began and ended with a noise of trumpets; and twice was interposed variety of music, vocal and instrumental; purposely composed for this occasion.

On Saturday and Monday, those exercises appertaining to the act and vespers, which were wont to be performed in St. Mary's Church, were had in the theatre. In which, beside the number of proceeding doctors (nine in divinity, four in law, five in physic, and one in music), there was little extraordinary; but only that the *terro filius* for both days were abominably scurrilous; and so suffered to proceed without the least check or interruption from Vice-Chancellor, Pro-Vice-Chancellors, Proctors, Curators, or any of those who were to govern the exercises; which gave so general offence to all honest spectators, that I believe the university hath thereby lost more reputation than they have gained by all the rest; all or most of the heads of houses and eminent persons in the university with their relations being represented as a company of . . . and dunces. And among the rest the excellent lady which your letter mentions. . . . During this solemnity (and for some days before and since) have been constantly acted (by the Vice-Chancellor's allowance) two stage-plays in a day (by those of the Duke of York's house) at a theatre erected for that purpose at the town-hall; which (for aught I hear) was much the more innocent theatre of the two. It hath been here a common fame for divers weeks (before, at, and since the act) that the Vice-Chancellor had given £300 bond (some say £500 bond) to the *terro filius*, to save them harmless whatever they should say, provided it were neither blasphemy nor treason. But this I take to be a slander. A less encouragement would serve the turn with such persons. Since the act (to satisfy the common clamor) the Vice-Chancellor hath imprisoned both of them; and it is said he means to expel them.

EXERCISES OF THE *TERRO FILIUS* AND SIMILAR BUFFONERIES.

John Evelyn, who entered Fellow-Commoner in Balliol in 1637, was present at the dedication of the Sheldon Theatre, and makes the following entry in his Diary, July 10, 1660:

The *Terro Filius* (the *Universitatis Buffonnie*) entertained the auditorie with a tedious, abusive, sarcastical rhapsodie, most unbecoming the gravity of the university, and that so grossly, that unless it be suppressed it will be of ill consequence, as I afterwards plainly expressed my sense of it both to the Vice-Chancellor and several heads of houses, who were perfectly ashamed of it, and resolved to take care of it in future. The old facetious way of rallying upon the questions was left off, falling wholly upon persons, so that 'twas rather licentious lying and railing than genuine and noble wit.

Summary of 'An Act at Oxford' in 1704.

Wordsworth gives a summary of "*An Act at Oxford. A Comedy: By the Author of the Yconom o' Kent*," [T. Baker], which, although not actually represented, hits off the 'manners living as they rise,' at that period. The following characters appear in the Dramatis Personæ:

MEN.—Bloom, A Gentleman Commoner of good Estate.—Mr. Wilks.
Captain Smart, A Man of Honor, formerly a Pretender to Berynthia, but having had his Misfortune is slighted by her.—Mr. Mills.
Lampoon, A Ridiculous Mimicking Fellow.—Mr. Colder.
Squire Coll of Essex.—Mr. Bullock.
Deputy Driver, A Stock-jobber and Reformer of Manners.—Mr. Johnson.
Cham, A Servitor.—Mr. Pinkethman.
WOMEN.—Berynthia, A fine Lady of large Estate, at Oxford.—Mrs. Rogers.
Arabella, Wife to the Deputy, a Modern City Lady.—Mrs. Moor.
Mrs. ap Shallem, A Welch Runt.—Mrs. Lucas.

Scene, the University.

Act 1. Scene 1. *The Physick Garden*. Bloom, the gentleman commoner, is glad to lay aside his Homer, and welcomes Capt. Smart, who has come from London, as we should say now to *Commemorations*, when, as even the Town Spark confesses, 'the lively season o' the year, the shining crowd assembl'd at this time, and the noble situation o' the place, gives us the nearest show of Paradise.'

'*Doom*. Why, faith, this publick Act has drawn hither half the nation, men o' fashion come to shew some new French (utt laugh at learning, and prove their want of it. The company, the diversion, have rais'd us a pitch above our selves: the doctors have smugg'd up their old faces, powder'd their diminutive bobs, put on their starch'd bands, and their best prunello cassocks, with shining shoes that you might see your face in. The young Commoners have sold their books to run to plays. The Servitors have pawn'd their beds to treat their shabby acquaintance, and every college has brewed.

Smart. But what's the nature of this publick Act?

Doom. The pretence of it is florid orations and philosophical disputes, which few understand, and fewer mind; but in fact 'tis to bring honest fellows together; for ev'ry college you pass thro', you're accosted thus, —*Sir, will you tea k into the buttery and take a crust, and a p'ale o' beer* [a p'ale of ale is the expression still used at Trinity College, Cambridge, for one of the silver tankards purchased by fellow-commoners for their own use, and left by them as a parting present to the college] or a *Commons with us at the Barber's Table*; [*Cōmuna, or Cōmina*, the rations provided in hall at Oxford; which at Cambridge may be supplemented by *Szings*; at Cambridge, the term is now used chiefly for the supplies of bread, butter, &c., taken from the butteries; which answer to the *battels* at Oxford] and then you're carry'd to the Nick-nackatory, where the greatest curiosity is threescore emperora carv'd upon a cherry stone, which proves mathematically that threescore grave faces at Oxford may make one good head-piece. [Cp. *Terra-Filius*, No. XXXIV. 'I went with two or three friends who were members of the university to the *musaeum*, (vulgarly called the *Nick-nackatory*), and the *theatre*; at the last of which places the *fair young lady* who keeps the door . . . shewed me that antiquated *machine* where my predecessors of witty memory gained such immortal reputation']

Smart. And what fine ladies does the place afford?

Doom. Why, this occasion too has brought in the country dames with their awkward airs; from Mrs. *Abigail Homely*, the beauty o' *Bris-o'*, to *Aed Sinner* o' *Shrewsbury* that has lost all her teeth with eating sweet cake; but the *Tost* o' the University is the fair *Bergthia*. . .

Then comes in Mr. Deputy *Driver*, a member of the *Calves-head Club*, a hypocritical rogue, who makes a trade of the profession of being 'a *Bustler* for Reformation.'

The Reforming Society which exerted itself in 'demolishing a poor Sunday apple-stall, setting the beggars at work, that you mayn't be teaz'd to give 'em anything;' and in attending 'committees for suppressing *Ba'wme's* Fair,' was not likely to find quarter at the hands of a dramatic author. *Driver* is made to say, 'The University has suffer'd the players to come down among 'em to affront the *London Grand Jury*, who have voted 'em corruptors of virtuous prentices and modest chambermaids, and ordered their wicked bills to be torn down by the Religious Counter Officers.' [see *Colley Cibber's* Autobiography: he learnt the character of *Lampoon* in this play; in which capacity he was to say, in this scene,

'Gentlemen, you'll be at the play, we all go thiser'. . .ing out o' pure Religion.

Smart. Religion?

Lampoon. Ay, sir, for the town of Oxford has oblig'd the players to give a night towards rebuilding the Church that fell down.]

The Deputy continues: 'Sir I have no opinion of Oxford education, it breeds nothing but Rakes, and rank Tories; I have a son at University-learning, with pious *Novices* in —; neither do I approve of your school authors; *Hurac* was a drunken rogue . . . therefore I had the *Pierim's Progress* turn'd into Latin by a Scotch Anabaptist for the use of my son *B.B.*'

As for *Lampoon*, — 'an affected carping fellow,' who has not had the advantage of an university education, and professes to hate 'your odious gowns, like so many Draggletail Questions, and your filthy square caps that seem only to teach one to squint; — who is one of the 'Criticks that affect to be short-sighted, and peep up at ev'ry woman they meet, to see if she wears her own face'; — who says of himself, 'I had a place at court . . . the quality round me would drop down with laughing 'till I was turn'd out for ridiculing people of Rank, which I thought as honorable as a witty *Turris-Filius* here that's expell'd the University for fear of infecting the men of burthen'd learning and prodigious memory'; — he too declares himself no better pleas'd with his visit. 'Well, this Act Medley would make one die with their Latin speeches and poppet shews, the *Turris-Filius*, [so the visitors seem to have pronounced it]; and the dancing of the ropes, they should even put

a false hide upon one o' the senior Aldermen, and shew him for the *Lincolnshire ox*.'

Squire *Calf* of *Ezoz* has come up too: 'the town's so full I was forced to put my horses into the *College* library; his object is to make merry with his old toping friends, and 'to hear the *Terra-Filius*, they say he designs to be violently witty, and I love an *Oxford Terra-Filius* better than *Merry Andrew* in *Leicester Fields*. . . I, Sir, was seven years a gentleman-commoner here, and you may see my name every day i' th' buttery book—*Cormorant Calf* of *Ba-hal College*, Esq.; sixteen pence boill'd beef, eight pence l'acon, a penny-half-penny bread, and a farthing carrot.'

Then we have a specimen of an argument on the merits of the university education between two excellent judges: the worthless Londoner, and the debauched country squire who had dishonored Oxford with his evil habits and by a pretence of learning Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, geometry, trigonometry, and . . . vice. We can hardly credit him with carrying away even a smattering of any but the last. His principles would not suit political economists: 'I eat great store of beef, that an ox may bear a good price, wear flannel shirts to encourage the woollen manufacture, and make ev'ry body drunk to promote the duties upon malt, salt, mum, syder, pipes, and perry.'

Chum, whose father's a chimney-sweeper, and his mother a poor ginger-bread woman at *Cow-Cross*, a gentleman-servitor of *Brizen-Aose College*, whose business is 'to wait upon gentlemen-commoners, to dress 'em—clean their shoes, and make their exercises; takes the place of the faithful slave in the old comedy, and by personating a wealthy suitor wins *Berynhia* for his master *Smart*. The poor fellow, whose fortune is soon told,—'the reversal of old shoes which gentlemen-commoners leave off, two raggs call'd shirts, a dogs-eat'd *Grammar*, and a piece of an *Ovid de Tristibus*,—is rewarded by a present of 500 guineas.

As an interlude in Act iv. Sec. 2, the *Theatre at Oxford is discovered* 'A Semi-Circle of the Doctors, to the extent of the stage. The pupils over them, ladies rang'd on each side, and *Bloom* as *Terra-Filius* seated high, nearer the audience.

A performance of trumpet-musick, and the following ode sett and sung by *Mr. Leverage*.

Dum cantat Orpheus carmina montibus, &c.

Sic en perito eum fidibus tubae
Clangore misto nascitur altius
Sublime Sheldon! Theatrum
Oxonio Decus et Camoenis.

After the stanza, which are not worth quoting in full, *Bloom*, who is chosen *Terra-Filius*, starts up and delivers an apology for a speech; or rather, an apology, because 'you shall no more have a *Terra-Filius* than a *Muscle Spine* h,' [which was not peculiar to Cambridge].

It is not worth while to transcribe his excuse, inasmuch as it can hardly be a fair specimen, as it was intended for a town audience. We gather merely that it depended for effect on its bold and impudent satire without distinction of person: that it was delivered (to judge from the printing) in *jinks*, either to give room for applause or 'to beget an awful expectation in the audience.' It contained scraps of verse in English or 'the learned languages.' It was 'generally made by a Club:' (so Act iv. Sec. 2, p. 40, *Bloom* says: 'the speech is made by the *Sandal Club*; for at *Oxford* there must be more heads than one to write a sensible witty thing').

From a list of *Terra-Filiis* in Wordsworth's *University Life*, it appears that F. Horkens, M.A., of New College, who attained to considerable reputation as an author, was so 'bitterly satirical' in his performance (1591) that he was expelled. In 1647 the 'chartered libertine' 'denounced the slowness of the Parliament in executing the King.' In 1659 the *Terra Filius* made free with the *godly party* of those times (who were in authority) and was expelled. In 1680, the personalities on one of the university authorities were so offensive that *Terra-Filius* was engorged severely by a son of the abused professor.

THE OXFORD ACT OR COMMENCEMENT IN 1714.

The following account of an Oxford Commencement by John Ayliffe, LL.D., (in his *Antient and Present State of the University*, published in 1714,) is taken from Wordsworth's *University Life*:

There is a general Commencement once every year in all the Faculties of Learning, which is called the *Act at Oxford*, and the *Commencement at Cambridge*, which *Act* is opened on the *Friday* following the 7th of *July*, and Exercises performed in the Schools on *Saturday* and *Monday* ensuing the opening thereof, and also in the public Theatre with great Solemnity.

On *Saturday*, in the forenoon, all the Professors and Lecturers read in the several Arts and Sciences, all clothed in their proper Habits, as was heretofore usual at the *Vespers* or Evening Exercises, which are on y^e now Disputations in the several Parts of Learning, from one o'clock till five in the afternoon, the *Two* Disputations being had in the Theatre, and those of *Divinity*, *Law*, and *Physic*, in their proper Schools. The Inceptors in Arts dispute on three *Philosophical* Questions, and one of these Inceptors (for so are the Masters called, who stand for their Regency in this solemn *Act*) to be appointed by the *Senior* Proctor, has the Place of the Respondent. And first, the *Senior* Proctor opposes on all the Questions, and confirms an argument on the First; then the Pro-Proctor and *Tertius Filius* dispute on the Second; and lastly the *Junior* Proctor on the Third Question; and all the Inceptors are obliged to attend those disputations from the beginning to the end, under the pain of 3s. 4d. At the equal expense of all the Inceptors, there is a sumptuous and elegant supper at the College or Hall of the *Senior* of each Faculty, for the entertainment of the Doctors, called the *Act-Supper*.

On *Sunday* between the *Vespers* and the *Comitia* (for so are the exercises of *Saturday* and *Monday* styled) there are two Sermons in the *French* tongue, at *St. Mary's* Church, preached by any one of the Inceptors, as the Vice-Chancellor shall appoint, being Doctors of *Divinity*, in this *Act*.

On *Monday* at nine o'clock, all the Inceptors go with the Bachelors of their several Faculties to *St. Mary's*, and there, after Prayers at the Communion-Table, make Oblations; and if any person shall absent himself or be irreverently present, he shall be mulcted five shillings, and moreover punished at the Vice-Chancellor's pleasure. Then the Comital Exercises beginning, the *Senior* Proctor mounts the Pew on the west side of the Theatre, and the *Junior* Proctor the Pew opposite to him on the east side. The Professor of *Physic*, with his Inceptors, on the west; and the Law Professor, with his Inceptors, on the east side thereof; and the Divinity Professor, with his Inceptors, on the north side, under the Vice-Chancellor; and the Inceptors in Music, with their Professor in the Music Gallery, on the south; and at the Comital Disputations, the same method is used in respect of the Agents, as at *Vespers*, viz. first, the *Senior* Proctors; then the *Tertius Filius*, and Pro-Proctor; and lastly, the *Junior* Proctor; and he who was Respondent the year before, is the *Magister Repliens* this year. The first Opponent among the Inceptors has a Book given him, at the end of Disputations, by the *Senior* Proctor (who in respect of the *Arts* Inceptors, is called *Father* of the *Comitia*) and is also created Master by a kiss, and putting on his cap. After the *Comital* Exercises in Arts are ended, if there be any person taking a Music Degree, he is to perform a song of six or eight parts on *Vocal* and *Instrumental* Music, and then he shall have his Creation from the *Srational* Professors, &c. After the performing of the Exercises, and the Creation of Doctors, according to a prescript form in each Faculty, the Vice-Chancellor closes the *Act* in a solemn speech; wherein it is usual for him to commemorate the transactions of the year past, and especially such benefactions as have been given to the University. And after the end of the *Act*, the Vice-Chancellor, with the Regents of the foregoing year, immediately assemble in the Congregation House; where, at the supplication of the Doctors and Masters newly created, they are wont to dispense with the wearing of *black* and *cap shoes*, to which the Doctors and Masters of the *Act* are obliged, during the *Comitia*.

On *Tuesday* after the *Comitia* a *Latin* Sermon is preached to the Clergy, at eight in the morning, in *St. Mary's* Church; the preacher to be either some Doctor, or Bachelor in *Divinity*, and of the Vice-Chancellor's appointment, with a *Pre-mention* for this end from the Vice-Chancellor for three months beforehand. The questions to be disputed on in each Faculty are to be approved by the congregation of Masters some time before the *Act*; and because that *Civilians* ought to know the differences between the Civil and our own *Municipal* Laws, one of the law questions ought to have some affinity with the *Common Law* of *England*; wherein the Professor, by a short speech,

ought to show what the one and what the other law maintains. If any contumelious, reproachful, or defamatory language be given in any speech or argument at Disputations, the Vice-Chancellor may convene the person before him, and command a copy of his speech; and if he pretends that he has no copy, he may convict him by oath, and punish him according to the heinousness of the offence, in respect of persons and other circumstances, either by public recantation, imprisonment, or banishment from the University, as a disturber of the public peace; besides the satisfaction he is obliged to make to the party injured; so that there is not that license given for an impudent buffoon, of no reputation in himself, called a *Terra-Filius*, to sport and play with the good name and reputation of others; but the business of this *Terra-Filius* is a solemn and grave Disputation. And although this manner of sporting wit had its first original at the time of the Reformation, when the gross absurdities and superstitions of the *Roman* Church were to be exposed, and should have been restrained to things, and not have reached men's persons and characters; yet it has since become very scandalous and abusive, and in nowise to be tolerated in an University, where nothing ought to appear but religion, learning, and good manners.

LATER EXHIBITION OF TERRA-FILIUS AT OXFORD.

The above remarks on the performance of the *Terra-Filius* were probably suggested, or at least intensified by his speech the year previous, which was so scurrilous, that it was burnt by the hands of the common Bedell in the Theatre Yard by order of the Convocation. This act created considerable excitement in the country, and a pamphlet devoted to it (*More Burning Words for the Oxford Convocation*) passed through several editions. In the *Guardian* for June, 1713, (No. 72), Mr. Ironsides says: 'In my time I remember the *Terra-Filius* contented himself with being bitter upon the Pope, or chastising the *Turk*: and raised a serious and manly mirth, and adapted to the dignity of his auditory, by exposing the false reasonings of the heretic, or ridiculing the clumsy Pretenders to genius and politeness. In the jovial Reign of King Charles the Second, wherein never did more wit or more ribaldry abound, the fashion of being arch upon all that was grave, and waggish upon the ladies, crept into our seats of learning upon these occasions. This was managed grossly and awkwardly enough, in a place where the general plainness and simplicity of manners could ill bear the mention of such crimes, as in courts and great cities are called by the specious names of air and gallantry.'

Nicholas Amherst, in his *Secret History of the University of Oxford* (written to avenge himself on the Head of St. John's College for his expulsion) alludes to a *Terra-Filius* speech which was suppressed about this period, thus:

'One of these academical *pick'd-herrings* scurrilously affronted the learned president of St. John's College (in defiance of the statute *de contumelia campus-enculis*), by shaking a box and dice in the theatre, and calling out to him by name as he came in, in this manner, *Facts est alia doctor, Seven's the main*, in allusion to a scandalous report handed about by the doctor's enemies, that he was guilty of that infamous practice, and had lost great sums of other people's money at dice.'

In the Public Act at Oxford for 1733, which was remarkable 'for the brilliancy of the regular performances in prose and verse,' *Terra-Filius* was so impudent that his speech was suppressed. From a notice of this performance in the *Oxford Undergraduate Journal* for May 29, 1867, by a writer who had seen the original in the Bodleian pamphlets, we can estimate the extreme license with which the university officials and imputed characteristics of the Colleges were assailed at this time:

The *Terra-Filius* begins by apostrophizing the Bishop (of Oxford I presume) as a 'mitred Hog,' and by asking what he has to do with a wife of eighteen. *Ch. Ch.* was unpopular; the place was indeed at its zenith, it had its fill of rich aristocrats, its tutors were intelligent, and appreciated the value of their connection with Westminster, it could boast of West (the 'Faronius,' who always was 'to have a front box in the theatre of Gray's

'little heart,') and of Budgell; but the men gave themselves airs, with wonderful ignorance and conceit they claimed to belong to an House, not to a College; those of other colleges were 'squills' and 'hodmen,' they were accustomed with suppressed blushes to style their foundation 'royal and ample;' Gibbon was wrong in saying that Locke was expelled on speculative grounds, but they understood him as little as they saw why such a fuss should be made about Handel: accordingly this *Terra-Firma* sneers at the establishment, and brands the Dean [John Conybeare, elected the preceding year] as a courtier. 'Long, little President of *Trinity*,' [Geo. Huddesford,] he proceeds, 'hast thou expected the lash and screened thyself for fear behind thy barrel-gutted fellows.' The 'worthy Head [Theo. Leigh] and men of *Bellus*—I mean Bellal,' had yet to make their character and that of their house; the shape of the seats of their chairs at the high table was indeed unexceptionable, and must have been excogitated with deep thought, —but many of the men ate raw turnips, the Dons used to punish some delinquents by sending them to the Sacrament, and others by heavily fining them. '*Linc*—n always was and always will be under the devil's inspection,' but whether the devil was the statue over the College or John Wesley, I can't say. *St. John's* boasts its 'Jacobite toppers.' In *Worcester* 'there cannot be found [a Parson] who can easily read [Prayers] in English, much less in Latin;' perhaps Shadwell's Lady Cheatly got her chaplain there. *New College* is a place where boys elect a boy as their Warden [John Cox]. The Fellows of *Queen's* are 'haughty and imperious' Aristotelians. In *All Souls* 'live your Smarts, your gallant gentlemen;' by their sensual habits (which bear out another satirist in coupling them with Johnians) you would think them all bodies and no souls at all; they got so drunk as to prove that *Homo* is not necessarily a *non substantivum*, by way of maintaining their Tudor reputation of being swashbucklers. *Bracon* engrosses good livings, and brews ale which flies to the seasoned head of an Essex Squire; in a play, a man who wishes to be taken for a Fellow of that College has to use a large pillow for a stomach. [Miller's *Humors of Oxford*, Act iv.] *Exeter* is 'governed by old women' (who, when Shaftesbury was there, enfurated the men by impoverishing the beer). [Jos. Atwell, Rector, 1733.] *Jesus* College is verminous and smells of toasted cheese. The *Oriel* men are all in debt. The *Merton* Dons are loose livers. The *Merton* men are 'Lollards' (perhaps Low Church), and, as Meadowcourt, Hanoverian.'

LENT VERSES AT OXFORD—COURSING.

At Oxford the nearest approach to the Cambridge *Tripos verses* is to be found in the *Cermiva Quadagesimalia* or Lent Verses. They are something of the nature of the Winchester '*vulgus*;' still more of that of the Westminster epigrams. They are described in the second *fasciculus* (edited by Ant. Parsons) in 1748, as verses recited publicly in the schools on the first day of Lent by the determining Bachelors of each college. They are composed on the theme of the disputation, which is to follow their recitation, as one of the exercises in *Quadagesima* qualifying for the degree. They are epigrammatical illustrations of the subject: not always very philosophical, but elegant. Este collected one volume of those composed by Christ Church men, and Parsons another: the two appeared respectively in the years 1723 and 1748.

It is stated in (Walker's) *Oxoniensia*, I. 61, that Dr. Fell, when Vice-Chancellor, (1646, 1647,) reformed several abuses in the schools, and 'because *cursum*, in the time of *Lent*, that is, the endeavors of one party to run down and confute another in disputation, did commonly end in blows, and domestic quarrels (the refuge of the vanquished side), he did, by his authority, annul that custom. Dr. Fell, that he might, as much as possible, support the exercises of the University, did frequent examinations for degrees, hold the examiners up to it, and if they would, or could not do their duty, he would do it himself to the pulling down of many. He did also, sometimes, repair to the Ordinaries, commonly called *Wall Lectures* (from the paucity of auditors), and was frequently present at those exercises called *disputationes in Austina*, when he would make the disputants begin precisely at one, and

continue disputing till three of the clock in the afternoon; so that upon his appearance more auditors were then present than since have usually appeared at those exercises.' In his Diary, however, *J. Wood* thus comments on the conduct of Dr. Fell:

'1683, Feb. 17. Egg Saturday, but one Bachelor of Mag. hall presented *ad determinationem*, whereas since the king's return they were never without 6 or 8 or '2, and Exeter College not one, who used to have commonly 12. About 20 matriculated before Egg Saturday for Lent term.

'10 Bachelors determine, whereas there never used to be under 200. *Lent disputations* decay, the bachelors don't dispute, or will not, unless the superiors (boyish regents) are present; some senior masters go to hear disputations, particularly Mr. Huntingdon, after his long absence, but they will not dispute, and stand silent, while their abettors sneer and grin; *this we got by having coursing put down by Dr. Fell.*

Doing Austin's—The Wall Lectures—Circuiting.

The obsolete exercise of 'doing Austin's' is said to have derived its name from the custom of scholars disputing with the *Augustine monks*, who had acquired a great reputation for exercises of this kind. They are termed in the old Oxford Statutes, *Disputationes in Augustinensibus*. The Proctor chose his collector in Austin's, who had the power of matching disputants together at his own discretion, and was expected to provide entertainment for the bachelors and their friends.

In 1679 Wood exclaimed, 'Is it not a shame that it should be accounted unusual for scholars to go to Augustin's disputations, and that the masters of the schools speak English to them?' . . . 'This Lent the collectors ceased from entertaining the bachelors by advice and command of the proctors. Van der Hwiden of Oriel was then a collector; so that now they got by their collectorships, whereas before they spent about £100 besides their gains, on cloaths or needless entertainments.'

COMMEMORATION OR ENCAENIA IN 1750.

The Act at Oxford (on the first Tuesday in July) was properly only a solemn season for the conclusion of academical exercises and for full admission to degrees.

COMMEMORATION (which fell nearly at the same time of the year and which now lends its name to the ceremony for conferring honorary degrees, the recitation of prize compositions in the Sheldonian Theatre, and the display of gayety and hospitality which of old accompanied the public Act) is, strictly speaking, the *Eucenia*, or Celebration of Founders and Benefactors, now held in June, in the Theatre (which was opened formally July 9, 1669). In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for 1750, is a description of Oxford Commemoration in that year. 'Monday, July 2. The Doctors &c. were entertained at Lord Crewe's expense in New College Hall. At 4 o'clock there was a procession to the theatre. Music was performed. The orator stood in the rostrum which had been moved into the centre of the area. Letters from the Chancellor were read, and an honorary degree conferred on the Rt. Hon. Earl of Plymouth. The orator's speech lasted above an hour. An ode set by Professor Hays (William Hayes who was succeeded by Philip Hayes in 1777). The theatre was quite full, a very handsome appearance of ladies; and the whole was conducted with great decorum.'

[The demonstrations of boyish rudeness—the yelling, hissing, and other vulgar impertinences generally on Commemoration Day, and the wasteful extravagances in all sorts of social entertainments during Commemoration Week—have reached a point which calls for Parliamentary interference, if the University authorities cannot control the Undergraduates in these respects.]

The Butteries and Dinner Hour as they were.

Wordsworth devotes several pages of his *University Life to College Fare*, and College Barbers, from which we give extracts:

The college fare was simple, *i.e.*, it consisted of less variety of viands than at present. In his sermon at Pauls crose in 1550, Thomas Lever, Fellow and Preacher of St. John's, told of those 'menne not verry of theyr paynes' at Cambridge, whose first meal was when 'at ten of the clocke they go to dynmer, whereas they be contente wyth a peny. pyece of byefe amongst iiii., hanyng a fewe porage made of the brothe of the same byefe, wyth salte and otemell, and nothyng els.' Their only other food was taken at 'v. of the clocke in the euenyng, when as they haue a supper not much better then theyr dynmer.' It was one of Sir Tho. More's humorous proposals to his children when he resigned the Chancellorship to retrench their expenses by degrees from Lincoln's Inn diet to the new Inn fare, and so on at last to the Oxford fare, 'which if our power stretch not to maintaine, then may we like poore schollers of Oxforde goe a begging with our bags and wallets and sing *salve regina* at rich mens doores, where for pitie some goode folkes will give us their mercifull charitie; and so keep companie and be merrie together.'

The 16th of *Sundry Queries concerning the University of Oxon.*, &c., London, Printed by Thomas Creeke, 1650, asks, 'Whether the Canons of Christ Church ought not to eat the bread of affliction and drink the water of affliction; since they refuse to eat the same bread and drink the same drink with the rest of the college, which indeed is bad as never was worse eaten or drunk but by the same canons before they came to be canons.'

In 1602, writing to his mother John Strype, the ecclesiastical historian, whilst a student of Jesua college, gives the following account of Cambridge fare:

'Do not wonder so much at our commons: they are more than many colleges have. Trinity itself (where Herring and Davies are), which is the famousest college in the University, have but three halpence. We have roast meat, dinner and supper throughout the weeke; and such meate as you know I had not use to care for; and that is Veal: but now I have learnt to eat it. Sometimes nevertheless, we have boyled meat, with pottage; and beef and mutton, which I am glad of: except Fridays and Saturdays, and sometimes Wednesdays; which days we have Fish at dinner, and tansy or pudding for supper. Our parts then are slender enough. But there is this remedy; we may retire into the Butteries, and there take a half-penny loafe and butter or cheese; or else to the Kitchen and take there what the Cook hath. But, for my part, I am sure, I never visited the Kitchen yet, since I have been here, and the Butteries but seldom after meals; unless for a Cize [or Sise, or Sice] that is for a Farthing worth of Small-Beer: so that lesse than a Penny in Beer doth serve me a whole day. Nevertheless sometimes we have Exceedings: then we have two or three Dishes (but that is very rare): otherwise never but one: so that a Cake and a Cheese would be very welcome to me; and a Neat's tongue, or some such thing; if it would not require too much money. . . Mother, I kindly thank you for your Orange pills you sent me. If you are not too straight of money send me some such thing by the Woman, and a pound or two of Almonds and Raisons. . . We go twice a day to chapel; in the morning about 7, and in the evening about 5. After we come from Chapel in the morning, which is towards 8, we go to the Butteries for our breakfast, which is usually five Farthings; an halfpenny loafe and butter and a cize of beer. But sometimes I go to an honest House near the College, and have a pint of milk boyled for breakfast.'

Of the monotony of Cambridge dinners in 1710 Uffenbach complained; as well as of the closeness of Trinity college hall, which smelt so of bread and meat that he was sure he could not eat a morsel in it. Francis Burman, who was there in 1702, mentions that at a grand dinner the dishes, with few exceptions, were square wooden platters: (still partially used at Winchester).

The Hon. Roger North, writing, I suppose, between 1720 and 1730, compares the state of the University in his own days with that when his elder brother, the Hon. and Rev. Dr. John North, was Fellow of Jesua Coll., Cambridge, before he succeeded Dr. Barrow as Master of Trinity:

'The Doctor conformed to all the orders of the college, seldom ate out of hall, and then upon a fish day only, being told it was for his health. He was constantly at the chapel prayers, so much as one may say that, being in town [Cambridge] he never failed. This, in the morning, secured his time; for he went from thence directly to his study without any sizing or breakfast at all.'

I gather from the Cook's accounts at Peterhouse that in the 17th century rarely more than one joint appeared at the Fellows' table, and on Fridays fish only. It was, perhaps, the Master of that House, Dr. Cosin, or Dr. Sterne of Jesua, who represented to Apb. Laud in 1636, that 'upon Frydays and all Fasting days, the

victiming houses prepare Flesh good store for all Schollers and others that will come or send unto them,' and the Tutors allow double money for suppers on those days. At Peterhouse, after the Revolution, the custom of eating fish on Fridays remained, but it was in addition to the ordinary provision of meat.

'It was the custom for colleges, and indeed for most other people, till towards the middle of the 17th century, to dine at ten or eleven o'clock in the forenoon. 'With us (says the preface to Hollingshed) the nobilitie, gentrie, and students, do ordinariilie go to dinner at eleven before noone, and to supper at five, or between five and six, at afternoone. The merchants dine and sup seldome before twelve at noone and six at night, especiallie in London. The husbandmen dine also at high-noone, as they call it, and sup at seven or eight; but out of the terme in our universities; the schollers dine at ten.'"

On Feb. 10, 1721-2, Hearne wrote in his diary 'Whereas the university disputations on Ash Wednesday should begin at 1 o'clock, they did not begin this year till two or after, which is owing to several colleges having altered their hours of dining from 11 to 12, occasioned from peoples lying in bed longer than they used to do.' So a year later he laments that whereas Oxford scholars were summoned to meals at 10 o'clock on Shrove Tuesday by the pancake-bell at St. Mary's, and at 4 o'clock; at Edmund hall dinner was now at 12 and supper at 6, and no fritters. 'When laudable old customs alter 'tis a sign learning dwindles.' So on Christmas Day, 1732, the University Sermon was, by order of the Vice-Chancellor, advertised not to begin till 11 o'clock, 'the reason given was sermons in coll. chapels. This reason might also have been given formerly. But the true reason is that people might lye in bed the longer. They used formerly to begin in chapels an hour sooner, and then they were ready for the university sermon. The same reason, viz., lying a-bed the longer hath made them in almost all places in the university alter the hours of prayers on other days, and the hour of dinner (which used to be 11 o'clock) in almost every place (Christ Church must be excepted) in the university where ancient discipline, and learning, and piety, strangely decay.'

In 1747, Dr. R. Newton's rule for Hertford college (p. 70) was dinner at 1, supper at 7. He proposed to provide 1 lb. of meat per man, value not exceeding threepence (which was double the existing price). He attempted also to obviate an abuse such he had witnessed where the ten seniors would eat all, and leave the ten juniors to dine 'abroad in Public-Houses at four times the *Expense* attended with *Other Inconveniences*.'

At Cambridge in 1755, and for many years after, every college dined at 12 o'clock, and the students after dinner flocked to the philosophical disputations which began at 2. At St. John's, in 1799, it was 'agreed that the hour for dinner be 2 o'clock during non-term.' In D'Ewes' time, 1620, during Sturbridge fair, they swallowed down their dinner at 9 o'clock, 'and having quickly ended by reason of short commons, the greater part of the undergraduates did run presently to the fair.' At Emmanuel the hour was changed from 1 to 3 about the year 1785. This arrangement tended to thin the attendance in the divinity schools when Dr. Watson was moderating. At Trinity, in 1800, it was at 2h. 15m. On Sundays it was at a quarter past 1, and the sermon at St. Mary's, which was well attended by students, was at 3 o'clock. The Vice-Chancellor's weekly dinner parties were at 1.30, and all his company accompanied him to St. Mary's. At Oxford, in 1804, 1805, those colleges which had dined at 3 advanced to 4, those which had dined at 4 to 5. In 1807, Southey's *Esquiella* (letter xxxii.) speaks of dining with a friend in hall: 'instead of assembling there at the grace, we went into the kitchen, where each person ordered his own mess from what the cook provided, every thing having its specific price. The students order their meases according to seniority; but this custom was waived in our friend's favor in courtesy to us strangers.' This was at Balliol.

Breakfast was a meal which saw strange revolutions: it became a more serious meal as the dinner hour waxed later. 'Whilst Dr. John North was at Jesus college, Cambridge, coffee was not of such common use as afterward, and the coffee-houses but young. At that time, and long after, there was but one, kept by one Kirk. The trade of news also was scarce set up; for they had only the public gazette till Kirk got a written news-letter circulated by one Muddiman. But now (cir. 1725), the case is much altered; for it is become a custom after chapel, to repair to one or other of the coffee-houses (for there are divers) where hours are spent in talking; and less profitable reading of newspapers, of which swarms are continually supplied from London. And the scholars are so greedy after news (which is none of their business), that they neglect all for it; and it is become very rare for any of them to go directly to his chambers after prayers, without doing his suit at the coffee-house; which is a vast loss of time grown out of a pure novelty, for who can apply close to a subject

At the close of the last century it was usual at Cambridge to take some relaxa-

tion after dinner, to go to chapel at half-past five, then to retire to their rooms, shut the outer door, take tea, and read till 10 or 11 o'clock.

At Trinity, there was supper in hall at a quarter before 9 o'clock, but very few partook of it. There was always supper on Sunday evening at Cambridge (often in the Combination-room) for the benefit of those clerical Fellows who had been 'taking duty' in the country. This is still kept up at King's as the '*Samaritan Supper*.' It was also called, from the only dish (of mutton) which was provided, '*Neck or Nothing*.' At St. John's it was known as '*the Curated Club*.' At Christ's the meeting was designated '*the Apostolic*.' there the supper was always tripe dressed in various ways.

With undergraduates, supper was the favorite meal of sociality.

At 8 P.M. the 'Sizing Bell' was rung to show that the 'Sizing Bill' was ready. This was a bill of fare for the evening, with the prices marked. Each guest of the 'Sizing-party' ordered, at his own expense, whatever he fancied, to be carried to the entertainer's rooms:—'*a part of fowl*' or duck; '*a roasted pigeon*'; '*a part of apple pie*,' &c. The host supplied bread, butter, cheese, and beer, a 'beaker,' or a large tea-pot full of punch, which was kept upon the hob. These tea-pots were of various sizes (some of them enormous), and supplied by the bed-makers, who charged according to size. Nothing could be more unexceptionable than these meetings. Wine was not allowed.

A supper at Trinity, Oxon., in 1792, is described as commencing at 9 o'clock (after tea at 6) with

Boiled fowl, salt herrings, sausages,
Cold beef and brawn and bread and cheese
With Tankards full of Ale.

There it was the custom for men, of the same college as the host, to pay for his own share of the dessert at a wine party.

University and College Barbers.

One custom prevailed at both Universities,—a custom which has become obsolete,—that of regularly dressing for dinner. Every one arrayed himself in white waistcoat, and white stockings, and low shoes; (for boots or gaiters were not allowed to be worn at dinner time at Trinity, or at St. John's, even in the early part of the present century); and his wig—or, latterly, his own hair—was combed, curled, and powdered.

The University Barber in old days was no mean practitioner. At Oxford, there was the only trade which might be followed by matriculated persons; and the Members of the Company of Barbers, which existed till 1859, dined once a year with the Vice-Chancellor, and supped annually with the Proctors. They had been incorporated by the Chancellor in 1348: one stipulation being that they should maintain a light before the image in our Lady's Chapel in St. Frideswyde's; another, that they should not work on Sundays, only on the market Sundays in harvest time, nor shave any, but such as were to preach or do a religious act, on the Sundays in any part of the year.

It was the duty of the College Barber, who was a regular servant of the society, to attend to the tonsure of the clerks of the foundation.

In post-reformational times, this functionary appeared daily before hall time to powder the Fellows' wigs. As lately as 1775, there was a barber's shop just within Trinity gate, near the Bishop's Hostel, where their wigs were dressed; whence a wag abstracted them one Saturday night and placed them upon the heads of the statues upon the roof of the library. This must have been especially mortifying to their owners, because Sunday was a great occasion for the display of capillary attraction: so much so that in 1758, the Vice-Chancellor had issued a *programme* 'to All and Singular Barbers,' forbidding them to ply their trade upon that day: just as 'His Highness the Lord Protector' had done some 85 years earlier; when by a proclamation he also forbade 'vainly and profanely walking' on the Sabbath.

When Shenstone the poet was at Pembroke Coll., Oxon., it was with some personal inconvenience that he transgressed the reigning fashion of wigs, by wearing his own long hair in the way which was afterward practiced at Cambridge by Prince William of Glo'ster, to whom, as to others who did the same, was applied the nickname *Apollo*.

A year before he and Johnson had lain in the 'perfect nest of singing-birds,' another eminent man at the same college (Pembroke), George Whitefield the servitor, had gone with unkempt hair from a very different motive,—because he 'thought it unbecoming a penitent to have it powdered.' So too his exemplar, John Wesley of Christ church, had saved barber's fees to give to the poor: and it is recorded that the only instance of his deferring to the advice of another was when his brother Sam persuaded him to have the ends off.

Salting Freshmen.

However free Cambridge may now be of foolish and even cruel buffooneries toward freshmen, there was a time at both the English Universities when all new comers were subjected to a mock ceremony of initiation called *salting*.^{*} Anthony Wood describes his own initiation at Merton. He had been entered upon the books on St. Luke's day (Oct. 16): and from Allhallow e'en (Nov. 1) till Christmas there were charcoal fires in the hall a little after 5 p.m. The senior undergraduates would make the freshmen sit on a form, and one by one 'speake some pretty apothegme, or make a jest or bull, or speake some eloquent nonsense to make the company laugh.' If any were unsuccessful, 'some of the forward or pragmatist seniors would *tuck* him:' i.e., would wound his lower lip with the nail of the thumb, by pressing the lip with the other fingers on the same.

About Candlemas-day (Feb. 2, Feast of the Purification) all freshmen were instructed to prepare their speeches to be declaimed before the undergraduates and servants in hall on Shrove Tuesday. The Fellows got over their supper early and left the hall clear, with an admonition 'that all things should be carried in good order.' The cook prepared the lesser brass pot full of 'cawdel' at the freshmen's expense, and each freshman in order had to 'pluck off his gowne and band, and, if possibly, to make himself look like a scoundrell.'[†] Then a travesty of the academic exercises was performed. The victim had to stand on a form on the high-table, and to speak his speech. After which he was rewarded, according as he had acquitted himself well, indifferently, or ill, by having a draft administered to him of 'cawdel,' cawdel and salt, or salt and beer alone (whence, possibly, the expression of *paying for one's salt*), 'with *tucks* to boot.' Afterward the senior cook administered an oath over an old shoe. The only fragment of the formula remaining is

Item tu jurabis, quod penitus bench non visitabis.

(This was a stone seat for loungers in the market, a sort of idle corner.) The shoe being kist, the Freshman put on his gowne and band and took his place among the Seniors.

At the *salting* at Pembroke college in August, 1690, one of the *fathers* [senior sophes], and two or three of the *sons*, did 'excellently well.' 'A great deal of beer, as at all such meetings, was drunk.'

There is an old Statute prohibiting the *caeremonia salendi recentis scholasticos*. At St. John's they had *exceedings* in hall on the occasion, and there was a charge for *salting* in the tutor's bill, *8s. 4d.* When the Earl of Essex was at Trinity college, Cambridge, he was charged, in 1577, 'at the *saltings* accordinge to the custome, vijs.' Something of the kind seems to have lingered as the *Fresh Treat*, for which freshmen paid *Fresh Fees* at St. John's, Oxon., in 1714.

Martyn, in his *Life of the First Lord Shaftesbury*, records that when the senior undergraduates of Exeter College, Oxford, undertook to subject him to the indignity of having his chin scraped by a Senior with the nail of the thumb, left long for this purpose, and then to drink a beer-glass of water and salt, he organized resistance among his fellow freshmen, which resulted in a general row in the College-hall, that could only be quelled by the master, Dr. Prideaux, and led to the abolition of the custom.

^{*} This ceremony of initiation seems to belong to all institutions which have a succession of new classes; and it degenerates invariably from buffoonery to cruelty, until its excesses are repressed by higher authority, or the spirit of general courtesy pervades the institution. An account of the brutal customs of deposition and of penance in the old German Universities may be found in *Harvard's American Journal of Education*, Vol. VI, 32.

[†] *Scoundrell* here means tramp, or blackguard.

Property and Income in 1873.

In January, 1872, a Royal Commission was appointed 'to inquire into the Property and Income of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and of the Colleges and Halls therein, with the prospects of increase and decrease, and to report the losses to which such property and income are applied.' The Commission consisted of the Duke of Cleveland, Lord Frederick Charles Cavendish, Baron Clinton, Hon. John William Strutt, William Henry Bateson, Bartholmew Price, and Kirkman Daniel Hodgson. A Report, including a letter of Mr. Gladstone to the Chancellors of the two Universities, the Preliminary Letters addressed by the Chairman of the Commission, the Forms of Return respecting all external and internal sources of income and the expenditures, and the answers of the Heads of Colleges, was submitted to the Queen, and presented by her command to Parliament in July, 1874. The information is full and satisfactory in all respects, except the extent and value of the site, buildings, and equipment used by the corporate authorities of the each University and College for the purposes of residence and instruction.

I. PROPERTY.

1. The whole landed estates belonging to the two Universities on the 1st of January, 1872, comprised 319,718 acres, distributed through the whole of England and Wales. Of these lands

7,683 acres	belonged to the University of Oxford;
184,764 "	" " " Colleges and Halls of Oxford;
2,445 "	" " " University of Cambridge;
124,826 "	" " " Colleges of Cambridge.

2. The Universities and Colleges hold tithe rent charges to the following amount:—

Oxford—University.....	£1,224
" Colleges and Halls.....	83,238
Cambridge—University.....	1,741
" Colleges.....	63,679

3. The amount of stocks and shares is not given, but the annual income therefrom is given for

Oxford—University.....	£13,086
" Colleges and Halls.....	26,426
Cambridge—University.....	7,687
" Colleges.....	19,314

4. The number of benefices in the gift of

Oxford—University.....	5—net income	£1,036
" Colleges and Halls.....	439—	187,659
Cambridge—University.....	1—	394
" Colleges.....	311—	135,016

II. INCOME.

The total income of the Universities and Colleges in the year 1871, was £754,405. Of this sum, £665,601 was for corporate use (A), and £88,803 subject to conditions of trust (B), distributed as follows:—

Oxford—University.....	(A) £32,151—	(B) £15,437
" Colleges and Halls.....	230,836—	35,417
Cambridge—University.....	23,642—	10,407
" Colleges.....	278,970—	27,540

External Income.

The revenues arise from two different sources :

1. The endowments or property—designated external.
2. Rents, dues, and fees—designated internal.

The external income of Oxford was from

	University.	Colleges.
Lands.....	£12,083	£170,990
Houses.....	1,162	26,833
Title Rents.....	490	34,152
Other Rent Charges.....	872	4,092
Stocks, Shares, &c.....	12,939	24,242
Other Property.....	1,494	13,574
Special Endowment of Head.....	—	6,289

Internal Income.

The internal income of the University arises wholly from taxation.

At Oxford every member of the University pays £1 annually to the University Chest, payable in four equal quarterly payments. Those who have been admitted to the degree of M. A. can compound their dues by a single payment. The whole sum received in 1871 was £14,900. There are fees for matriculation, at all examinations and on graduation, which amounted in 1871 to £18,066.

The internal income of the Colleges and Halls arises from rents of rooms, or chambers occupied; from fees on entrance and graduation; from dues paid by all members, whether resident or non-resident; from profits of buttery and kitchen; and from casual payments.

The total received by each college from each item is not given, except from tuition paid by 1,500 undergraduates, which for Oxford was £30,761, which is applied to the payment of the College tutors and lecturers; and from Cambridge (13 out of the 17 colleges) was £26,413.

III. EXPENDITURES.

1. The whole amount expended by the University of Oxford was £27,552, and of Trust Funds, £15,863.

For University Officers, Vice-Chancellor, Proctor....	£3,350
" Professors.....	4,648
" " out of College Income.....	6,694
" Examiners and Examinations.....	2,397
" Bodleian Library.....	3,615
" " Trust Fund.....	2,837
" Scientific Institutions.....	1,916

2. The largest items of College expenditures are as follows:—

1. For Heads of Colleges, besides Rent of Houses, &c.:	
19 Colleges in Oxford.....	£30,543
17 " Cambridge.....	20,415 — 50,958

2. For Fellows, besides room and other allowances:

Oxford.....	£101,171
Cambridge.....	102,976 — 204,147

3. The sum paid to Scholars and Exhibitions out of the corporate income of the colleges was for

Oxford.....	£26,225
Cambridge.....	24,308 — 50,534

4. The sum charged from the management of estates in the colleges of

Oxford.....	£8,801
Cambridge.....	6,906 — 15,707

Income and Expenditure of Colleges, 1871-72.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE.

University College in 1872 owned 7,604 acres of land, from which a net income of £7,484 was received. This income was increased from other corporate sources to £11,626, exclusive of £2,502 from special trust funds and £1,806 from tuition fees, making a total of over £15,000.

Of the total expenditures (£11,895):

£1,119 was paid to the Master.	£215 was paid to College Servants.
2,294 " " 17 Fellows.	87 " " Library.
1,191 " " Scholars and Exhibitions.	483 " " Maintenance of Establishment.
159 " " Masters and Fellows.	

MERTON COLLEGE.

Merton College in 1872 owned 12,490 acres of land, from which the net annual income was returned for 1871 at £9,097—increased by income from other funds to £17,756, exclusive of £1,253 from tuition, &c.

Of the expenditures for 1871:

£1,119 was paid to the Warden.	£1,227 was paid to College Servants.
6,735 " " 23 Fellows.	74 " " Library.
330 " " Scholars and Exhibitions.	1,060 " " Maintenance of Establishment.
282 " " University Professors.	

ORIEL COLLEGE.

The lands belonging to Oriel College in 1872 amounted to 6,185 acres, yielding an income, with other property, of £15,541, which was increased by room rent, entrance and graduation fees to £18,500.

Of the expenditures (£16,700):

£2,339 was paid to the Provost.	£198 was paid to College Officers, Deans, &c.
4,620 " " 17 Fellows.	30 " " Library.
921 " " Scholars and Exhibitions.	623 " " Subscriptions, Donations.
190 " " Tutorial Fund.	

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE.

This College on the 1st of Jan., 1872, held 10,429 acres of land, from which it received a net income of £12,000, which was increased from other sources to £25,000.

Of the expenditures,

£1,853 was paid to the President;	£233 was paid to the Tutorial Fund and other
9,019 " " 33 Fellows;	Institutions;
1,735 " " Scholars and Exhibitions;	29 was paid to the Library.

The annual value of a Senior Fellowship is about £400, and other Fellowships about £200.

CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE.

This College owns 17,622 acres of land, from which an income of £14,948 was derived in 1871, and which was increased from other sources to £16,000.

Of the expenditures,

£1,350 was paid to the President;	£1,900 was paid to University Professors;
4,225 " " 15 Fellows;	10 " " Library;
1,640 " " Scholars and Exhibitions;	806 " " College Servants;
	955 " " Vice-President, Dean, &c.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE.

Magdalen College holds lands to the amount of 27,000 acres, from which an income of £17,600 is derived, which is increased by other sources to £18,000—besides holding 42 benefices of the net annual value of £90,400.

Of the expenditure (£33,000) of 1871, there was paid—

£2,594 to the President;	£1,200 to University Professors;
12,400 to 30 Fellows;	126 to Library.
2,595 to various Exhibitions;	

BRATENFOS COLLEGE.

This College holds 6,522 acres of land, from which an income of £2,511 was derived in 1871, which was increased by room rent, tuition, fees, &c., to about £13,000. Besides £8,540 from a Special Fund. Of the expenditure for 1871—

£1,430 was paid to the Principal;	£540 was paid to Tutorial Fund;
2,925 " " 19 Fellows;	1,476 " " College Servants;
853 " " Scholars and Bible Clerk.	

College Property, Income and Expenditures.

ST. PETER'S COLLEGE.

St. Peter's College owned in 1872, 3,611 acres, yielding an annual net income of £7,019, which was increased from other sources to £13,506.

Of the expenditures (£8,663):

£1,122 was paid to the Master.	£250 was paid to Chapel Service.
2,461 " " 11 Fellows.	38 " " Library.
232 " " Scholars and Exhibitions.	308 " " Establishment of College.
302 " " College Officers.	

CLARE COLLEGE.

Clare College in 1872 owned 4,937 acres of land, yielding an income of £11,000, exclusive of £1,207 from rents, fees, &c., and £1,321 from tuition.

Of the expenditures (£13,317):

£1,017 was paid to the Master.	£430 was paid to College Officers.
4,481 " " 18 Fellows.	777 " " College Servants.
1,749 " " Scholars and Exhibitions.	47 " " Library.

SONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE.

This College in 1872 owned 8,971 acres of land, yielding a net income of £13,920, which was increased by room rents, fees, &c., £3,117, and £2,001 for tuition—making a total of £19,000.

Of the total expenditures (£17,000):

£275 was paid to the Master.	£132 was paid to College Servants.
8,612 " " 28 Fellows.	43 " " Libraries.
1,350 " " Scholars and Exhibitions.	625 " " Maintenance of Establishment.
307 " " College Officers.	

KING'S COLLEGE.

King's College in 1872 owned 25,000 acres of land, yielding £22,212, increased by rents, dividends, and from other property to £35,921, exclusive of tuition fees.

Of the total expenditures (£34,000):

£2,056 was paid to the Provost.	£738 was paid to College Officers.
14,997 " " 47 Fellows.	1,823 " " Chapel and Chapel Ser.
1,540 " " Scholars and Exhibitions.	12 " " Library.
1,448 " " Resident Members.	1,071 " " Maintenance of Estab.

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE.

This college in 1872 held 16,777 acres of land, yielding a net income of £22,502, which was increased by rents from houses and other property to £35,573; to this was added from fees, &c., £9,877, and £6,577 from tuition of undergraduates—making a total income of £50,028.

Of the total expenditure of £40,000:

£1,904 was paid to the Master.	£1,000 was paid to College Officers, Deans.
19,400 " " 56 Fellows.	2,008 " " College Servants.
6,838 " " Scholars, Sizar, &c.	241 " " Library.
602 " " Tutorial Fund.	2,756 " " Maintenance of Estab.

TRINITY COLLEGE.

Trinity College owns 10,940 acres of land, yielding a net income of £17,929, which is increased from other sources (houses, tithes, tuition of undergraduates, &c.) to £75,000.

Of the expenditures:

£3,670 was paid to the Master.	£1,220 was paid to Examiners and Professors.
18,371 " " 53 Fellows.	4,461 " " College Servants.
3,102 " " Scholars and Exhibitions.	1 " " Library.
4,301 " " Foundation Members.	

The college holds the advowson of 83 benefices, of the annual value of £20,000, and to the second and third presentation to two other benefices to the annual value of £700 and £200.

The value of the buildings, Master's Lodge and College ground, can be judged from the city assessment of £4,750.

The annual value of a Senior Fellowship and a Laborer Fellowship is £440; of a 'Sixteen' Fellowship, £274; of a Major Fellowship, £275; and of a Minor Fellowship, £220—besides commons and certain allowances during residence.

A tutorship (3) is worth about £1,100 annually, besides £2,800 paid to 3 tutors, 12 assistants, 8 lecturers, and a professor in Physiology, exclusive of £471 paid for their incidental expenses.

The annual value of a minor scholarship varies from £50 to £100, and of a foundation scholarship about £75.

The Library received about £1,000 from rents of college chambers, and special funds not included in above expenditure.

THE UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE ACT—1877.

Preamble.

Whereas the revenues of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge are not adequate to the full discharge of the duties incumbent on them respectively, and it is therefore expedient that provision be made for enabling or requiring the colleges in the respective Universities to contribute more largely out of their revenues to University purposes, especially with a view to further and better instruction in art, science, and other branches of learning, where the same are not taught, or not adequately taught, in the University:

And whereas it may be requisite, for the purposes aforesaid, as regards each University, to attach fellowships and other emoluments held in the colleges to offices in the University:

And whereas it is also expedient that provision be made for regulating the tenure and advantages of fellowships not so attached, and for altering the conditions on which the same are held:

And whereas it is desirable to amend in divers other particulars the law relating to the Universities and colleges.

Clause 1 gives the title; 2, the interpretation; and 3, orders the appointment of Commissioners.

Oxford Commissioners.

4. The following persons are hereby nominated the University of Oxford Commissioners:

The Right Hon. Roundell, Baron Selborne.

The Right Hon. John Thomas, Earl of Redesdale.

The Right Hon. Montague Bernard, Doctor of Civil Law.

The Hon. Sir William Robert Grove, one of the Justices of Her Majesty's High Court of Justice.

The Rev. James Bellamy, Doctor of Divinity, President of St. John's College.

Henry John Stephen Smith, Master of Arts, Savilian Professor of Geometry.

Matthew White Ridley, Esq., Master of Arts.

Cambridge Commissioners.

5. The following persons are hereby nominated the University of Cambridge Commissioners:

The Right Hon. the Lord Chief Justice of England, Sir Alexander James Edmund Cockburn, Bart.

The Right Rev. Henry, Lord Bishop of Worcester.

The Right Hon. John William, Lord Rayleigh.

The Right Hon. Edward Pleydell Bouverie.

George Gabriel Stokes, Master of Arts, Lucasian Professor of Mathematics.

The Rev. J. B. Lightfoot, Doctor of Divinity, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity.

George Wirgman Hemming, one of Her Majesty's Counsel, Master of Arts.

Clause 6 provides for any vacancies among the Commissioners being filled up by the Queen. 7. Confirms the duration of the Commission to the end of 1880, unless otherwise ordered by the Queen in Council from time to time, but not beyond 1881. 8. Provides that Lord Selborne shall be chairman of the Oxford Commission, and the Lord Chief Justice of the Cambridge Commission; in their absence a chairman to be chosen by the other Commissioners present; three to be a quorum. 9. Provides a common seal to be judicially noticed. 10. Vacancies not to affect the validity of the acts of the Commission, unless reduced to four, when their powers are to cease.

Statutes for University and Colleges.—Power for University and Colleges to make Statutes.

11. Until the end of the year one thousand eight hundred and seventy eight, the University, and in Oxford a college, and in Cambridge the governing body of the college, shall have the like powers in all respects of making statutes for the University or the college, and of making statutes for altering or repealing

statutes made by them, as are, from and after the end of that year, conferred on the Commissioners by this act; but every statute so made shall be laid before the Commissioners, and the same, if approved by the Commissioners by writing under their seal, but not otherwise, shall be deemed to be a statute made by the Commissioners, and shall be proceeded on and, if and as far as the same is not disallowed as in this act provided, shall have effect accordingly.

Power for Commissioners to make Statutes for University and Colleges.

12. From and after the end of the year one thousand eight hundred and seventy eight, the Commissioners may by virtue of this act, and subject and according to the provisions thereof, make statutes for the University and for any college, and for altering or repealing statutes made by the Commissioners, and may exercise those powers from time to time with reference to the University and to any college.

Limitation of Fifty Years.

13. The Commissioners shall not make a statute altering the trusts of a University or college endowment, unless the instrument of foundation or of endowment thereof was made or executed more than fifty years before the passing of this act; but nothing in this section shall prevent the Commissioners from making a statute increasing the endowment of any University or college endowment, or otherwise improving the position of the holder thereof.

Regard to Main Design of Founder.

14. The Commissioners, in making the statute affecting a University or college endowment, shall have regard to the main design of the founder, except where the same has ceased to be observed before the passing of this act, or where the trusts of the endowment have been altered in substance by or under any other act.

Provision for Education, Religion, &c.

15. The Commissioners, in making a statute for the University or a college, shall have regard to the interests of education, religion, learning, and research, and in the case of a statute for a college shall have regard, in the first instance, to those interests within the college, as far as may appear to them requisite.

Objects of Statutes for University.

16. With a view to further and better instruction in art, science, and other branches of learning, the Commissioners, in statutes made by them for the Universities, may from time to time make provision for the following purposes, or any of them:

- (1.) For requiring the several colleges, or any of them, to make contribution out of their revenues for University purposes, regard being first had to the wants of the several colleges in themselves for educational and other collegiate purposes;
- (2.) For consolidating any two or more professorships or lectureships;
- (3.) For erecting and endowing professorships or lectureships;
- (4.) For increasing the endowment of any professorship or lectureship;
- (5.) For altering the conditions of eligibility and mode of election to any professorship or public readership;
- (6.) For providing retiring pensions for professors and public readers;
- (7.) For providing new or improving existing buildings, libraries, collections, or apparatus for any purpose connected with the instruction of any members of the University, or with research in any art or science, and for maintaining the same;
- (8.) For diminishing the expense of University education by founding scholarships tenable by unattached students not members of any college, or by paying salaries to the teachers of such students, or otherwise;
- (9.) For founding and endowing scholarships, exhibitions, and prizes for encouragement of proficiency in any art or science;
- (10.) For modifying the trusts of any University endowment, foundation, or gift, or of any professorship, lectureship, scholarship, office, or institution, in or connected with the University, as far as the Commissioners think the modification thereof necessary or expedient for giving effect to statutes made by them for any purpose in this act mentioned;
- (11.) For altering or repealing any statute, ordinance, or regulation of the University, and substituting or adding any statute for or to the same.

Objects of Statutes for Colleges in themselves.

17. The Commissioners, in statutes made by them for a college, may from time to time make provision for the following purposes relative to the college, or any of them:

- (1.) For altering and regulating the conditions of eligibility or appointment to any emolument or office held in the college, the mode of election or appointment thereto, and the length and conditions of tenure thereof, and for providing a pension for a holder thereof;
- (2.) For consolidating any two or more emoluments held in the college;
- (3.) For dividing, suspending, or suppressing any emolument held in the college;
- (4.) For attaching any emolument held in or connected with the college to any office in the college, on such tenure as to the Commissioners seems fit, and for attaching to the emolument, in connection with the office, conditions of residence, study, and duty, or any of them;
- (5.) For affording further or better instruction in any art, science, or other branch of learning;
- (6.) For providing new or improving existing buildings, libraries, collections, or apparatus, for any purpose connected with instruction or research in any art or science, and for maintaining the same;
- (7.) For diminishing the expense of education in the college;
- (8.) For altering or repealing any statute, by law, ordinance, or regulation of the college, and substituting or adding any statute, by-law, ordinance, or regulation for or to the same.

Provision for Religious Instruction, &c.

18. The Commissioners, in statutes made by them for a college, shall make provision, as far as may appear to them requisite, for the due fulfilment of the regulations of sections five and six of the Universities Tests Act, 1871 (relating to religious instruction and to Morning and Evening Prayer); but they shall not make the entering into Holy Orders or the taking of any test a condition of the holding of any headship or fellowship to which that condition is not at the passing of this act attached.

Objects of Statutes for Colleges in Relation to University.

19. The Commissioners, in statutes made by them for a college, may from time to time make provision for the following purposes relative to the University, or any of them:

- (1.) For annexing any emolument held in the college to any office in the University, on such tenure as to the Commissioners seems fit, and for attaching to the emolument, in connection with the office, conditions of residence, study, and duty, or any of them;
- (2.) For assigning a portion of the revenues of the college for encouragement of instruction in the University in any art or science, or for the maintenance and benefit of persons of known ability and learning, studying or making researches in any art or science in the University, or for the purpose of giving effect to statutes made by them for the University;
- (3.) For modifying the trusts of any college, endowment, foundation, or gift, affecting or relating to the University, as far as the Commissioners think the modification thereof necessary or expedient for giving effect to statutes made by them for the University.

Increase of or Additional Income to be Regarded.

20. The Commissioners, in making a statute affecting a University or college emolument, may, if they think it expedient, take into account any prospective increase of the income of the emolument, or any prospective addition to the revenues of the University or college, and make provision for the application of that increase or addition.

Power to Allow Continuance of Voluntary Payments.

21. Nothing in or done under this act shall prevent the Commissioners from making in any statute made by them for a college such provisions as they think expedient for the continuance of any voluntary payment that has been used to be made out of the revenues of the college in connection with the college estates or property.

Provision for Accounts, Audit, &c.

22. The Commissioners, in statutes made by them, shall make provision—
 (1.) For the form of accounts of the University and of a college relating to funds administered either for general purposes, or in trust, and for the audit thereof;
 (2.) For the publication of accounts of receipts and expenditure of money raised under the borrowing powers of the University or of a college.

Union of Colleges and Halls or Combination for Education.

23. The Commissioners, in statutes made by them, may make provision for the complete or partial union of two or more colleges, or of a college and a hall, or of two or more halls, or for the organisation of a combined educational system in and for two or more colleges or halls, provided application in that behalf is made to the Commissioners on the part of each college and hall, as—

- (1.) In the case of a college in Oxford, by a resolution passed at a general meeting of the college, specially summoned for this purpose, by the votes of not less than *two thirds* of the number of persons present and voting, with the consent in writing of the Visitor of the college;
 (2.) In the case of a hall, by a resolution of the hebdomadal council, with the consent in writing of the Visitor and of the Principal of the hall;
 (3.) In the case of a college in Cambridge, by a resolution passed at a general meeting of the governing body of the college, specially summoned for this purpose, and in case of an application for complete union, the resolution being passed by the votes of not less than *two thirds* of the number of persons present and voting.

24. Provides for transferring the canonry of Ely from the Greek Professorship of Cambridge to a professorship of a theological or ecclesiastical character.

25. Saves the rights of Trinity College, Cambridge, in respect to endowments of the Regius Professorship of Greek, Hebrew, or Divinity. 26. Allows the Commissioners to modify the trusts of the Dixie foundation at Emmanuel College. 27. Saves the right of nomination to the headship of Magdalene College, Cambridge. 28. Commissioners to give notice, three weeks at least, exclusive of vacations, to the governing bodies of Universities or colleges of any proposed new statute, and to take into consideration any representation thereon. 29. Any new statute to be published one month before final adoption. 30. Commissioners may suspend elections. 31. Saves vested interests. 32. Provides for taking evidence on oath and the production of documents.

Power in Cambridge for Chancellor to Settle Doubts in Statutes.

33. If any doubt arises with respect to the true meaning of any statute made by the Commissioners for the University of Cambridge, the Council of the Senate may apply to the Chancellor of the University for the time being, and he may declare in writing the meaning of the statute on the matter submitted to him, and his declaration shall be registered by the registry of the University, and the meaning of the statute as therein declared shall be deemed to be the true meaning thereof.

Representation of Colleges.—Election of Commissioners by Colleges.

34. Eight weeks at least (exclusive of any University vacation) before the Commissioners, in the first instance, enter on the consideration of a statute for a college, they shall, by writing, under their seal, give notice to the college, and in Oxford to the Visitor of the college, or of their intention to do so.

In Oxford the college, and in Cambridge the governing body of the college, at any time after receipt of the notice, may, at an ordinary general meeting, or at a general meeting specially summoned for this purpose, elect three persons to be Commissioners to represent the college in relation to the making by the Commissioners of statutes for the college.

If during the continuance of the Commission a vacancy happens by death, resignation, or otherwise, among the persons so elected, the same may be filled up by a like election; and so from time to time.

Each person entitled to vote at an election shall have one vote for every place to be then filled by election, and may give his votes to one or more of the candidates for election, as he thinks fit.

The persons elected by a college shall be, to all intents, Commissioners in relation to the making by the Commissioners of statutes for the college, before and after the making thereof, but not further or otherwise, save that they shall not be deemed Commissioners for the purposes of the provisions of this act requiring four Commissioners to be acting and three to be present at a meeting.

35. Commissioners to give college under consideration fourteen days' notice of any meeting. 36. Validity of Commissioners' acts not to be affected by the failure of any person elected to attend meetings.

Schools.—Notice to Governing Body of School, &c.

37. If in any case the Commissioners contemplate making a statute abolishing any right of preference in elections to any college emolument lawfully belonging to and enjoyed by any school, individually named or designated in any instrument of foundation, they shall, two months at least before adopting any final resolution in that behalf, give notice, by writing under their seal, to the governing body of the school, or to the master of the school on behalf of the governing body, and to the Charity Commissioners, of the proposed statute.

Where the emolument is not a fellowship, by-fellowship, or studentship, the Commissioners shall not make the proposed statute if within two months after receipt of that notice by the governing body, master, or principal, two thirds of the governing body, or two thirds of the aggregate body composed of the several governing bodies of several schools interested, or if within two months after the receipt of that notice by the Charity Commissioners, those Commissioners, by writing under their respective hands or seal, dissent from the proposed statute, on the ground that it would be prejudicial to the school or schools as a place or places of learning and education.

Where fellowships or studentships are tenable in a college by undergraduates, and the fellowships or studentships of the college are divided, or proposed to be divided, into elder and younger, the elder only shall be deemed to be fellowships or studentships within this section.

Provision for Case of Contingent Right.

38. The governing body of a school having a right of preference contingently only on the failure of fit objects from some other school entitled to and in the enjoyment of a prior right of preference shall not have the power of dissent from a proposed statute under this act.

39. Makes the governing body of a school a corporation.

Statutes for Schools Dissented from.

40. The Commissioners shall send to the Secretary of State every statute relating to a school proposed by them and dissented from as aforesaid (unless another statute has been substituted), and it shall be laid before Parliament.

Provision respecting Right of Preference when retained by School.

41. Every right of preference retained by or for a school under this act shall be subject to all statutes from time to time made by the Commissioners for the purpose of making the college emolument, to which the right relates, more conducive to the mutual benefit of the college and school, or for the purpose of throwing the emolument open to general or extended competition, on any vacancy for which no candidate or claimant of sufficient merit offers himself from any school entitled.

Universities Committee of Privy Council.

42. There shall be a committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council, styled the Universities Committee of the Privy Council (in this act referred to as the Universities Committee).

The Universities Committee shall consist of the President for the time being of the Privy Council, the Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being, the Lord Chancellor of Great Britain for the time being, the Chancellor of the University of Oxford for the time being, if a member of the Privy Council, the Chancellor of the University of Cambridge for the time being, if a member of the Privy Council, and such other member or two members of the Privy Council as Her Majesty from time to time thinks fit to appoint in that behalf, that other member, or one at least of those two other members, being a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

The powers and duties of the Universities Committee may be exercised and

discharged by any three or more of the members of the committee, one of whom shall be the Lord Chancellor or a member of the Judicial Committee.

43. New statutes to be published in the *London Gazette*. 44. Three months allowed for petitioning the Queen in Council for disallowance. 45. New statute may be referred to Universities Committee of Privy Council. 46. Which may disallow the same, or refer it back to Commission for reconsideration. 47. Statute not disallowed to be laid before Parliament. 48. Which may disallow the same within twelve weeks, exclusive of any recess. 49. Publication of notice in the *London Gazette* sufficient evidence of the statute having been laid before Parliament.

Effect of Statutes.—Statutes to be Binding and Effectual.

50. Every statute made by the Commissioners, gazetted and not disallowed, or the part thereof not disallowed (as the case may be), shall be binding on the University and on every college, and shall be effectual notwithstanding any instrument of foundation or any Act of Parliament, decree, order, statute, or other instrument or thing constituting wholly or in part an instrument of foundation, or confirming or varying a foundation or endowment, or otherwise regulating the University or a college.

Alteration of Statutes.—Power for University to alter Statutes, &c.

51. A statute made by the Commissioners for the University shall, after the ceasing of the powers of the Commissioners be subject to alteration by statute made by the University.

Power for Colleges to alter Statutes, &c.

52. A statute made by the Commissioners for a college, and any statute, ordinance, or regulation made by or in relation to a college under any former act, shall, after the ceasing of the powers of the Commissioners, be subject to alteration by ordinance made by the college, the same being passed, at a general meeting of the college specially summoned for this purpose, by the votes of not less than two thirds of the number of persons present and voting.

But where a statute made by the Commissioners for a college affects the University, the same shall not be subject to alteration under this section except with the consent of the University.

Confirmation or Disallowance of altering Statutes.

53. Every statute or ordinance made by the University or a college under either of the two next preceding sections of this act shall be submitted to the Queen in Council, and be proceeded on as if it were a statute made by the Commissioners, with the substitution only of the University or the college for the Commissioners in the provisions of this act in that behalf; and the same, if and as far as not disallowed, shall be as binding and effectual as a statute made by the Commissioners.

But it shall not be necessary that an ordinance so made by a college, which might have been made by the college if this act had not been passed, be laid before the Houses of Parliament.

Government of Colleges in Oxford.—Limit on Votes of Fellows.

54. If at any time in a college in Oxford the number of fellows not holding an office in the college or in the University exceeds one third of the whole number of voters, the junior of the fellows not so holding office, if elected after the passing of this act, shall not be entitled to vote in the government of the college until the number of those fellows is reduced to one third or less, and so from time to time.

Tests.—Saving for Tests Act.

55. Nothing in this act shall be construed to repeal any provision of the Universities Tests Act, 1871.

Operation of Tests Act as regards Theological Offices.

56. Where the Commissioners, by any statute made by them, erect or endow an office declared by them to require in the incumbent thereof the possession of theological learning, the Universities Tests Act, 1871, shall, with reference to that statute, be read and have effect as if the statute had been made before, and was in operation at the passing of the Universities Tests Act, 1871.

Proposed Reforms and Extension from Within—1877.

In 1878, a Committee of the Hebdomadal Council was appointed to consider the questions connected with the extension and better endowment of the Professoriate; and in May, 1877, the Council prepared for the consideration of Convocation a statement of the requirements of the University, based upon the inquiries of this and other committees, both as to buildings and teachers.

As regards public teaching, the Council are of opinion—1. That it is desirable that a class of Readers should be established in addition to Professors. 2. That such Readerships should be tenable with College tutorships and lectureships. 3. That the emoluments of a Reader should not be less than £400 a year. 4. That a Reader should reside during three terms of not less than eight weeks each, and should give not less than sixteen lectures in each term, except for special reasons to be approved by the Vice-Chancellor. 5. That a Reader should give private instruction five hours a week during his residence, and hold examinations in the subjects of his lectures. 6. That a Reader should hold his office for seven years, and should be re-eligible.

In the departments connected with the School of Literæ Humaniores, the Council recommend the establishment of—1. Two Readerships in Philosophy. 2. An additional Professorship and an additional Readership in Ancient History. 3. An additional Professorship of the Classical Languages. 4. Four Readerships in Classical Subjects. 5. A Professorship of Classical Archaeology.

In the department of Modern History, the Council recommend the establishment of—1. A Professorship of Indian History. 2. A Professorship of English Literature. 3. Two Readerships in Modern History, and a Readership in Political Economy. 4. The appointment of an occasional Reader in Northern Antiquities. The Council recommend that, considering the probability of a further development of the study of Modern History in the University, particular attention should be paid in this department to the expediency of making additional provision for strengthening the staff of Professors and Readers, and for the appointment of Professors extraordinary.

In the department of Jurisprudence, having in view the needs of the Faculty of Law, as well as those of the Honor School of Jurisprudence, the Council recommend the establishment of—1. A Professorship of Oriental, and specially Indian, Law. 2. Two or more Readerships, one of which should be in Roman Law, and one in English Law. They also recommend, in the case of the Law Professors, that residence should be required so soon as their chairs shall have been adequately endowed; but they think that measures should be taken to secure the services of lecturers, not necessarily resident, in addition to the resident Professors and Readers.

In the department of Mathematics, the Council recommend the establishment of—1. An additional Professorship of Pure Mathematics, and two Readerships. 2. An additional Professorship of Applied Mathematics, and two Readerships.

In regard to the department of Natural Science, the Council consider that the following Professorships are required for the subject of Biology:—(a) Botany, (b) human and comparative vertebrate anatomy, (c) invertebrate anatomy, (d) physiology and hygiene, (e) the Regius and Clinical Professorships of Medicine to remain, but restrictions upon the choice of persons as Professors to be removed. To satisfy this requirement, the establishment of one new Chair and some rearrangement of the existing Professorships would be necessary. That from time to time a person should be appointed as an Extraordinary Professor to deliver lectures upon the Anthropological collection.

They recommend the ultimate appointment of a second Professor of Physics, with the requisite laboratories and apparatus, and meanwhile additional demonstrators. They also advise a Professorship of Mechanics and Engineering, a second Professorship of Chemistry, with suitable laboratories, apparatus, and assistants, and one assistant or demonstrator in permanent charge of the Geological collections under the direction of the Professor of Geology.

As to Oriental languages, the Council recommend—1. That a new Professor-

ship or Readership in some branch of Semitic learning should be established. 2. That the subjects of Arabic, Syriac, and Persian should be assigned to the two Arabic Chairs. 3. That there should be an occasional Readership in Ethiopic. 4. That Professors should be appointed from time to time, as opportunity may offer, for the study and teaching of the languages and antiquities of Assyria and Egypt, such appointments to be for life, but the Professorships to be terminable on each vacancy.

For teaching Indian subjects the Council recommend—1. That there should be a teacher of Telugu, not necessarily resident, but who might come to read with his pupils once or twice a week. 2. That there should be a reader of Indian Law, unless the Professorship of Oriental, and specially Indian, Law, recommended under the head of Jurisprudence, be established. 3. That there should be a Professor of Persian, unless one of the Professors of Arabic undertake that subject.

New Mode of Appointing Professors and Readers.

The Council recommend that Boards should be constituted for the appointment of the Professors and Readers. Each of these electing Boards might comprise (1) the Vice-chancellor; (2 and 3) Two Members of Convocation chosen for a term of years, one by Congregation and one by the Hebdomadal Council, and serving on all Boards connected with some one department of study; (4) a Professor deputed on the occasion of each election by the Professors and Readers in the department; (5) a person occupying an eminent official position in connection with literature or science outside the University—e.g., a Professor *in pari materia* in the University of Cambridge, or, in the case of Natural Science, the President of one of the learned societies. In the case of any Professorship, of which the endowment is wholly or mainly supplied by any College, it will probably be convenient that the College should be represented on the electing Board.

Special Professorships for Life or Term of Years.

The Council further recommend that, in the interests of learning and science, a fund should be formed and placed under the control of a small Board; that this Board should have power to assign Professorships for life or for a term of years to persons who have obtained eminence, or who are obtaining eminence, in particular branches of study, whether such branches of study are or are not recognized in the University; and that the Professorships thus specially created should, as a general rule, terminate with the tenure of the persons for whom they were created. Out of this fund also persons of high literary or scientific eminence might be remunerated for occasional lectures or courses of lectures. Lastly, out of this fund special grants might be made for longer or shorter periods, to promote original research in any branch of literature or science. The Council suggest that the Board for these purposes should consist of five persons—viz., the Vice-Chancellor, two members of Convocation to be elected by Congregation, and two members of Convocation to be elected by the Council—the seats of the elected members to be vacated periodically.

In connection with these special Professorships, the Council recommend that retiring pensions should be provided for Professors who may become incapacitated by age, or continued illness, or deserve the same by eminent service; that vacancies in Life Professorships need not be filled if an appointment in some other subject should be deemed more desirable; that a Professor, in the interest of research or literary work, may appoint an (assistant) deputy to be paid by himself, to lecture in his stead for a period not to exceed two years; that Professors and Readers may be allowed to take fees, in augmentation or in place of salary, and that in Lent Term of each year, Professors and Readers should arrange a general plan for courses of lectures to be given by them in the Academic Year.

Wordsworth in 1820 (May 30), in his Ode to Oxford refers to Cambridge in no unfilial strain:

Ye sacred nurseries of blooming youth!
In whose collegiate shelter England's flowers
Expand, enjoying through their vernal hours
The air of liberty, the light of truth;
Much have ye suffered from Time's gnawing tooth,
Yet, O ye spires of Oxford! domes and towers!
Gardens and groves! your presence overpowers
The soberness of reason; till, in sooth,
Transformed, and rushing on a bold exchange,
I slight my own beloved Cam, to range
Where silver Isis leads my stripling feet;
Pace the long avenue, or glide adown
The stream like windings of that glorious street,—
An eager novice robed in fluttering gown!

SONNET—KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL, CAMBRIDGE.

Tax not the royal saint with vain expense,
With ill-matched aims the architect who planned—
Albeit laboring for a scanty band
Of white robed scholars only—this immense
And glorious work of fine intelligence!
Give all thou canst: high Heaven rejects the lore
Of nicely calculated less or more;
So deemed the man who fashioned for the sense
These lofty pillars, spread that branching roof
Self-poised, and scooped into ten thousand cells,
Where light and shade repose, where music dwells
Lingering and wandering on as loth to die;
Like thoughts whose very sweetness yieldeth proof
That they were born for immortality.

KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL.

They dreamt not of a perishable home
Who thus could build. Be mine, in hours of fear
Or grovelling thought, to seek a refuge here;
Or through the aisles of Westminster to roam;
Where bubble's burst, and folly's dancing foam
Melts, if it cross the threshold; where the wreath
Of awe-struck wisdom droops: or let my path
Lead to that younger pile, whose sky-like dome
Hath typified by reach of daring art
Infinity's embrace; whose guardian crest,
The silent cross, among the stars shall spread
As now, when she hath also seen her breast
Filled with mementos, satiate with its part
Of grateful England's overflowing dead.

William Wordsworth.

LINES ON REVISITING TRINITY COLLEGE.

I past beside the reverend walls,
 In which of old I wore the gown;
 I roved at random through the town
 And saw the tumult of the halls;

And heard once more in college fanes
 The storm their high built organs make,
 And thunder-music, rolling shake
 The prophets, blazoned on the panes;

And caught once more the distant shout,
 The measured pulse of racing oars
 Among the willows; paced the shores
 And many a bridge, and all about

The same gray flats again, and felt
 The same, but not the same; and last
 Up that long walk of limes I past,
 To see the rooms in which he dwelt.

Another name was on the door:
 I lingered; all within was noise
 Of songs, and clapping hands, and boys
 That crashed the glass and beat the floor;

Where once we held debate, a band
 Of youthful friends, on mind and art
 And labor, and the changing mart,
 And all the frame-work of the land;

When one would aim an arrow fair,
 But send it slackly from the string;
 And one would pierce an outer ring,
 And one an inner, here and there;

And last the master-bowman, he
 Would cleave the mark. A willing ear
 We lent him. Who, but hung to hear
 The rapt oration flowing free

From point to point with power and grace,
 And music in the bounds of law,
 To those conclusions when we saw
 The God within him light his face,

And seem to lift the form, and glow
 In azure orbits heavenly-wise;
 And over those ethereal eyes
 The bar of Michael Angelo.

TENNYSON. *In Memo.*

OXFORD.

Ye fretted pinnacles, ye fanes sublime,
 Ye towers that wear the mossy vest of time;
 Ye massy piles of old munificence,
 At once the pride of learning and defence;
 Ye cloisters pale, that, lengthening to the sight,
 To contemplation, step by step, invite;
 Ye high-arched walks, where oft the whispers clear
 Of harps unseen have swept the poet's ear;
 Ye temples dim, where pious duty pays
 Her holy hymns of ever-echoing praise,—
 Lo! your loved Isis, from the bordering vale,
 With all a mother's fondness, bids you hail,—
 Hail, Oxford, hail! of all that's good and great
 Of all that's fair, the guardian and the seat;
 Nurse of each brave pursuit, each generous aim,
 By truth exalted to the throne of fame!
 Like Greece in science and in liberty,
 As Athens learned, as Lacedemon free!
 Even now, confessed to my adoring eyes,
 In awful ranks thy gifted sons arise.
 Tuning to knightly tale his British reeds,
 Thy genuine bards immortal Chaucer leads:
 His hoary head o'erlooks the gazing choir,
 And beams on all around celestial fire.
 With graceful step see Addison advance,
 The sweetest child of Attic elegance:
 See Chillingworth the depths of doubt explore,
 And Selden ope the rolls of ancient lore:
 To all but his beloved embrace denied,
 See Locke lead Reason, his majestic bride:
 See Hammond pierce Religion's golden mine,
 And spread the treasured stores of truth divine.—*T. Wharton.*

ON REVISITING TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

I have a debt of my heart's own to thee,
 School of my soul! old lime and cloister shade!
 Which I, strange suitor, should lament to see
 Fully acquitted and exactly paid.
 The first ripe taste of manhood's best delights,
 Knowledge imbibed, while mind and heart agree,
 In sweet belated talk on winter nights,
 With friends whom growing time keeps dear to me;—
 Such things I owe thee, and not only these:
 I owe thee the far-beaconing memories
 Of the young dead, who, having crossed the tide
 Of Life where it was narrow, deep, and clear,
 Now cast their brightness from the farther side
 On the dark-flowing hours I breast in fear.

Richard Monckton Milne—Lord Houghton.

ON REVISITING OXFORD.

I never hear the sound of thy glad bells,
 Oxford! and chime harmonious, but I say
 (Sighing to think how time has worn away),
 'Some spirit speaks in the sweet tone that swells,
 Heard after years of absence, from the vale
 Where Cherwell winds.' Most true it speaks the tale
 Of days departed, and its voice recalls
 Hours of delight and hope in the gay tide
 Of life, and many friends now scattered wide
 By many fates. Peace be within thy walls!

William Lisle Bowles.

SMITH OF MAUDLIN.

My chums will burn their Indian weeds
 The very night I pass away,
 And cloud-propelling puff and puff,
 As white the thin smoke melts away;
 Then Jones of Wadham, eyes half closed,
 Rubbing the ten hairs on his chin,
 Will say, "This very pipe I use
 Was poor old Smith's of Maudlin."

That night in High Street there will walk
 The ruffling gownsmen three abreast,
 The stiff-necked proctors, wary-eyed,
 The dons, the coaches, and the rest;
 Sly "Cherub Sims" will then purpose
 Billiards, or some sweet ivory sin;
 Tom cries, "He played a pretty game,—
 Did honest Smith of Maudlin."

The boats are out!—the arrowy rush,
 The mad bull's jerk, the tiger's strength;
 The Balliol men have wopped the Queen's,—
 Hurrah! but only by a length.
 Dig on, ye muffs; ye cripples dig!
 Full blind, till crimson sweats the skin;—
 The man who bobs and steers cries, "O
 For plucky Smith of Maudlin!"

Wine-parties met,—a noisy night,
 Red sparks are breaking through the cloud;
 The man who won the silver cup
 Is in the chair erect and proud;
 Three are asleep,—one to himself
 Sings, "Yellow jacket's sure to win."
 A silence;—"Men, the memory
 Of poor old Smith of Maudlin!"

The boxing-rooms,—with solemn air
 A freshman dons the swollen glove;
 With slicing strokes the lapping sticks
 Work out a rubber,—three and love;
 With rasping jar the padded man
 Whips Thompson's foil, so square and thin,
 And cries, "Why, zur, you've not the wrist
 Of Master Smith of Maudlin."

But all this time beneath the sheet
 I shall lie still, and free from pain,
 Hearing the bed-makers sluff in
 To gossip round the blinded pane;
 Try on my rings, sniff up my scent,
 Feel in my pockets for my tin;
 While one hag says, "We all must die,
 Just like this Smith of Maudlin."

Ah! then a dreadful hush will come,
 And all I hear will be the fly
 Buzzing impatient round the wall,
 And on the sheet where I must lie;
 Next day a jostling of feet,—
 The men who bring the coffin in:
 "This is the door,—the third-pair back,—
 Here's Mr. Smith of Maudlin!"

Walter Thornbury.

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